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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON H. HIRT UND W. STREITBERG†

ERSTE ABTEILUNG: GRAMMATIKEN

18.

THE SYNTAX OF CASES IN THE NARRATIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE PROSE OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS

BY

HANNS ŒRTEL

I.

THE DISJUNCT USE OF CASES

HEIDELBERG 1926

CARL WINTER'S UNIVERSITÄTSBUCHHANDLUNG

Verlags-Nr. 1960.

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ACHTZEHNTER BAND

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THE SYNTAX OF CASES IN THE NARRATIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE PROSE OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS

BY

HANNS ŒRTEL

I.

THE DISJUNCT USE OF CASES

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To

Jacob Wackernagel

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Foreword.

The material presented in these volumes was originally collected and primarily intended to serve as a basis for the extension of the 'compendious statement of the use of cases' (§ 268—305, p. 89—103) in a proposed revised edition of Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar. If these syntactical paragraphs were to receive a treatment comparable and conform to the statistical and historical treatment (Preface to the first edition, p. VII, 5—6 and 20—21) of the inflexional and morphological material in Whitney's Grammar a much more detailed and complete digest of the facts as exhibited in the literature of the earliest prose writings than could be gleaned from the admirable but necessarily brief paragraphs of Delbrück's Altindische Syntax (§ 64—126, p. 103—188 and § 216—217, p. 387—390) seemed indispensable.

The material is here given in extenso with a fulness of detail which would have been neither practicable nor admissible as part of the revised Grammar itself in the hope that it may not only save Sanskritists the time-consuming task of working through these extensive and often dreary texts but also be useful to those who are interested in Comparative Grammar.

The first two volumes (including the translations and many of the critical and exegetical notes) were substantially finished in manuscript about a decade ago and intended for publication in the United States. This accounts for the English dress in which the book appears, for it seemed time and labour wasted to recast the whole into German.

My thanks are due to the Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft for a substantial grant without which the publication would have been impossible. But the greatest debt of gratitude I owe to Professor Jacob Wackernagel who kindly undertook the laborious work of reading one proof and favoured me with many valuable suggestions.

München, April 1926.

Hanns Oertel.

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Preface.

1. General Plan and Scope. The present work is intended to present, as completely as possible, the use of cases in the narrative and descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇas.

The whole bulk of early Sanskrit literature may, for syntactical treatment, be conveniently divided into the following seven groups:

1. The metrical Mantras,
2. The prose Mantras,

   Both the metrical and the prose Mantras are fully recorded in Bloomfield's Concordance. With regard to the latter the author of this monumental digest rightly remarks (p. VIII, col. 2, § 4): 'These prose formulas are in a dialect or in a style that differs not a little from the narrative or descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. The formulas abound at any rate in poetic or other archaisms and deserve to be collected and treated by themselves.'

3. Certain Āraṇyaka-like prose passages in the Atharva Veda,
4. The narrative and descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇas proper,
5. The prose of the Āraṇyakas,
6. The prose of the older Upaniṣads, and
7. The prose of the Sūtras.

Each one of these seven groups deserves separate and detailed treatment to furnish the material for a complete picture of the historical development of early Sanskrit syntax.

It is then the fourth group, viz. the narrative and descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇas proper, which forms the subject of the present work.

In three respects only this restriction has not been strictly adhered to. (A) Certain Çlokas which are essentially narrative or descriptive in character, such as the Çlokas of the Çunaḥçepa legend, have been included although they do not fall within the scope of any of the seven groups enumerated above. This has been done for the sake of convenience, for there are relatively so few of them that a separate treatment of their case syntax would

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not be worth while. They are distinctly marked as Çlokas. (B) For the same reason the prose passages of the AV. have been included. (C) The question whether the restriction of the present work to the Brāhmaṇas in the strict sense of the word meant the exclusion of those Āraṇyakas and older Upaniṣads which now form separate texts has been given careful consideration. As a matter of principle, a restriction to the Brāhmaṇas proper seemed advisable. But other considerations favoured their inclusion: It is by a mere chance that e. g. the Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad (now reckoned as an independent Upaniṣad) happens to form an integral part of the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa, while a text like the Chāndogya Upaniṣad is separately handed down by our tradition. Moreover the prose of the Āraṇyakas and of the older group of Upaniṣads is so closely similar to that of the Brāhmaṇas proper that it seemed inadvisable to omit the syntactical material furnished by them. And finally, the Āraṇyakas and the older Upaniṣads antedate without doubt a late compilation like the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, however greatly the various parts of this last work may differ in time of composition. The great weight of these considerations finally induced me to include the syntactical matter of the Āraṇyakas and of the early prose Upaniṣads in the present work. These examples are plainly marked as 'Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads', and included within ⌈ ⌋ brackets.

The following texts are then included:

1. AB. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa; Aufrecht's edition.
2. KB. The Kauṣītaki or Çāñkhāyana Brāhmaṇa; Lindner's edition.
3. PB. The Pañcavinça or Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa; the Bibliotheca Indica edition.
4. ṢB. The Ṣaḍvinça Brāhmaṇa; Eelsingh's edition.
5. JB. The Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa.

This text, which is in a very corrupt state, has as yet not been entirely published. The pertinent material has, as far as possible, been collected from a manuscript copy including a collation of all extant manuscripts made by Professor Whitney and others (see JAOS. 11, p. cxlıv). Being unable to consult the original manuscripts I had to rely on the correctness of this transcript. A large number of extracts from the JB. has recently been

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published by Caland[1] and references to this paper have been added in their proper place under the caption 'Caland, Auswahl.'

6. ÇB. The Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa; Weber's edition.

I regret that the Kāṇva recension of this text was not accessible to me. For syntactical purposes a comparison of the Kāṇva version with the Mādhyandina version would have been of the greatest interest and importance.

7. TS. The prose parts of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā; Weber's edition.
8. TB. The prose parts of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa; the Bibliotheca Indica edition.
9. MS. The prose parts of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā; v. Schroeder's edition.
10. K. The prose parts of the Kāṭhaka; v. Schroeder's edition.
11. GB. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.

The material was originally collected from the Bibliotheca Indica edition. Fortunately the text could be revised on the basis of D. Gaastra's edition.

The 'Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads' present the material culled from the following texts:

12. AĀ. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka; Keith's edition.

This comprises the Aitareya-Upaniṣad.

13. Çāṅkh. Ār. The Çāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka; edited by Friedländer (Books I and II), and by Keith (Books VII—XV) in his edition of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka; the full text in the Ānandāçrama Series.
14. TA. The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka; the Bibliotheca Indica edition.

This comprises the Taittirīya Upaniṣad and the Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad.

15. Kauṣ. Up. The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad; the Bibliotheca Indica edition.
16. Chānd. Up. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad; Boehtlingk's edition.
17. JUB. The Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa; my edition in JAOS. 16.

The BĀU (Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad), the Ait. Up. (Aitareya Upaniṣad), the Taitt. Up. (Taittirīya Upaniṣad) and the Mahān. Up. (Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad) form portions of the texts already cited.

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[1] Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Deel I, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XIX, No. 4. Amsterdam 1919.

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2. The Manner of Presentation. The manner of presentation is intended to be essentially descriptive. It attempts to show the relative frequency of a given usage, and to exhibit peculiarities which the syntactical usage of single texts or groups of texts may chance to exhibit.

Historical prospects or retrospects have been purposely avoided. A really historical exposition of Sanskrit Syntax must await the working up in detail of the syntactical material of the texts which chronologically precede or follow the seventeen text enumerated above. But within the compass of these texts (unless otherwise stated) the collection of examples is intended to be as complete as possible.

A comparative treatment, whether with reference to a closely allied language like the Iranian, or to the more remotely allied other Indo-European languages, lay entirely outside the plan of the present work.

The grouping of the material is, as far as practical, formal rather than logical.

A discussion of the formal treatment of syntax may be conveniently found in E. P. Morris' and the author's paper on Agglutination and Adaptation (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology XVI, 1905).

The categories and the criteria for grouping the material are therefore strictly grammatical, not logical. I have tried to do justice to both scholastic rules of classification: 'Entia praeter necessitatem non esse multiplicanda', and 'Entium varietates non temere esse minuendas'; but, in case of doubt, I have preferred to err in favour of the second maxim.

In conformity with the ideas concerning the origin and development of Indo-European inflection set forth in the paper on Agglutination and Adaptation referred to above[1], no attempt has been made to determine basal meanings ('Grundbegriffe') for any case. Instead, the various types of usage ('Gebrauchssphären') have been treated as fully and accurately as possible with special reference to their frequency and the peculiarities exhibited by single texts or text-groups.

[1] Compare the discussion of the 'Origin of Grammatical Elements' in chapter XIX of O. Jespersen's Language, its Nature, Development, and Origin, London and New York, 1922, p. 367 ff.

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It also seemed worth while to note the beginnings of certain constructions, no matter whether they led by further development to established usage or whether their development was arrested without reaching fruition.

The use of case-forms in compounds belongs to the chapter on word-formation. Partly for this reason and partly because this subject has been very fully treated in the second volume of Wackernagel's Altindische Grammatik such cases have not been included in the present work.

3. Secondary Use of the Material here Collected[1]. As the illustrative material for the case-syntax of the Brāhmaṇa prose is here given in full, the present work may serve, to a certain and limited extent, not only as a Dictionary but also as a Concordance to the prose-sections of the Brāhmaṇas, inasmuch as the verbal correspondences between the different Brāhmaṇa texts will be found grouped together. Such juxtapositions may be a help to textual emendations; and the importance of such parallels for an eventual determination of the interdependence of the various Brāhmaṇa texts has been briefly pointed out by the writer in the JAOS. 23, p. 325 with note 4.

Full Indices are intended to facilitate such investigations.

[1] Cf. the remarks on the secondary use of Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, p. VIII.

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Introduction.

§ 1. A. **Conjunct and Disjunct Cases.** In a normal Indo-European sentence a given case-form is directly related to some other element of the sentence; in fact, the expression of such relation of one member of a clause to another is the main function,—and from the point of view of strict syntax the only function—, of the Indo-European declensional endings.

In inflecting languages like the Indo-European a clear distinction between the strictly syntactical function and other functions of the inflectional endings is not formally made; the case endings express here also gender and number which have nothing to do with the syntactical relation of words to oneanother. Cf. J. Ries, Was ist Syntax? 1914; Stöhr, Algebra der Grammatik, 1889; Morris and Oertel, Agglutination and Adaptation (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 16, 1905, p. 63—122) where the difference of agglutinative and inflecting languages in this respect is emphasized.

They are the outward and visible signs of this syntactical dove-tailing, and this normal use may be called **the conjunct use of case-forms.**

But there are instances in which this close knitting of a clause is loosened and a certain disintegration, the degree of which may vary, sets in. When such a loosening of the syntactical joints, in whatever degree, has taken place we may speak of **the disjunct use of case-forms.**

The very general collective term 'Anacolouthon' comprises all instances in which the regular sequence of a clause, the 'consecutio verborum', is in any way disturbed, 'generibus numeris temporibus personis pertubatur' (Cicero, Partit. orat. § 18).

§ 2. B. **The Disjunct Use of Cases more closely considered: Proleptic, Pendent, and Absolute Cases.** The disjunct use of cases may be subdivided according to the degree of syntactical isolation

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which a given case-form exhibits, or, in other words, according to the degree of syntactical disintegration of the sentence unit.

§ 3. 1. Proleptic Cases. a) Prolepsis with Resumption by a Demonstrative Pronoun. A noun may retain the case-form which is required by the syntactical setting but be lifted out of its proper place, placed usually at the head of the clause, and be then resumed in its proper place by a demonstrative pronoun. Thus, TS. 2. 4. 1. 1 *devā manuṣyāḥ pitaras te 'nyata āsann asurā rakṣāṅsi piçācās te 'nyataḥ*, 'Gods, men, Fathers,—they were on one side; Asuras, Rakṣases, Piçācas,—they were on the other side'; K. 31. 5 (p. 6, 12) *prāṇaṁ vyānam apānaṁ tān eva yajamāne dadhāti*, 'In-breathing, through-breathing, out-breathing,—these he places into the sacrificer'; TB. 2. 6. 9. 3 *yajñāya yajamānāyā 'tmane tebhya evā 'çiṣam āçāste*, 'For the sacrifice, for the sacrificer, for himself,—for them he asks a blessing'; K. 34. 4 (p. 38, 12) *antarikṣād divaḥ pṛthivyā ahorātrābhyāṁ tebhya enān sarvebhyo nirbhajati*, 'From the atmosphere, from the sky, from the earth, from day and night,—from all these he excludes them (viz. his rivals)'.

This type is represented in English by: 'My brother, he is in Elysium' (Twelfth Night, Act I, Scene 2).

b) Prolepsis without Resumption by a Demonstrative Pronoun. Instead of the resumption of the proleptic case by a demonstrative pronoun the incipient disintegration of the sentence may be outwardly marked by the intrusion of a particle separating the proleptic case from the main verb. Thus, ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 25 *sa vai catur upahvayamāno 'tha nāne 'vo 'pahvayate*, 'Verily, he calling four times upon (this Iḍā), yet he calls upon her in different ways'.

This kind of prolepsis is confined to the nominative (cf. below § 14 and § 15). It contains the germ of an absolute case (cf. below § 25—26). The noun is always accompanied by an infinite verb-form, either a participle or a gerund (cf. below § 3, 1, c; § 4—6).

For *atha* and other separating particles see below § 7, b.

c) Absence of any Outward Signs of Disintegration. There are numerous instances in the Brāhmaṇa prose where such visible

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signs as the resumption by a demonstrative pronoun (above § 3, 1, a) or the separation of the noun from the main verb by *atha* (above § 3, 1, b) are wanting. When the noun is accompanied by a participle and the ingredients of a clause are thus present (cf. below § 4—6) the question arises whether, even in the absence of any outward sign of disintegration, the noun with its accompanying participle may be assumed to have gained a certain degree of independence such as is implied by the use of a hypotactical clause in an English rendering. For example, is ÇB. 1. 6. 3. 35 *prajāpater ha vai prajāḥ sasṛjānasya parvāṇi visasrañsuḥ* equivalent to 'Of Prajāpati having created creatures the joints relaxed', or rather to 'When Prajāpati had created creatures his joints relaxed'? The latter view is advocated by Gaedicke (Accusativ, p. 47, note): 'Wenn es ÇB. 14. 3. 1. 2 heißt *yajñasya çirṣachinnasya çug udakrāmat* oder 13. 1. 1. 3 *açvasya vā ālabdhasya reta udakrāmat*, so läßt zwar 13. 1. 1. 4 *prajāpatir yajñam asṛjata tasya mahimā 'pākrāmat* "Prajāpati erschuf das Opfer, dessen Größe (Potenz) entwich (= von dem wich die G.)" auch die Genitive der ersten beiden Sätze als vom Subjekt abhängig auffassen; dennoch aber ist zu übersetzen: "Als dem Opfer der Kopf abgeschlagen war, ging seine Çuc heraus", "Als das Roß geschlachtet war, ging sein Same davon"; desgleichen 6. 1. 3. 9 *tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt*, "Daher möge er, wenn ihm ein Sohn geboren ist, diesem einen Namen schaffen (eig. seinen Namen machen)". In diesen drei Beispielen drückt der Genitiv mit dem nachgestellten prädikativen Partizip einen besonderen, temporalen oder konditionalen Satz aus. Aber die Zugehörigkeit des Genitivs zu dem Nomen ist noch eine derartige, daß wir ihn vor letzterem durch ein Possessivpronomen zu wiederholen haben, wenn wir ihn zum Subjekt eines besonderen Satzes machen'. Similarly, but more guardedly as regards the Hindu conception of the syntactical relation, Delbrück (Vergl. Syntax, II, p. 494, § 164): 'So wird z. B. in der altind. Prosa erzählt, daß Manu einen Stier opferte und dann fortgefahren: *tasyā 'labdhasya sā vāg apa cakrāma* (ÇB. 1. 1. 4. 15). Das heißt wörtlich: „Dieses geopferten Stimme entwich", aber wir übersetzen: „Als er geopfert war, entwich seine Stimme". Daß wir mit dieser Übersetzung das richtige (vom Sprachgebrauch des Inders aus

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gesprochen) getroffen haben, läßt sich freilich nur wahrscheinlich machen, nicht beweisen.' In all these and kindred instances, it seems to me, considerations of logic or of translation do not touch the heart of the question which is essentially and wholly a question of Sanskrit syntax. There is, of course, no doubt that in English or German the rendering by a hypotactical clause is possible, nay even preferable or necessary, because demanded by the English or German idiom. But the translation of such Sanskrit clauses into modern English or German, far from being a help to their correct interpretation, is a source of danger, as translations into a foreign idiom frequently are; for such translations lead us imperceptibly to view the syntactical relations of one language through the disturbing medium of another. In the absence of any visible signs there are really no criteria which would enable us to say with regard to any individual passage of this character whether the speaker or the hearer or both felt the noun with its accompanying participle as (more or less) independent from the rest of the clause. All we can say is, that since the true absolute constructions (below § 5) have their root and origin in such constructions, some of them must at some time have been felt as more or less independent syntactical units, and it is very probable that frequently the speaker felt the case as conjunct while the hearer construed it as a disjunct case, or vice versâ.

It is instructive to compare examples of such quasi-disjunct use of cases with parallel clauses in which the conjunct construction of the case is clear. Thus, ṢB. 1. 7. 2 *sādhyānāṁ vai devānāṁ sattram āsīnānāṁ çarkarā akṣasu jajñire*[1] would naturally be rendered in English by 'When the Sādhya gods were engaged in a sacrificial session dust got into their eyes', but the undoubtedly conjunct *teṣām* in the immediately following *kathaṁ nu teṣāṁ* (= *asmākam*, Commentator) *çarkarā akṣasu jāyeran*, 'How may dust get into our eyes?' shows that it is impossible for us objectively to determine if, or to what degree, the connection of *sādhyānām . . . āsīnānām* with *akṣasu* was loosened for the Hindu speaker or hearer. The same is true for ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 9 cited by Gaedicke (cf. also ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 20 *tasya* [*agneḥ*]

[1] Cf. below § 48, Ex. 24—26.

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citasya nāma karoti; KB. 7. 2 *na vā ajātasya garbhasya nāma kurvanti*) when compared with the clear conjunct genitives in ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 10—17 *yad asya tan nāmā 'karot;* 14. 9. 4. 25 (= BĀU. 6. 4. 25 Mādhy. = 26 Kāṇv.) *athā 'sya nāmadheyaṁ* (Kāṇv. *nāma*) *karoti*; KB. 6. 2—9 *nāma me kuru.* In the passage TS. 5. 2. 3. 4; 5. 3. 2. 2; PB. 8. 8. 13 *devānāṁ vai* (TS. 5. 2. 3. 4 *teṣāṁ*) *suvargaṁ* (PB. *svargaṁ*) *lokaṁ yatāṁ diçaḥ samavlīyanta* (PB. *diço 'vlīyanta*) the Commentary to PB. expressly interprets *devānām . . . yatām* as an absolute genitive and the English idiom requires the translation: 'When the gods went to the heavenly world the quarters collapsed'. But the parallel K. 20. 11 (p. 31, 2) has here a proleptic genitive: *devānāṁ vai svargaṁ lokaṁ yatāṁ teṣāṁ diças samavlīyanta*, where the genitive is not so much a possessive genitive but rather a genitive of interest and concern: 'Of the gods when they went to the heavenly world,—their quarters collapsed', (in German: 'Den Göttern, als sie zur Himmelswelt gingen, — denen stürzten die Himmelsgegenden zusammen').[1] And comparing ÇB. 8. 7. 1. 11 *yo vai mriyata ṛtavo ha tasmai vyuhyante* 'For him who dies the seasons are confused' with TS. 6. 5. 5. 1 *tasya* [*indrasya*] *vṛtraṁ jaghnuṣa ṛtavo 'muhyan* the rendering 'For him (Indra) when he had slain Vṛtra the seasons were confused' comes perhaps closer to the speaker's understanding of *tasya . . . jaghnuṣaḥ* than the rendering 'When Indra had slain Vṛtra the seasons were confused'.

For this reason such examples of quasi-conjunct constructions are liberally quoted in the following paragraphs, but without any intention of thereby prejudging the question whether, in any individual instance, the case was felt by the speaker or hearer or by both as conjunctly or disjunctly used.

§ 4. **2. Pendent Cases.** A noun may be lifted out of the sentence, but instead of showing the proper case-form required by the syntactical setting it is put in the nominative case and later resumed by a demonstrative pronoun in the proper oblique case. The nominative which thus anticipates an oblique case is, from the syntactical point of view, wholly severed from the rest of the clause and hangs, so to speak, in the air. Thus ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 6 (in the formulas of the 'Cyclic Legend') *yamo vaivasvato rājā tasya*

[1] Cf. below, § 50, Ex. 18, Rem.

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pitaro viçaḥ 'King Yama Vaivasvata, — his people are the Fathers'; 4. 4. 5. 1 *athai 'tac charīraṁ tasmin na raso 'sti*, 'Now this body, —there is no sap in it'.

When the noun is accompanied by a participle such constructions verge very closely on the absolute nominative (below § 25—26).

The psychological process which gives rise to Pendent Nominatives appears to be as follows: The speaker begins to utter his statement before the syntactical mould into which his thought is to be cast is fully matured, i. e. before the syntactical integration of its parts has fully taken place. As he starts speaking, his attention is fixed upon a single item of the thought-complex irrespective of the relation which it will ultimately bear to the other elements of the clause. The remainder of the thought-complex takes its syntactical shape after the pendent nominative has been uttered and thus the proper syntactical relation of this nominative to the rest of the sentence must be afterwards indicated by a resumptive pronoun. The nominative is chosen as pendent case because it is the only case which not only expresses (as subject case) syntactical relation, but also implies the absence of all syntactical relation (as in titles, headings, lists).[1] Conversely the attention of the hearer is more strongly directed to such an abnormal nominative, so that the emphatic attention of the speaker is communicated to the hearer.

§ 5. 3. Absolute Cases. In the preceding two groups the disjunct case used either proleptically (above § 3) or pendently (above § 4) forms, syntactically considered, an integral part with the rest of the clause and a mediate connection at least with another sentence-element is maintained. This third group, on the other hand, is characterized by the fact that the disjunct case no longer forms an integral part of the sentence, but, through the absence of even a mediate syntactical connection with any other element of the clause, has gained complete syntactical independence. Such

[1] Similar is the use of the 'numberless' singular in the so-called σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν; 'der Erscheinung liegt zugrunde, daß im Moment der Setzung des Verbums der Sprechende sich noch nicht über die Form klar ist, die er dem Subjekt geben will; als indifferente Verbalform setzt er den Singular' (Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax, 1, 1920, p. 21).

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independence cannot be gained by a simple noun but it is necessary that the noun should be accompanied by an infinite verb-form (either a participle or a gerund), in other words the disjunct case, if it is to be regarded as a true absolute case, must contain the material for a simple sentence, viz. subject and predicate (cf. above § 3, 1, c). Thus, PB. 5. 5. 15 *devāç ca vā asurāç cā 'ditye vyāyacchantas taṁ devā abhyajayan*, 'The gods and the Asuras contending about Āditya (= when they contended), the gods won him'; AB. 1. 15. 1 *havir ātithyaṁ nirupyate some rājany āgate*, 'The guest-offering is spread king Soma having arrived (= when he has arrived)'. In English this type is represented by: 'And tell quaint lies, How honourable ladies sought my love, Which I denying they fell sick and died' (Merchant of Venice, Act III, Scene 4).

But while, on the one hand, the presence of an infinite verb-form is essential for every true absolute case, the mere presence of a participle tends, on the other hand, to give a certain degree of independence to proleptic (§ 3, 1, c), pendent (§ 4) and even conjunct cases (§ 3, 1, c). Karl Kunst (Glotta, 12, p. 31) very justly speaks of a 'seductive force' ('lockende Kraft') of the participle and Delbrück (Vergl. Syntax II, § 164, p. 494) sketches the transition from conjunct to absolute use with the words: 'Die Entwicklung verläuft bei diesen Konstruktionen [viz. the absolute genitive in Sanskrit and Greek] so: Zu einem obliquen Kasus eines Satzes tritt ein Partizip. Dasselbe ist für den Sinn von so überragender Wichtigkeit, daß es den Kasus ins Schlepptau nimmt, dessen Verhältnis zu dem ihn regierenden Satzteil sich infolgedessen lockert. Bald geht das ursprüngliche grammatische Abhängigkeitsverhältnis für das Gefühl des Sprechenden verloren, das Partizip nebst Kasus kann jedem beliebigen Satze angefügt werden, und so ist eine Ausdrucksform für eine Nebensatzhandlung gewonnen, welche nicht zu dem Satzsubjekt in Beziehung steht'. Cf. § 57, Ex. 5, Rem.

§ 6. C. The Make-up of the Disjunct Case. The Disjunct Case may consist (a) either of a simple noun or a series of such simple nouns, or (b) the noun may be accompanied by an infinite verb-form, viz. a participle or a gerund. The importance

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of this difference has been discussed above § 3, 1, c; § 4—5: A simple noun can never reach the degree of independence necessary for an absolute case; the presence of an infinite verb-form, on the other hand, gives even to a conjunct case a certain air of independence.

§ 7. D. The Signs of Severance of the Disjunct Case from the Rest of the Sentence. a) The fact that the connection of a disjunct case with the rest of the clause is mediate only is indicated by the resumption of the disjunct case by means of a demonstrative pronoun through which the immediate connection with another element of the sentence is established, cf. § 8—15; § 16—21; § 30—35; § 41; § 43; § 45.

If the case-form of the disjunct case is that required by its syntactical relation we speak of a Proleptic Case (§ 3); if the disjunct case is a nominative we speak of a Pendent Case (§ 4 and below § 7, c).

The place of the demonstrative pronoun may be taken by a noun (as at ÇB. 2. 5. 4. 11 *devānām*, cf. below § 22), or by adjectival participles (as at AB. 8. 10. 9 *upaviṣṭāya*, *anvārabdhāya*, cf. below § 23).

For a quasi-prolepsis and resumption by *(e)tasmin kāle* cf. § 56.

b) The alienation of the disjunct case from the rest of the sentence may be indicated by particles which intervene between the disjunct case and the sentence-element to which it belongs. The most frequent particle is *atha* (cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 539, 7, § 263, II; Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 450, p. 348; Ved. und Sansk. Syntax, § 286, p. 91, 20), see § 14, Ex. 1 (ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 24—25); Ex. 2 (TS. 7. 1. 3. 1); § 15, Ex. 1 (ÇB. 1. 9. 2. 25); § 37, Ex. 2 (TS. 7. 5. 6. 3); Ex. 6 (KB. 30. 5); § 59, Ex. 69 (ÇB. 1. 6. 4. 4); Ex. 212 (ÇB. 11. 2. 4. 10); § 60, Ex. 4 (TB. 1. 2. 5. 1); Ex. 23 ÇB. 5. 1. 3. 13 = 5. 5. 4. 33); Ex. 62 (ÇB. 7. 3. 1. 2; 3); Ex. 107 (ÇB. 1. 8. 2. 7); Ex. 108 (ÇB. 1. 9. 2. 26 = 4. 4. 4. 3); Ex. 212 (ÇB. 12. 9. 1. 12—17); § 61, Ex. 6 (TB. 1. 6. 8. 9); Ex. 32 (GB. 1. 3. 19); § 62, Ex. 22 (ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 20 bis); and cf. the similar separation of the absolute gerunds from the rest of the sentence by *atha* § 72, Ex. 5 (MS. 3. 9. 2, p. 114, 6); Ex. 6 (MS. 3. 10. 4, p. 134, 11); § 73, Ex. 16 (MS. 1. 6. 10, p. 102, 8); § 75, Ex. 3 (ÇB. 1. 9. 3. 10).

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Other particles of separation are *atra*, *tad*, *tad anu* (see below § 65, b—d) and *tataḥ*, § 26, Ex. 6 (ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 10).

c) The severance of the disjunct case is indicated by the fact that, though being semantically an integral part of the sentence, it cannot be syntactically construed with any other element of the sentence; the necessary connection is brought about through the mediation of a demonstrative pronoun in the syntactically required case (see above § 7, a). The result is the Pendent Nominative (above § 4).

d) The severance of the disjunct case from the rest of the sentence has reached its highest degree in the Absolute Case. Here the disjunct case is no longer, either mediately or immediately, construable with any element of the rest of the sentence nor does it form semantically an integral part of it, but it plays the part of an adjunct and is equivalent to a paratactical (see below § 69) or hypotactical clause.

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1. The Disjunct Nominative.

I. The Proleptic Subject Nominative.

A. The Proleptic Subject Nominative Resumed by a Demonstrative Pronoun.

§ 8. The simple Proleptic Subject Nominative (without accompanying infinite verb-form).

a) The Proleptic Subject Nominative is usually placed at the head of the clause (e. g. Ex. 1—17, etc.); rarely imbedded in the sentence (e. g. Ex. 20). b) It consists most frequently of a series of simple nouns (e. g. Ex. 1, 5, 6, 9, 11—14, etc.) which is occasionally marked off by *iti* (Ex. 3, 8, 22 B); more rarely of a single noun (e. g. Ex. 2, 7, 21, 22 G) which may be accompanied by an adjectival (Ex. 4) or by a nominal (Ex. 10) qualifier. c) As a rule the resumptive demonstrative pronoun follows immediately upon the Proleptic Nominative (e. g. Ex. 1, 3—6, 8—16, etc.); rarely the former is separated form the latter by other words (Ex. 2, 7, 18, 21). d) The Resumptive Pronoun agrees in gender and number with the predicate noun (e. g. Ex. 5, 6, 17, 19; 22 B, 22 C, 22 D, 22 I). Compare for this concord Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 27, 1, p. 18.

§ 9. Examples:

1. *devāḥ pitaro manuṣyās* (TS. *devā manuṣyāḥ pitaras*) *te 'nyata āsann, asurā rakṣāṅsi piçācās te 'nyataḥ*, 'The gods, Fathers, men, —they were on one side; the Asuras, Rakṣases, Piçācas,—they were on the other side'. K. 10. 7 (p. 132, 10); TS. 2. 4. 1. 1; JB. 1. 154 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 54).

2. *devāç ca vā asurāç ca saṁyattā āsaṅs, tān gāyatry antarā 'tiṣṭhad ojo vīryam annādyaṁ parigṛhya, saṁvatsaro vāvai 'tān so*

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'ntarā 'tiṣṭhat, 'The gods and the Asuras were engaged in combat; between them stood the Gāyatrī having seized strength, vigour, (and) food-eating; the year indeed,—that stood between them.' K. 10. 7 (p. 133, 8).

The parallel passages without prolepsis: MS. 2. 1. 11 (p. 13, 8 and 14) *devāç ca vā asurāç cā 'spardhanta, tān gāyatrī sarvam annaṁ parigṛhyā 'ntarā 'tiṣṭhat, . . . saṁvatsaro vai gāyatrī, saṁvatsaro vai tad atiṣṭhat*; TS. 2. 4. 3. 1—2 *devāsurāḥ saṁyattā āsan, teṣāṁ gāyatry ojo balam indriyaṁ vīryaṁ prajāṁ paçūnt saṁgṛhyā 'dāyā 'pakramyā 'tiṣṭhat, . . ., saṁvatsaro vai gāyatrī, saṁvatsaro vai tad apakramyā 'tiṣṭhat.*

3. *prāṇo 'pānaç cakṣuḥ çrotram ity etāni vai puruṣam akaran*, 'In-breathing, out-breathing, sight, (and) hearing,—these have made (= make) man'. GB. 2. 2. 14.

For this 'comprehensive' use of *iti* to mark the end of a series cf. PW. s. *iti*, col. 790, 3—7; Boehtlingk, Chrestomathie, 2d ed., p. 356 = 3d ed. 396—397 (note on ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 7); pw. s. *iti*, p. 202, col. 3, 43—48; Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 533, 7—17; and cf. further the controversy arising out of Bühler's article WZKM. 1 (1887) p. 13—20: Boehtlingk, ZDMG. 41 (1887), p. 516—519; Berichte der phil.-hist. Cl. d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1895, p. 152; Knauer, Festgruß an Boehtlingk (1888), p. 62—67; Keith, JRAS. 1910 (II), p. 1317—1321; ÇĀ (Oriental Translation Fund, N. S. 18) p. 8, n. 6; p. 40, n. 6; p. 51, n. 6.

Instances in the Brāhmaṇa prose are TB. 3. 8. 20. 5; ÇB. 1. 8, 1. 7 (contrast 8, without *iti*); 13. 2. 2. 2; 13. 2. 8. 1 = 13. 5. 2. 1 (contrast 13. 5. 1. 13 where *iti* marks the pratīka of VS. 24. 1); 14. 6. 8. 9 (= BĀU. 3. 8. 9, where the Kāṇva rencension has *iti* while the Mādhyandinas omit it); KB. 6. 15 (ter, p. 27, 23 and 24 and p. 28, 6 where *etās tisra iṣṭayaḥ* stands in contrast to *anyā iṣṭīḥ*); TA. 1, 25. 1; Ait. Ār. 2. 3. 1 (p. 111, 14 Keith); 2. 3. 3 (p. 113, 8; 15; 16; 17); 2. 6 (p. 123. 6; 7) = Ait. Up. 3. 1. 2; Ait. Ār. 5. 3. 1 (p. 146, 10); JUB. 3. 16. 2; Chānd. Up. 4. 11. 1; 4. 12. 1; 4. 13. 1; 5. 10. 6; 7. 24. 2; ÇĀ. 1. 4; 2. 1 = Ait. Ār. 3. 2. 2 (Keith, p. 134, 1—3); 8. 9; 8. 11.

4. *tās [apaḥ] tatrai 'vā 'bhyaçramyad abhyatapat samatapat, tāḥ çrāntās taptāḥ saṁtaptāḥ sārdham eva retasā dvaidham abhavan, tāsām anyatarā* (Gaastra's emend. for *anyā anyatarā*) *atilavaṇā apeyā asvādvyas tā açāntā retaḥ samudraṁ vṛtvā 'tiṣṭhanta*, 'These (waters) he then toiled over, he heated, he thoroughly heated; they having been toiled over, heated, thoroughly heated together with the seed became twofold: one (half) of them being excessively salty, not drinkable, not palatable,—they, not being appeased, continued to envelop the seed, the ocean'. GB. 1. 1. 3.

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The continuation of the sentence *athe 'tarāḥ peyāḥ . . . samatapat* is listed below § 19, Ex. 1.

For √ *sthā* with gerund as auxiliary verb cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 407; Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 381, p. 298. Such gerundial constructions should be added to Whitney, Gr., § 1075, c (cf. § 994, e).

5. *dadhi madhu ghṛtaṁ dhānās taṇḍulās tat saṁsṛṣṭaṁ syāt*, 'Curds, honey, ghee, grains, (and) rice-grains,—those should be the mixture'. K. 11. 2 (p. 145, 7).

The neuter noun *saṁsṛṣṭa* 'mixture', which should be added in pw., occurs also in the singular at K. 11. 2 (p. 145, 13); 36. 1 (p. 68, 7) = MS. 1. 10. 6 (p. 146, 6, where the text should be emendend to *saṁsṛṣṭaṁ măṇḍam*); in the plural at K. 11. 2 (p. 145, 4).

6. *agnihotraṁ darçapūrṇamāsau cāturmāsyāny eṣa vāva tarhi yajña āsīt*, 'The Agnihotra, the New Moon and the Full Moon ceremonies, (and) the seasonal offerings,—they then constituted the sacrifice'. K. 23. 7 (p. 82, 19).

7. *somāhutir ha vā ebhyas [devebhyaḥ] so 'ccakrāma*, 'The Soma-sacrifice,—that departed from these (gods)'. JB. 2. 158.

8. *āruṇir vājasaneyo barkur vārṣṇaḥ priyo jānaçruteyo buḷila āçvatarāçvir vaiyāghrapadya ity ete ha pañca mahābrahmā āsuḥ*, 'Āruṇi Vājasaneya, Barku Vārṣṇa, Priya Jānaçruteya, Buḷila Āçvatarāçvi, Vaiyāghrapadya,—these were five great Brahman-priests'. JB. 1. 22 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 10).

With *mahābrahma-* cf. ÇB. 1. 1. 4. 14 *asurabrahma-*; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 50, b, α, p. 117, 10—11.

9. *jīvalaç ca ha kārīrādir indradyumnaç ca bhāllaveyas tau hā 'ruṇer ācāryasya sabhāgā(v)* (the mss. *sabhāgă*, var. lect. *sahāgă*) *ājagmatuḥ* 'Jīvala Kārīrādi and Indradyumna Bhāllaveya,—these two came going for a discussion with the teacher Āruṇi'. JB. 1. 271 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 103).

The mss. of JB. vary here and elsewhere between *kārīrādi* and *kārīrāji*, cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 163, § 140, a, note, where the variant ĀpMB. 2. 8. 2 *uccairvādi* for RVKh. 10. 128. 3; HG. 1. 10. 6 *uccairvāji* may be added. And cf. the play between the √ *ruj* and *rudra* at K. 25. 1 (p. 103, 2) *yat samarujat tad rudrasya rudratvam* (Nirukta 10. 5 *yad arudat tad rudrasya rudratvam iti Kāṭhakam* seems to refer to this passage and should probably be emended accordingly).

I have adopted Caland's emendation (WZKM., 27, p. 77) of the mss. reading *sabhāgă* (var. lect. *sahāgă*) to *sabhāgā(v)*. The adjective *sabhāga* occurs besides the two passages ÇB. 3. 3. 4. 14 (where, however, according to Eggeling's note,

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the Kāṇva recension omits the clause in which *sabhāga* occurs) and Chānd. Up. 5. 3. 6, both cited in PW., also at JUB. 4. 6. 4 (where, of course, *sabhāga* should be read as one word) = JB. 1. 22 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 13) *atha hai 'ṣāṁ sabhāga āvavrāja*. With *sabhāga* the PW. compares VS. 30. 6 = TB. 3. 4. 1. 2 *sabhācara* the exact meaning of which is uncertain (Weber, ZDMG. 18, p. 277 = Ind. Streifen, 1, p. 77; Eggeling, SBE. 44, p. 413). In as much as *sabhā* and *samiti* are closely related in sense (Edgerton, KZ., 46, p. 174, 17) the adjective *samitiṁgama* ÇB. 14. 9. 4. 17 (= BĀU. 6. 4. 17 Mādhy. = 18 Kāṇv.) may be compared with *sabhāga*. The genitives ÇB. 3. 3. 4. 14 *asya*, JB. 1. 271 *āruṇer ācāryasya*, and JB. 1. 22 = JUB. 4. 6. 4 *teṣām* depend on the prior member of the compound (Withney, Gr. § 1316; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 31, § 12, a; Speijer Sanskrit Syntax, p. 178, § 231) cf. AV. 8. 10. 5 *yanty asya sabhām* . . ., 6 *yanty asya samitim* . . . The prior member *sabhā* of the compound *sabhāga* must not be taken in the narrow meaning of 'Ratsversammlung' but as 'colloquium or concilium, a common (*sa*-) meeting for the exchange of speeches or conversation' (Edgerton, KZ., 46, p. 175, 17). Edgerton's etymological analysis is undoubtedly preferable to the current connection of *sabhā* with Gothic *sibja* etc. proposed by A. Kuhn, KZ., 4, p. 370; cf. Wackernagel, KZ., 46, p. 272, 31. *Sabhāga* = 'going for a conversation, discussion with somebody (genitive)' fits all the passages in which the word occurs; thus ÇB. 3. 3. 4. 14 'Even kings come going for an audience with him; he is the first to address the kings'; Chānd. Up. 5. 3. 6. 'Then, on the morrow, he (viz. Gautama Āruṇi) went up going for (his) audience (with king Pravāhaṇa Jaibali); then he (viz. the king) addressed him'; the situation in this last passage is very similar to that of Chānd. Up. 5. 11. 7.

10. *bhṛgvañgiraso devās* (32. *viçve devās*; 33. *sādhyā devās*; 34. *maruto devās*; 35. *rudrā devās*; 36. *ādityā devās*) *ta uṣṇiham* (32. *te 'nuṣṭubham*; 33. *te bṛhatīm*; 34. *te pañktim*; 35. *te triṣṭubham*; 36. *te jagatīm*) *anvāyattās*, *tebhya uṣṇig* (32. *tebhyo 'nuṣṭub*; 33. *tebhyo bṛhatī*; 34. *tebhyaḥ pañktir*; 35. *tebhyas triṣṭub*; 36. *tebhyo jagaty*) *bhṛgvañgirobhyo* (32. *viçvebhyo*; 33. *sādhyebhyo*; 34. *marudbhyo*; 35. *rudrebhyo*; 36. *ādityebhyo*) *devebhya ekaikenā 'kṣareṇa kāmān nikāmān duhe*, 'The Bhṛgu and Añgiras gods [32. The All Gods; 33. The Sādhya gods; 34. The Marut gods; 35. The Rudra gods; 36. The Āditya gods],—they are connected with the Uṣṇih-metre [32. the Anuṣṭubh-metre; 33. the Bṛhatī-metre; 34. the Pañkti-metre; 35. the Triṣṭubh-metre; 36. the Jagatī-metre]; for these Bhṛgu and Añgiras gods [32—36 as above] the Uṣṇih-metre [32—36 as above] milks wishes (and) desires with each separate syllable'. JB. 1. 31—36.

11. *datvaç ca ha sautemanaso mitravic ca daṁṣṭradyumnas tau ha pratidarçasya vaibhāvatasya çvaiknasya rājño brahmacāriṇāv*

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āsatuḥ, 'Datva Sautemanasa and Mitravid Daṁṣṭradyumna,—these two were pupils of king Pratidarça Vaibhāvata Çvaikna'. JB. 2. 274 (276, Caland, Auswahl, p. 194).

12. *kṣatraṃ ca rāṣṭraṁ ca ṛtaṁ ca satyaṁ ca tāny avastāt* (ms. *avastā*), *tapaç ca tejaç ca svadhā cā 'mṛtaṁ ca tāny u parastāt*, 'Nobility and dominion, right and truth,—these are below; on the other hand, penance and splendour, happiness and immortality, —these are above'. JB. 3. 272.

For *u* cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 507, § 254, 3.

13. *katame vasava iti | agniç ca pṛthivī ca vāyuç cā 'ntarikṣaṁ cā 'dityaç ca dyauç ca candramāç ca nakṣatrāṇi cai 'te vasavaḥ . . . ti*, '"Who are the Vasus?" — "Agni and the Earth and Vāyu and the Atmosphere and Āditya and the Sky and the Moon and the Constellations,—these are the Vasus"'. ÇB. 11. 6. 3. 6; JB. 2. 77 (JAOS. 15, p. 239): ÇB. 14. 6. 9. 4 (= BĀU. 3. 9. 4 Mādhy. = 3 Kāṇv.).

14. *katame te trayastriṅçad iti | aṣṭau vasava ekādaça rudrā dvādaçā 'dityāç ta ekatriṅçad, indraç cai 'va prajāpatiç ca trayastriṅçāv iti*, '"Who are these thirty-three (divinities)?" — "The eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Ādityas,—they are thirty-one; Indra and Prajāpati are the thirty-second and thirty-third"'. ÇB. 11. 6. 3. 5; 14. 6. 9. 3 (= BĀU. 3. 9. 3 Mādhy. = 2 Kāṇv.

The parallel passage JB. 2. 77 (JAOS. 15, p. 239) without prolepsis: *katame trayastriṅçad iti | aṣṭau vasava ekādaça rudrā dvādaçā 'dityā indraç cai 'va prajāpatiç ca trayastriṅçāv iti.*

15. *āsandī co 'khā ca çikyaṁ ca rukmapāçaç cā 'gniç ca rukmaç ca tat ṣat*, 'The seat and the fire-pan and the netting and the sling of the gold plate and the fire and the gold plate,—these (make up) six'. ÇB. 6. 7. 1. 27.

16. *catvāraḥ pādāç catvāry anūcyāni çikyaṁ ca rukmapāçaç ca yad u kiṁ ca rajjavyaṁ çikyaṁ tad anū 'khāgnī rukmas tat trayodaça*, 'The four feet, the four boards (of the seat) and the netting and the sling of the gold plate or whatever corded netting (there is, and) along (with it) the fire-pan and the fire (and) the gold plate, —these (make up) thirteen'. ÇB. 6. 7. 1. 28.

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17. *trīṇi gāyatrīçatāni te dve bṛhatīçate, saptatiṁ anuṣṭubhaḥ saptatiṁ paṅktīç catvāriṅçacchataṁ bṛhatīnāṁ, trayāṇāṁ triṣṭupchatānāṁ gāyatrīçatam uddhṛtya tāni trīṇi bṛhatīçatāni, tac ca gāyatrīçataṁ jagatīçataṁ ca te dve bṛhatīçate, pañcāçat triṣṭubhaḥ pañcāçad uṣṇihaḥ çataṁ bṛhatyaḥ saṁpadyante*, 'Three hundred Gāyatrīs,—they are (equivalent to) two hundred Bṛhatīs; seventy Anuṣṭubhs (and) seventy Paṅktīs are (equivalent to) one hundred and forty Bṛhatīs; subtracting one hundred Gāyatrīs from three hundred Triṣṭubhs,—that is (equivalent to) three hundred Bṛhatīs; these one hundred Gāyatrīs and one hundred Jagatīs,—they are (equivalent to) two hundred Bṛhatīs; fifty Triṣṭubhs (and) fifty Uṣṇihs make up one hundred Bṛhatīs'. KB. 18. 3.

18. *prajāpatir yāṁ prathamām āhutim ajuhot sa hutvā yatra nyamṛṣṭa tato vikaṅkataḥ samabhavat*, 'Prajāpati,—the first oblation which he offered,—where he, having made the oblation, washed (his hands) thence the Vikaṅkata-tree sprang up'. ÇB. 6. 6. 3. 1.

The resumptive *sa* is due to the intervening relative clause *yām . . . ajuhot*: cf. below § 11, Ex. 1 A, Rem.; Ex. 8 B, Rem.

19. *açva ṛṣabho vṛṣṇir bastaḥ sā dakṣiṇā, vṛṣatvāya*, 'A horse, a bull, a ram, a he-goat,—these are the sacrificial fee, for the sake of (attaining) virility'. TS. 2. 3. 7. 4.

20. *etena [sūktena] ha vā indro 'gastyo marutas te samajānata*, 'By means of this (hymn) Indra, Agastya, (and) the Maruts,—they agreed'. AB. 5. 16. 14.

21. *tasmād dhā 'py etarhi bhūyān iva naktaṁ sa yāvanmātram ivā 'pakramya* (Bibl. Ind. with the mss. *prakramya*) *bibheti*, 'Therefore even now, even a strong (man) at night,—he, going off even for a short distance, is afraid'. GB. 2. 5. 1.

The parallel passage AB. 4. 5. 1 without prolepsis: *tasmād dhā 'py etarhi naktaṁ yāvanmātram ivai 'vā 'pakramya bibheti.*

For *iva* = *eva* cf. Aufrecht, AB., p. 430, 26—28; Eggeling, SBE., 44, p. 152, note 3 on ÇB. 12. 2. 2. 11; Keith, JRAS. 1908, p. 1193, note 1; 1909, p. 754, note 6; Rigveda Brāhmaṇas (Harvard Oriental Series XXV) p. 89, § 7, no. 25. And contrast ÇB. 14. 6. 11. 2 (= BĀU. 4. 2. 2) Mādh. rec. *parokṣeṇe 'va* with Kāṇv. rec. *parokṣeṇai 'va.*

22. *devapātraṁ vā eṣa yad vaṣaṭkāraḥ | tad yathā pātra uddhṛtya prayached evaṁ tad, atha yat purā vaṣaṭkārāj juhuyād ya-*

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thā 'dho bhūmau nidigdhaṁ tad amuyā syād evaṁ tat, tasmād u saha vai 'va vaṣaṭkāreṇa juhuyād vaṣaṭkṛte vā || *tad yathā yonau retaḥ siñced evaṁ tad, atha yat purā vaṣaṭkārāj juhuyād yathā 'yonau* (Weber's text omits the avagraha) *retaḥ siktaṁ tad amuyā syād evaṁ tat, tasmād u saha vai 'va vaṣaṭkāreṇa juhuyād vaṣaṭkṛte vā*, 'The Vaṣaṭ-call is the vessel of the gods; it is just as if one were to offer (food) ladling it out of a vessel; now if he were to make the offering before the Vaṣaṭ-call, as (food) sticking down on the ground,—(as) that would be useless, even so (the offering would be useless); therefore he should make the offering either along with the Vaṣaṭ-call or after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered: it is just as if one were to pour seed into a womb; now if he were to make the offering before the Vaṣaṭ-call, as seed poured into a non-womb,—(as) that would be useless, even so (the offering would be useless); therefore he should make the offering either along with the Vaṣaṭ-call or after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered'. ÇB. 1. 7. 2. 13—14.

Γ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads:**

22 A. *cakṣuḥ çrotraṁ mano vāk prāṇas tā etā pañca devatā imaṁ viṣṭāḥ puruṣam, pañco hai 'vai 'tā ayaṁ viṣṭaḥ puruṣaḥ*, 'Sight, hearing, mind, speech, breath,—these are the five divinities which have entered man; and this man has entered these five (divinities)'. Ait. Ār. 1. 3. 8 (p. 92, 13 Keith).

22 B. *pṛthivī vāyur ākāça āpo jyotīṅṣī 'ty eṣa vā ātmo 'kthaṁ pañcavidham*, 'The Earth, the Wind, the Ethereal Space, the Waters, the Lights,—these are the Self, the five-fold Uktha'. Ait. Ār. 2. 3. 1 (p. 111, 13—14 Keith).

22 C. *tasya* [*sāmnaḥ*] *trayy eva vidyā hiṅkāro, 'gnir vāyur asāv āditya eṣa prastāva, ima eva lokā ādiḥ*, . . ., *çraddhā yajño dakṣiṇā eṣa udgītho, diço 'vāntaradiça ākāça eṣa pratihāra, āpaḥ prajā oṣadhaya eṣa upadravaç, candramā nakṣatrāṇi pitara etan nidhanam*, 'Of this (Sāman) the threefold knowledge is the Hiṅkāra; Agni, Vāyu, (and) yonder Sun,—they are the Prastāva; these worlds are the Ādi; faith, the sacrifice, (and) the sacrificial gifts,—they are the Udgītha; the quarters, the intermediate quarters, (and) the ethereal space,—they are the Pratihāra; the waters, progeny,

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(and) the plants,—they are the Upadrava; the Moon, the Constellations, (and) the Fathers,—they are the Nidhana'. JUB. 1. 19. 2.

Note that the prolepsis is confined to subject nominatives which consist of a series of nouns, while single nouns (*trayī vidyā, ime lokāḥ*) show the normal construction. Contrast *ima eva lokā ādiḥ* with Chānd. Up. 2. 21. 1 *traya ime lokāḥ sa prastāvaḥ*.

22 D. *trayī vidyā hiṅkāras, traya ime lokāḥ sa prastāvo, 'gnir vāyur ādityaḥ sa udgītho, nakṣatrāṇi vayāṅsi marīcayaḥ sa pratihāraḥ, sarpā gandharvāḥ pitaras tan nidhanam*, 'The threefold knowledge is the Hiṅkāra; these three worlds,—they are the Prastāva; Agni, Vāyu, (and) Āditya, —they are the Udgītha; the constellations, the birds, (and) the rays,—they are the Pratihāra; the serpents, the Gandharvas, (and) the Fathers,—they are the Nidhana.' Chānd. Up. 2. 21. 1.

See the note to the preceding example, 22 C.

22 E. *so 'sāv ādityas sa eṣa eva ud, agnir eva gī, candramā eva tham, sāmāny eva ud, ṛca eva gī, yajūṅṣy eva tham ity adhidevatam | athā 'dhyātmaṁ : prāṇa eva ud, vāg eva gī, mana eva tham*, 'Yonder Sun,—that same is (the syllable) ud, Agni is (the syllable) gī, the Moon is (the syllable) tham; the Sāmans are (the syllable) ud, the Rig-verses are (the syllable) gī, the Yajuses are (the syllable) tham; so with regard to the divinities: now with regard to the Self: Breath is (the syllable) ud, speech is (the syllable) gī, mind is (the syllable) tham'. JUB. 1. 57. 7.

Note that only the first item (*so 'sāv ādityas sa eṣa eva ut*) shows prolepsis.

22 F. *sudakṣiṇo ha vai kṣaimiḥ prācīnaçālir jābālau te ha sabrahmacāriṇa āsuḥ*, 'Sudakṣiṇa Kṣaimi, Prācīnaçāli, (and) the two Jābālas,—they were fellow-students'. JUB. 3. 7. 2.

22 G. *prācīnaçāla aupamanyavaḥ satyayajñaḥ paulușir indradyumno bhāllaveyo janaḥ çārkarākṣyo buḍila āçvatarāçvis te hai 'te mahāçālā mahāçrotriyāḥ sametya mīmāṅsāṁ cakruḥ*, Prācīnaçāla Aupamanyava, Satyayajña Pauluṣi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Çārkarākṣya, (and) Buḍila Āçvatarāçvi—these same great householders (and) great scholars, having come together, deliberated'. Chānd. Up. 5. 11. 1.

22 H. *sac cā 'sac cā 'sac ca sac ca vāk ca manaç ca manaç ca* (the mss. omit the second *manaç ca*) *vāk ca cakṣuç ca çrotraṁ ca*

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çrotraṁ ca cakṣuç ca çraddhā ca tapaç ca tapaç ca çraddhā ca tāni ṣoḍaça 'Existence and non-existence, non-existence and existence, speech and mind, mind and speech, sight and hearing, hearing and sight, faith and penance, penance and faith,—these are sixteen'. JUB. 4. 25. 1.

22 I. *ṛg gāthā kumbyā tan mitaṁ yajur nigado vṛthāvāk tad amitam*, 'A Ṛc, a Gāthā, (and) a Kumbyā,—these are measured; a Yajus, a Nigada, (and) casual speech,—these are unmeasured'. Ait. Ār. 2. 3. 6 (p. 115, 9 Keith).

22 J. *tat puruṣo 'mānavaḥ | sa enān brahma gamayati*, 'Then a non-human person,—he makes them go to the Brahman'. Chānd. Up. 4. 15. 5—6; 5. 10. 2.

With the exception of the Ānandāçrama edition all the editions read *mānavaḥ* without avagraha, and the Commentary of Rāgavendra also omits the avagraha. Çaṅkara's and Rāmānuja's Commentaries both read *amānavaḥ*. Boehtlingk in his edition of the Chānd. Up. suggested the emendation to *mānasaḥ*, comparing BĀU. 2. 5. 7 and 6. 1. 18 M. = 6. 2. 15 K. but abandons this emendation in favour of *puruṣo 'mānavaḥ*, Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss. 1897, p. 87. Deussen regarded the *puruṣo mānasaḥ* of BĀU. 6. 1. 18 M. (= ÇB. 14. 9. 1. 18) = 6. 2. 15 K. as 'Correctur des nicht mehr verstandenen *puruṣo 'mānavaḥ*' of Chānd. Up. and it is noteworthy that both Çaṅkara and Rāmānuja on Vedānta Sūtra 4. 3. 4—6 have *amānavaḥ* not only for Chand. Up. but also in the quotation BĀU. 6. 2. 15 K.

Boehtlingk's objection to the resumptive *sa* 'das hier gar nichts zu thun hat' (p. 102, 29) appears to be groundless in view of the examples here collected.

§ 10. The Proleptic Subject Nominative is accompanied by a Participle.

The examples where the Participle is not further qualified are given in Group A (Ex. 1—8). In Group B (Ex. 9—18) are listed the instances where the Participle is further qualified, either (a) by a dependent object accusative (Ex. 9—16), or (b) by an instrumental expressing the agent (Ex. 17). In Group C (Ex. 18) the Participle is the present participle of the √*man* with a predicative nominative.

As regards the tense of the Participle, the present tense preponderates (Ex. 1—9; 11; 14—18); once a future participle occurs (Ex. 10); twice the middle perfect participle is found (Ex. 12; 13), once the past participle (Ex. 8 B).

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Caland, Auswahl, p. 48, no. 40, note 2 (to JB. 1. 147, see § 11, Ex. 8 below) regards the present participle *caran* in passages like Ex. 3—8 below as having the function of a finite verb; but I cannot persuade myself that, with the exception of the past participle in *-ta*, participles occur in the Brāhmaṇa prose in the clear rôle of finite verbs, cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax § 219, p. 393 (last line)—394, 7; Speijer, Ved. und Sanskrit Syntax, § 287, p. 92, 4; Sanskrit Syntax, § 9, Remark, p. 5; Keith, ZDMG. 63 (1909), p. 346—349. Delbrück rightly emphasizes the close similarity of such proleptic nominative constructions with the proleptic accusative constructions like ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 16 (below § 32, Ex. 6). A proleptic construction like PB. 15. 3. 25 *dīrghaçravā rājanya ṛṣir jyog aparuddho 'çanāyaṅç caran sa etad dairghaçravasam* [*sāma*] *apaçyat* (below Ex. 6) is closely paralleled by the normal conjunct arrangement PB. 9. 2. 19 *devātithiḥ saputro 'çanāyaṅç carann araṇya urvārūṇy avindat*, 'Devātithi, accompanied by his son, walking hungry in the forest found cucumbers'; cf. also the proleptic construction K. 21. 6 (p. 45, 2) with its normal conjunct parallels given below Ex. 14.

At PB. 13. 4. 17 the text should read: *tān adhinidhāya paricāry acarad* (Bibl. Ind. *paricaryyacaran*) *vardhayaṅs, tān vardhayitvā 'bravīt* . . ., cf. JAOS., 19, p. 125 and the Commentary: *tān pṛthuraçmyādīn adhinidhāya rathe āropya vardhayan poṣayan paryacarat* (Bibl. Ind. *paryacaran*) *paricaryāṁ kṛtavān* . . . *Paricārī* is adjective as taken by PW. s. *paricārin*, and *acarat* may well have its full verbal force: 'He went as their care-taker, tending them', cf. Chānd. Up. 4. 4. 2, *bahv ahaṁ carantī paricāriṇī yauvane tvām alabhe* 'Wandering a good deal about in my youth as a servant-woman I conceived thee'. The order of words makes the construction of *acarat* as auxiliary verb with *vardhayan* (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 390; Whitney, Gr. § 1075, b) less likely.

The perfect middle participle *ījānaḥ* at TS. 6. 6. 7. 4 *yātayāmāni vā etasya chandāṅsi ya ījānaḥ*, 'The metres of him who has sacrificed are exhausted', does not stand in lieu of a finite verb, but is a predicate participle with the substantive verb *bhavati* or *asti* omitted, cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 218, 1, p. 392 where instances of the future participle with √*bhū* and √*as* are given.

For the finite use of participles in Mantras cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 219, p. 393 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 54, p. 170, Anm. 1; Rigveda Noten, I, p. 428 col. 2 s. 'Partizip statt Verb. finitum'; II, p. 379, col. 1 s. 'Partizip ohne Hauptverb'; Neisser, BB. 27, p. 274; Keith, ZDMG., 63, p. 346.

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For a pendent nominative with present participle anticipating an accusative (JUB. 3. 29. 7) see below *Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads*, § 20 A, 5 A, Ex. 1 A.

For an absolute nominative with present participle before the exclamatory *ait* (= *et*), AB. 2. 13. 6 see below § 26, Ex. 8.

§ 11. Examples:

A. 1. *paçur vai niyamānaḥ sa mṛtyuṁ prāpaçyat*, 'The victim being led (to be slaughtered)—it saw death before (it)'. AB. 2. 6. 8.

This passage is cited by Speijer, Ved. und Sanskrit Syntax, § 287, p. 91 among 'anacolouthic constructions'.

⌈ Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

1 A. *atha ha prāṇa uccikramiṣant sa yathā suhayaḥ paḍbīçaçañkūnt saṁkhided evam itarān prāṇānt samakhidat*, 'Then breath, getting ready to depart,—it, as a fine steed would pull out the thether-pegs, even so tore out the other breaths (= organs of sense)'. Chānd. Up. 5. 1. 12.

The parallel passage BĀU. 6. 2. 13 Mādhy. = 6. 1. 13 Kāṇv. without prolepsis: *atha ha prāṇa utkramiṣyan yathā mahāsuhayaḥ saindhavaḥ paḍbīçaçañkūnt saṁvṛhed evaṁ hai 've 'mān prāṇānt saṁvavarha*. Contrast with the resumptive pronoun before the *yathā*-clause the pronominal resumption after a *yathā* clause § 41, Ex. 2; § 45, Ex. 2, and after a relative clause § 9, Ex. 18 For √ *khid* + *sam* cf. TS. 6. 6. 11. 1 *sa yajñānāṁ ṣoḍaçadhe 'ndriyaṁ vīryam ātmānam abhi samakhidat*, 'He tore out strength (and) vigour of the sacrifices in sixteen parts for himself'. ⌋

2. *viçve vai devās tṛtīyasavanabhāgās santas* (so Schroeder's certain emend., with Kap. S., for *santap*) *te prātassavanam abhyakāmayanta*, 'The All Gods, being sharers in the third pressing,—they desired the morning pressing'. K. 28. 2 (p. 155, 3).

⌈ Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

2 A. *te vā ete pañcā 'nye pañcā 'nye daça santas tat kṛtam*, 'The one five (and) the other five being ten,—they are (equivalent to) the Kṛta-throw'. Chānd. Up. 4. 3. 8.

Cf. Lüders, Das Würfelspiel, p. 38 and 61; SB. d. kgl. preuß. Ak. d. Wiss. 1906, X, p. 288: 'diese, fünf auf der einen, fünf auf der andern Seite, die zusammen zehn ausmachen, die sind das Kṛta'. ⌋

3. *sindhukṣid vai rājanyarṣir jyog aparuddhaç caran sa etat saindhukṣitam [sāma] apaçyat*, 'Sindhukṣit, the royal sage, wandering

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for a long time expelled (from his realm),—he saw this Saindhukṣita (-Sāman)'. PB. 12. 12. 6.

For √ *rudh* + *apa* = 'expel from one's kingdom' cf. AB. 8. 10. 7 *rāṣṭrād aparudhyamānaḥ*; ÇB. 12. 9. 3. 1; 3 *daçapuruṣamrājyād aparuddhaḥ*; AV. 3. 3. 4 *anyakṣetre aparuddhaṁ carantam*. Cf. √ *bhū* + *apa*, § 73, Ex. 13 and cf. for the phrase *aparuddhaç carati* Kielhorn's note to verse 14 of the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakeçin II in Epigr. Ind. VI, p. 9 and his note in JRAS 1907, II, p. 1062 f.

4. *sindhukṣid vai bhārato rājā jyog aparuddhaç caran so 'kāmayatā: 'va sva okasi gaccheyam iti*, 'King Sindhukṣit Bhārata wandering for a long time expelled (from his realm),—he desired: "May I return into my own home".' JB. 3. 82 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 238).

For √ *gam* + *ava* = 'return, be restored to one's realm' cf. TS. 2. 3. 1; K. 11, 6; MS. 2. 2. 1 where the verb in frequently used in connection with the ritual for the restoration of an expelled (*aparuddha*) ruler. Further K. 27. 5 (p. 145, 4) = 28. 1 (p. 152, 4); K. 27. 5 (p. 145, 8) = 28. 1 (p. 152, 7); K. 28. 1 (p. 152, 9); AB. 8. 10. 7; PB. 2. 3. 7. In all these passages √ *gam* + *ava* governs the accusative: *viçam*; *anaparudhyam*; *rāṣṭram*; *kṣatram*; *devaviçām*; *manuṣyaviçām*; *rājyam* (cf. also PB. 4. 3. 7 *adhvānam*; ÇB. 14. 1. 1. 4 *udṛcam*). For the locative cf. the Yajus K. 11. 6 (p. 151, 17) *imam amum āmuṣyāmyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram amuṣyāṁ viçy avagamayata*.

5. *vītahavya āçrāyaso jyog aparuddhaç caran so 'kāmayatā: 'va sva okasi gaccheyam iti*, 'Vītahavya Āçrāyasa wandering for a long time expelled (from his realm),—he desired: "May I return into my own home".' JB. 1. 214 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 82).

Cf. without prolepsis PB. 9. 1. 9 *vītahavyaḥ çrāyaso jyog niruddha etat [vaitahavyam] sāmā 'paçyat, so 'vagacchat pratyatiṣṭhat*.

6. *dīrghaçravā vai rājanya ṛsir jyog aparuddho 'çanāyaṅç caran sa etad dairghaçravasam [sāma] apaçyat*, 'Dīrghaçravas, the royal sage, wandering for a long time expelled (from his realm and) hungry,—he saw this Dairghaçravasa [-Sāman]'. PB. 15. 3. 25.

7. *kaṇvo vai nārṣado jyog apratiṣṭhitaç caran so 'kāmayata: pratiṣṭheyam iti*, 'Kaṇva Nārṣada wandering for a long time without firm support,—he desired: "May I gain firm support".' JB. 1. 216 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 82).

8. *nodhā vai kākṣīvato jyog apratiṣṭhitaç caran so 'kāmayata: pratiṣṭheyam iti*, 'Nodhas Kākṣīvata wandering for a long time without firm support,—he desired: "May I gain firm support".' JB. 1. 147 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 48).

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8 B. *so 'yaṁ viṣṇur glānaḥ | chandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛhīto 'gniḥ purastān nā 'pakramaṇam āsa sa tata evau 'ṣadhīnām mūlāny upamumloca || te ha devā ūcuḥ: kva nu viṣṇur abhūt kva nu yajño 'bhūd iti, te ho 'cuç: chandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛhīto 'gniḥ purastān nā 'pakramaṇam asty atrai 'vā 'nvicchate 'ti,* 'This same Viṣṇu bring tired out,—he was enclosed on all sides by the metres, Agni was in front, there was no escape—, het hereupon hid among the roots of the plants. The gods said: "What hath become of Viṣṇu? What hath become of the sacrifice?" They said: "He is enclosed on all sides by the metres, Agni is in front, there is no escape, search (for him) right here".' ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 8—9.

Eggeling takes *glānaḥ*, Delbrück, Altind. Synt., p. 394, 37—395, 1, both *glānaḥ* and *chandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛhītaḥ* as equivalent to a finite narrative tense. The singularity of such a use of the past participle was pointed out by Keith, ZDMG. 63 (1909) p. 348—349 who correctly proposes taking *sa 'yaṁ viṣṇur glānaç chandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛhītaḥ* as proleptic subject to *upamumloca* while he regards *agniḥ . . . apakramaṇam āsa* as a parenthesis. I differ from him in taking only *so 'yaṁ viṣṇur glānaḥ* as proleptic subject nominative, while *chandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛhītaḥ* with *agniḥ purastāt* and *nā 'pakramaṇam āsa* forms a trimembral parenthesis after which the subject is resumed by *sa* (cf. § 9, Ex. 18 Rem. and § 11, Ex. 1, A Rem.). This seems to be demanded by paragraph 9 where the same three items are grouped together (8 *chandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛhīto 'gniḥ purastān nā 'pakramaṇam āsa* :: 9 *chandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛhīto 'gniḥ purastān nā 'pakramaṇam asti*).

The Commentary takes *apakramaṇaṁ nā 'sa = na jagāma* as finite verb of the first clause and appears to construe *so 'yaṁ viṣṇur glānaḥ* as absolute nominative : *glānasya tasya viṣṇor apagamanaṁ nā 'sa.*

B. a. 9. *devā ha vai yajñaṁ tanvānās te 'surarakṣasebhya āsañgād bibhayāṁ cakruḥ*, 'The gods being engaged in performing the sacrifice,—they were afraid of the Asuras and Rakṣases lest they should cling to them'. ÇB. 1. 1. 2. 3; 1. 2. 1. 6 (cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 219, p. 394, 1); 1. 3. 1. 5; 1. 4. 4. 8; 1. 6. 1. 11; 3. 3. 3. 16; 3. 3. 4. 2; 3. 5. 3. 15; 3. 6. 1. 27; 3. 7. 2. 2; 3. 9. 4. 6; 4. 1. 1. 6; 4. 2. 4. 19; 4. 6. 6. 1.

For *āsañga* cf. ÇB. 1. 5. 3. 21 ; 4. 1. 1. 6 *yadi no 'surarakṣasāny āsajeyuḥ* ; 1. 6 1. 12 *sa yady enān purastād asurarakṣasāny āsisañkṣan*; 15 *yady enaṁ purastād asurarakṣasāny āsisañkṣanti* ; 3. 6. 1. 27 ; 4. 2. 4. 19 *tān dakṣiṇato 'surarakṣasāny āsejuḥ.*

The phrase *asurarakṣasebhya āsañgād bibhayāṁ cakruḥ* in the fourteen ÇB. passages cited above appears to be the only absolutely certain instance in the Brāh-

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maṇa prose of √ *bhī* with a double, paratactical ablative of both the person and the action feared. The case form is ambiguous in *agneḥ*, TS. 5. 2. 5. 2; 5. 2. 10· 2; K. 20. 3 (p. 21, 4); 20. 9 (28, 8), *iyaṁ [pṛthivī] vā agner atidāhād abibhet*, 'This (earth) was afraid of Agni, lest he should burn (her) excessively', where Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 69, p. 111 takes *agneḥ* as ablative, probably correctly, since here also Agni is the person and *atidāha* the action feared. Contrast the ablative of the action and the genitive of the person in the following instances: ÇB. 4. 3. 3. 11 *apakramād u hai 'vai 'ṣām etad bibhayāṁ cakāra*; K. 29. 9 (p. 179, 6) *teṣām apakramād abibhet*, 'He was afraid lest they might go away'; KB. 7. 4 *tasya kṣayād bibhemi*, 'I am afraid lest it perish'; MS. 3. 7. 10 (p. 90, 3—4) *te vā anyo 'nyasyā 'bhidrohād abibhayuḥ*, 'They were afraid lest one might deceive the other'; AB. 5. 15. 9 *prasraṅsād vā antasya bibhāya*, 'He is afraid (perfect = present) lest the end may become loose'; AB. 4. 19. 2; K. 33. 6 (p. 31, 11) *teṣāṁ vai devāḥ* (K. *devā vai*) *saptadaçānāṁ pravlayād abibhayuḥ*, 'The gods were afraid lest these Saptadaças should collapse'; PB. 8. 9. 21 *sa tayor [sāmnoḥ] aprayogād abibhet*, 'He was afraid lest these two (Sāmans) might not be properly applied'; JUB. 3. 19. 2 *te manuṣyāṇām anvāgamād bibhyataḥ* . . ., They, fearing lest men should go after (them) . . .; TB. 1. 2. 4. 2 *devā vā ādityasya suvargasya lokasya parāco 'tipādād abibhayuḥ*; K. 33. 6 (p. 31, 9) *tasya [ādityasya] parāco 'tipādād abibhayuḥ*; PB. 4. 5. 11 *tasya [ādityasya] parācīnātipādād abibhayuḥ*; AB. 4. 18. 5; 6 *tasya [ādityasya] parāco 'tipātād* (so, with *t*) *abibhayuḥ*; TB. 1. 2. 4. 2 *devā vā ādityasya suvargasya lokasyā 'vāco 'vapādād abibhayuḥ*; PB. 4. 5. 9; K. 33. 6 (ter, p. 31, 8; 14; 20) *devā vā ādityasya svargāl lokād avapādād abibhayuḥ*; AB. 4. 18. 5; 6; 4. 19. 3 *tasya vai devā ādityasya svargāl lokād avapātād* (so, with *t*) *abibhayuḥ* 'The gods were afraid lest this Āditya might fall from the heavenly world'. Here belong also the ambiguous case-forms TB. 1. 5. 12. 1 (bis) *tasyā vāco 'vapādād abibhayuḥ*, and K. 27. 7 (p. 146, 12—13) *agnir vā āhutyā atidravād abibhet*, 'Agni was afraid lest the oblation might run beyond'.

Parallel to the use of the Proleptic Nominative in the foregoing example is the use of the Proleptic accusative § 32, Ex. 6 (cf. § 10; Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 394, 5).

10. *devā ha vai saṁgrāmaṁ saṁnidhāsyantas te ho 'cuh*: . . ., 'The gods being about to prepare for the contest,—they said: . . . .' ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 18.

11. *prajāpatir vai prajās sisṛkṣamāṇas sa dvitīyaṁ mithunaṁ nā 'vindata*, 'Prajāpati being desirous of creating offspring,—he did not find a second, a (fit object for) copulation'. K. 13. 7 (p. 189, 14); GB. 2. 2. 1 (where the reading of the mss. and of the Bibl. Ind. *samṛkṣamāṇaḥ* should of course be corrected to *sisṛkṣamāṇaḥ*; for the *nvāvindat* of the mss. and of the Bibl. Ind. Gaastra's text reads *nā 'vindat* which should perhaps be further changed to the middle as K. reads; cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 253, 25 ff.).

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12. *prajāpatiḥ prajās sasṛjānas sa vyasraṅsata*, 'Prajāpati having created offspring,—he became disjointed'. JB. 2. 128 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 164); 409 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 164).

Contrast the normal conjunct construction e. g. PB. 15. 8. 2 = 16. 5. 13 *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata, sa dugdho riricāno 'manyata*; and compare below § 12, Ex. 3.

13. *vāg vai yajñaṁ sasṛjānā sā 'çanāyat* (the mss. *sāmānyat*) *sā 'pipāsat*, 'Speech having created the sacrifice,—she was hungry, she was thirsty'. JB. 3. 312.

The emendation is based on JB. 1. 252 *na ha vā açanāyati na pipāsati*; 2. 6; 382 *nā 'çanāyati na pipāsati*.

14. *aṅgiraso vai svargaṁ lokaṁ yantas te 'jāyāṁ gharmaṁ prāsiñcan*, 'The Aṅgirases going to the heavenly world,—they poured forth the cauldron upon the she-goat'. K. 21. 6 (p. 45, 2).

The two parallel texts have the normal conjunct construction: TS. 5. 4. 3. 2—3 *aṅgirasaḥ suvargaṁ lokaṁ yàntaḥ | ajāyāṁ gharmaṁ prāsiñcan*; MS. 3. 3. 4 (p. 37, 7) *aṅgiraso vai svàr yánto* (Schroeder's text *svaryánto*, see the note to Ex. 15) *'jāyāṁ gharmaṁ prāsiñcan*.

15. *aṅgiraso vai svargaṁ lokaṁ yantas te mekhalās saṁnyakiraṅs, tataç çara udatiṣṭhat*, 'The Aṅgirases going to the heavenly world,—they scattered (their) girdles about; thence arose the Çara-grass'. K. 23. 4 (p. 78, 3).

The two parallel passages have the normal, conjunct construction: TS. 6. 1. 3. 3 *aṅgirasaḥ suvargaṁ lokaṁ yanta ūrjaṁ vyabhajanta, tato yad atyaçiṣyata te çarā abhavan*; MS. 3. 6. 7 (p. 69, 5) *aṅgiraso vai svàr yánto* (Schroeder's text *svaryánto*) *yatra mekhalāḥ saṁnyāsaṅs tataḥ çaro 'jāyata*.

Here (MS. 3. 6. 7, p. 69, 5) as well as at MS. 1. 9. 5 (p. 135, 6); 3. 3. 4 (p. 37, 8); and 3. 9. 6 (p. 123, 9) Schroeder's text, with the manuscripts, reads *svaryánto* (so, and not as Caland, WZKM., 23, p. 55 prints *sváryanto*) as compound. Such a compound would be without parallel (cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 193, § 82, b) and an emendation to *svàr yánto* seems necessary in spite of the concurrent testimony of the mss.

The entry *svaryánt* in PW. col. 1455 and pw. p. 240, col. 3 for VS. 17. 68 is due to an oversight. At VS. 17. 68 the accent marks *svar yanto* signify *svàr yánto*, cf. Weber's Introduction, p. X, where *yo 'sau ca* = *yò 'sáu ca* is cited, cf. the parallel texts AV. 4. 14. 14; TĀ. 1. 27. 5; ÇB. 9. 2. 3. 27; TS. 4. 6. 5. 2; 5. 4. 7. 1; and *svàr yató* VS. 11. 3; ÇB. 6. 3. 1. 15; TS. 4. 1. 1. 1; MS. 2. 7. 1 (p. 73, 12). Strangely enough the Commentary on AV. 19. 13. 1 and 15. 4 takes *svàr yát* against accent, Pada-text, and sense as a compound, glossing *-yat* by *gacchat*.

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16. *ādityā vai svargaṁ lokaṁ yantas te 'ṅgiraso 'smiṅl loke saha yajñena pratyauhan*, 'The Ādityas going to the heavenly world, —they pushed (= kept) the Aṅgirases back in this world together with the sacrifice'. K. 28. 3 (p. 156, 11).

b) 17. *devā vā asurair hanyamānās te prajāpatim upādhāvan*, 'The gods being on the point of being slain by the Asuras,—they had recourse to Prajāpati.

C. 18. *priyamedhā ha vai bharadvājā yajñavido manyamānās te ha sma na kaṁ cana vedavidam upayanti*, 'The Priyamedhas (and) Bharadvājas considering themselves experts in the sacrifice,— they were not wont to go to any Veda-expert (for instruction)'. GB. 1. 3. 15.

§ 12. 3. The Proleptic Subject Nominative accompanied by a Gerund (on which an Object Accusative depends).

1. *devā vā asurān yajñam abhijitya te prabāhug grahān gṛhṇānā āyan*, 'The gods having wrested the sacrifice from the Asuras,—they continually drew the cups in a straight line'. K. 29. 6 (p. 174, 3).

2. *indro vṛtraṁ hatvā sa etam āgneyam [graham] avindata*, 'Indra having slain Vṛtra,—he found this (cup) sacred to Agni'. K. 29. 7 (p. 175, 16).

3. *prajāpatiḥ prajās sṛṣṭvā sa riricāno 'manyata*, 'Prajāpati having created creatures,—he considered himself exhausted'. K. 22. 1 (p. 57, 18); 29. 9 (p. 178, 7).

The parallel passages MS. 3. 4. 6 (p. 53, 3) and 4. 7. 8 (p. 103, 11) have the regular conjunct construction, omitting the resumptive pronoun *sa*. The parallel passage TS. 6. 6. 5. 1 has two coordinated clauses: *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata, sa riricāno 'manyata*, cf. PB. 15. 8. 2 = 16. 5. 13 *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata, sa dugdho riricāno 'manyata*. In a similar passage KB. 12. 8 reads: *prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā riricāna ivā 'manyata*. Cf. above § 11, Ex. 12.

4. *indro vai vṛtraṁ hatvā sa imāṅl lokān abhyajayat*, 'Indra having slain Vṛtra,—he won these worlds'. K. 30. 5 (p. 187, 12).

5. *indro vṛtraṁ hatvā 'surān parābhāvya sa imāṅl lokān abhyajayat*, 'Indra having slain Vṛtra, having defeated the Asuras,— he won these worlds'. TB. 1. 2. 3. 3.

6. *indro vai vṛtraṁ hatvā sa mahendro 'bhavat*, 'Indra having slain Vṛtra,—he became Great Indra'. K. 28. 3 (p. 155, 17).

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The parallel passage MS. 4. 6. 8 (p. 91, 15) has two paratactical clauses: *indro vai vṛtram ahan, . . ., sa mahendro 'bhavat.*

7. *indro vṛtraṁ hatvā 'surān parābhāvya so 'māvāsyāṁ pratyagacchat*, 'Indra having slain Vṛtra, having defeated the Asuras,—he returned to the night of the new moon'. TB. 1. 3. 10. 1.

8. *tā [prajāḥ] anyatrā 'nnam avittvā tāḥ prajāpatim evai 'kadhā 'nnādyāya 'bhisamāvartanta*, 'These (creatures) finding food nowhere else,—they all at once turned together to Prajāpati for food-eating'. K. 37. 1 (p. 84, 15).

The parallel passage TB. 2. 7. 9. 1 without prolepsis: *tā anyatrā 'nnādyam avittva prajāpatiṁ prajā upāvartanta.*

9. *sa [prajāpatiḥ] daçadhā 'tmānaṁ vidhāya mithunaṁ kṛtvā sa āyatanam aicchat*, 'He (Prajāpati) having divided himself in ten parts, having copulated,—he desired a resting place'. K. 9. 11 (p. 112, 13).

The parallel passage MS. 1. 9. 3 (p. 132, 9) without prolepsis: *sa daçadhā 'tmānaṁ vidhāya mithunaṁ kṛtvā 'yatanam aicchat.*

10. *tena devās saṁvatsaraṁ kalpayitvā svargaṁ lokaṁ prajñāya ta etad yajñasya jyotir upariṣṭād adadhuḥ*, 'The gods having thereby ordered the year, having discerned (a way to) the heavenly world,—they placed this light of the sacrifice on high'. K. 28. 2 (p. 154, 18).

11. *sa [prajāpatiḥ] prajā asṛjata, tā asya prajāḥ sṛṣṭā(ḥ) stanāv evā 'bhipadya tās tataḥ saṁbabhūvuḥ*, 'He (Prajāpati) created creatures; these creatures created by him, having recourse to (their) breasts,—they thereby sustained life'. ÇB. 2. 5. 1. 3.

12. *ahorātre devā abhijitya te vajram eva paridhim akurvata*, 'The gods having won day and night,—they made the thunder-bolt the enclosure'. JB. 1. 209. 4 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 163).

13. *ahorātre devā abhijitya te 'mum ādityaṁ savanair eva pratyañcam anayan*, 'The gods having won day and night,—they led yonder sun westward by means of the pressings'. JB. 1. 212. 3 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 165).

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§ 13. 4. **The Proleptic Subject Nominative accompanied by both a Participle and a Gerund.**

1. *devā vā asurān hatvā vairadeyād īṣamāṇās te diço 'mohayan*, 'The gods having slain the Asuras (and) fleeing form the payment of wergeld,—they confused the quarters'. K. 23. 8 (p. 83, 10).

2. *devā vā asurān hatvā vairadeyād īṣamāṇās ta ṛtūn saṁvatsaram amohayan*, 'The gods having slain the Asuras (and) fleeing from the payment of wergeld,—they confused the seasons, the year'. K. 28. 2 (p. 154, 1).

3. *devā vā asurān hatvā vairadeyād īṣamāṇās te yajñaṁ madhyataḥ prāviçan*, 'The gods having slain the Asuras (and) fleeing from the payment of wergeld,—they entered the sacrifice in the middle'. K. 28. 3 (p. 156, 9).

4. *ādityā vā asurān hatvā vairadeyād īṣamāṇās te devān prāviçan*, 'The Ādityas having slain the Asuras (and) fleeing from the payment of wergeld,—they betook themselves to the gods'. K. 28. 6 (p. 160, 6).

For *vairadeya* = 'payment of wergeld' cf. Roth, ZDMG., 41, p. 675; Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, II, p. 331.

Here belong also the following two passages from JB., the text of which is unfortunately corrupt:

5. *kāṇvāyanās sattrād utthāya yānta* (Caland's text and Whitney's transcript read *utthāyā "yănta*, but see the next Ex.) *āyuñjānās te hodgathā* (?, v. l. *hodgāthā, hodgīthā*) *iti kimudvatyaitaddhanvām* (?, v. l. *kimudvatyaitardhanām*) *urvārubahupravṛttam* (v. l. *urvārūbahupravṛtta*) *çayānam* (v. l. *çayāno*; emend perhaps to *açanāyanta*, cf. the similar passage PB. 9. 2. 19 *devātithiḥ supatro 'çanāyaṅç carann araṇya urvārūny avindat*) *upeyuḥ* (v. l. *'peyuḥ*), 'The descendants of Kaṇva, having risen from a sacrificial session, proceeding, yoking up,—they, being hungry (?), came upon . . . where there grew many cucumbers'. JB. 1. 226 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 88).

6. *ṛṣayo vai sattrād* (so Caland's text; Whitney's transcript has *sattrākāmād*) *utthāya yānta* (Caland's text reads here, as in the preceding Ex., *utthāyā "yanta*, Whitney's transcript has *utthāyă yānta*) *āyuñjānās te ho 'cuḥ . . .*, 'The sages, having risen from a sacrificial session, proceeding, yoking up,—they said: . . .'. JB. 3. 203 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 274).

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In both passages Caland construes *āyantaḥ* as equivalent to a finite verb (see above § 10), rendering JB. 1. 226 (Ex. 5) by: 'Als die Nachkommen des Kaṇva eine mehrtägige Opfersitzung beendigt hatten, kamen sie zurück, sich anschirrend (?). Da stießen sie . . . auf eine mit Kürbissen dicht bedeckte . . .', and JB. 3. 203 (Ex. 6) by: 'Als die Ṛṣis eine mehrtägige Opfersitzung beendigt hatten, kamen sie zurück, sich anschirrend (?). Sie sagten: . . .'

I have adopted in both passages the reading of Whitney's transcript at JB. 3. 203 (Ex. 6) *utthāyă yāntaḥ*, preferring *yāntaḥ* to *yăntaḥ* because the former is used e. g. AB. 5. 30. 1 (*yatho 'bhayataçcakreṇa yān*) with reference to travel by a car, which is implied in our two passages by *āyuñjānāḥ*. The compounds √ *ya* + *ā* or √ *i* + *ā* 'to come' do not seem to fit the context.

B. The Proleptic Subject Nominative is not resumed by a Demonstrative Pronoun but its Severance from the Rest of the Clause is indicated by *atha* (cf. above § 3, 1, b; § 7, 1, b).

§ 14. 1. The Proleptic Subject Nominative accompanied by a Present Participle.

Both of the following instances, Ex. 1—2, are noted by Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 539, 36.

For *atha* see above § 7, b.

1. *catuṣpadī vai gaus, tasmāc catur* [*iḍām*] *upahvayate* || *sa vai catur upahvayamāno 'tha nāne 'vo 'pahvayate 'jāmitāyai* 'Four-footed is the cow; therefore he calls four times upon (the Iḍā); verily, he, calling four times upon (her),—yet he calls upon (her) in different ways, as it were, in order to avoid repetition'. ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 24—25.

2. *brahmavādino vadanti* : *sa tvai yajeta yo 'gniṣṭomena yajamāno 'tha sarvastomena yajete 'ti*, 'The theologians say: "He, in sooth, would sacrifice who (while) sacrificing with the Agniṣṭoma,—yet should sacrifice with the Sarvastoma'. TS. 7. 1. 3. 1.

This passage slightly differs from the preceding one (Ex. 1) in that the proleptic construction occurs in a relative clause.

§ 15. The Proleptic Subject Nominative accompanied by a Gerund.

1. *tato devāḥ sarvaṁ yajñaṁ saṁvṛjyā 'tha yat pāpiṣṭhaṁ yajñasya bhāgadheyam āsīt tenai 'nān* [*asurān*] *nirabhajan*, 'Thereupon the gods having seized the whole sacrifice (for themselves),—then dis-

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possessed these (Asuras) by means of that which was the worst portion of the sacrifice'. ÇB. 1. 9. 2. 25.

For *atha* see above § 7, b.

II. The Pendent Nominative.

The disjunct nominative does not form the subject of the clause but anticipates an oblique case.

Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 499, p. 387—388 cites a few instances of the Pendent Nominative in classical Sanskrit as 'a kind of anacolouthon'.

A. The Pendent Nominative Resumed by a Demonstrative Pronoun in its Proper Oblique Case.

§ 16. **1. The Pendent Nominative anticipates a Genitive.**

A) The Pendent Nominative consists of a simple Noun.

1. In the Pāriplava Ākhyāna, a legend to be recited at the Açvamedha-sacrifice and to be repeated at stated intervals during the space of a year, occur the following ten clauses:

The ÇB. inserts an *ity āha* after *rājā* and before *tasya*; the parallel texts AÇ. 10. 7 and ÇÇ. 16. 2 omit this insertion, which does not belong to the text of the legend, but they also omit the word *rājā*.

a) *manur vaivasvato rājā tasya manuṣyā viçaḥ*, 'King Manu Vaivasvata,—his people are men'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 3.

b) *yamo vaivasvato rājā tasya pitaro viçaḥ*, 'King Yama Vaivasvata,—his people are the Fathers'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 6.

c) *varuṇa ādityo rājā tasya gandharvā viçaḥ*, 'King Varuṇa Āditya,—his people are the Gandharvas'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 7.

d) *somo vaiṣṇavo rājā tasyā 'psaraso viçaḥ*, 'King Soma Vaiṣṇava,—his people are the Apsarases'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 8,

e) *arbudaḥ kādraveyo rājā tasya sarpā viçaḥ*, 'King Arbuda Kādraveya,—his people are the Serpents'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 9.

f) *kubero vaiçravaṇo rājā tasya rakṣāṅsi viçaḥ*, 'King Kubera Vaiçravaṇa,—his people are the Rakṣases'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 10.

g) *asito dhānvo rājā tasyā 'surā viçaḥ*, 'King Asita Dhānva,—his people are the Asuras'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 11.

h) *matsyaḥ sāṁmado rājā tasyo 'dakecarā viçaḥ*, 'King Matsya Sāṁmada,—his people are the Water-dwellers'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 12.

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ÇÇ. reads *udakacarāḥ* for *udakecarāḥ*, cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 84, c, γ, p. 199, 14 and § 88, b, p. 210, 23.

i) *tārkṣyo vaipaçyato rājā tasya vayāṅsi viçaḥ*, 'King Tārkṣya Vaipaçyata,—his people are the Birds'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 13.

j) *dharma indro rājā tasya devā viçaḥ*, 'King Dharma Indra,—his people are the gods'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 14.

2. *yad ūrdhvaṁ caṣālād dvyaṅgulaṁ vā tryaṅgulaṁ vā sādhyā iti devās tena teṣāṁ lōkaṁ jayati*, 'What (space), two or three fingers wide, there is above the top-ring (of the sacrificial stake),—the gods called "Sādhyas",—their world he wins by that'. ÇB. 3. 7. 1. 25.

The parallel passages TS. 6. 3. 4. 8—9; MS. 3. 9. 4 (p. 119, 3 ff.) and K. 26. 6 (p. 129, 7 ff.) have nothing syntactically comparable.

3. *vasavo rudrā ādityās teṣām etaj* (the ms. *eti*) *jyotir agraṁ yad asāv ādityaḥ*, 'The Vasus, the Rudras, (and) the Ādityas,—their leader is this light, (viz.) yonder sun'. JB. 2. 240 (JAOS. 18, p. 34).

The fragment of the Çāṭyāyana Brahmaṇa cited by Sāyaṇa on RV. 7. 33. 7 shows the same construction.

B) The Pendent Nominative consists of a Noun accompanied by a Present Participle.

4. *devā vai svargaṁ lokaṁ yantas teṣāṁ yāni chandāṅsy aniruktāni svargyāṇy āsaṅs tais saha svargaṁ lokam āyan*, 'The gods going to the heavenly world,—what their undefined heavenly metres were with them they went to the heavenly world'. K. 21. 2 (p. 68, 14).

5. *tau* [*açvinau*] *devān upāvartamānau tayor yā bhiṣajyā tanūr āsīt tāṁ tredhā vinyadadhātām : agnau tṛtīyaṁ brāhmaṇe tṛtīyam apsu tṛtīyam*, 'These two (Açvins) turning toward the gods,—what their healing form was that they deposited in three different places: one third in Agni, one third in the Brāhmaṇa, (and) one third in the water'. K. 27. 4 (p. 143, 14).

The two parallel passages MS. 4. 6. 2 (p. 80, 8) and TS. 6. 4. 9. 1—2 have nothing syntactically comparable.

§ 17. 2. The Pendent Nominative, consisting of a Series of Simple Nouns, anticipates an Instrumental.

1. *paçavo vāg indriyaṁ prāṇāpānau tair vā indro 'kāmayata sāyujyaṁ gaccheyam iti*, '"Cattle, speech, vigour, in-breathing (and)

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out-breathing,—with them", Indra desired, "may I be united". MS. 3. 10. 6 (p. 137, 13).

2. *rathantaraṁ pṛṣṭhaṁ rāthantaraṁ çastram agniṣṭomo yajñas tene 'maṁ lokam ṛdhnoti*, 'The Rathantara Pṛṣṭha (Stotra), the Çastra containing the Rathantara, (and) the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.—by means of that he prospers in regard to this world'. ÇB. 13, 5. 1. 2.

Excursus: The Nature of the Accusative with √*ṛdh*, √*rādh*, and √*puṣ*.

A. The accusative with √ *puṣ* is, in the Brāhmaṇa prose, always to be regarded as an accusative of content or reference (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 122, p. 177, 33—178, 7) rather than as accusative of the direct object. Thus, PB. 25. 16. 3 *te sahasraṁ-sahasraṁ putrān apuṣyan* and *te sahasraṁ-sahasraṁ putrān puṣyanti*, 'They throve [thrive] with thousandfold male progeny' (Delbrück: 'Sicher heißt das nicht: „sie lassen tausend Söhne gedeihen", sondern das Gedeihen haftet an dem Subject von *puṣyati*'), cf. RV. 1. 64. 14 *tokaṁ puṣyema tanayaṁ çataṁ himāḥ*, 'May we thrive a hundred years with progeny (and) offspring'; PB. 10. 1. 6 *ardhamāsaço hi prajāḥ paçava ojo balaṁ puṣyanti*, 'For every half-month offspring (and) cattle increase in strength (and) vigour'; AB. 2. 1. 7 *puṣyati prajāṁ ca paçūṅç ca*, 'He prospers with regard to offspring and cattle'. In these examples the accusative is semantically equivalent to an instrumental, cf. TS. 2. 1. 9. 4; 2. 4. 6. 2 *puṣyati prajayā paçubhiḥ* (synonymous with √ *vṛdh* TS. 7. 4. 3. 2 *vardhante prajayā paçubhiḥ*); TB. 2. 3. 3. 2 *sau* [*pṛthivī*] *'ṣadhībhir vanaspatibhir apuṣyat*; *sa* [*vāyuḥ*] *marīcibhir apuṣyat*; *tad* [*antarikṣam*] *vayobhir apuṣyat*; *sa* [*ādityaḥ*] *raçmibhir apuṣyat*; *sā* [*dyauḥ*] *nakṣatrair apuṣyat*; *so* [*candramāḥ*] *'horātrair ardhamāsair māsair ṛtubhiḥ saṁvatsareṇā 'puṣyat*. In the end, AB. 2. 1. 7 *puṣyati prajāṁ ca paçūṅç ca* and TS. 2. 1. 9. 4 *puṣyati prajayā paçubhiḥ* have very nearly the same meaning as TS. 5. 7. 8. 3 *prajāṁ paçūn . . . avarunddhe*.

With a slightly different shade of meaning √ *puṣ* is used at ÇB. 13. 2. 9. 8; TB. 3. 9. 7. 2 *tasmād rājā paçūn na puṣyati* which is rendered by Delbrück; 'Deshalb hat ein Adliger seine Stärke nicht in Heerden'.

> Eggeling renders: 'Whence the king does not rear cattle'. But while √ *puṣ* with causative meaning occurs in Mantra (e. g. RV. 3. 45. 3 *kratuṁ puṣyasi gā iva* 'thou increasest thy power like kine') the Brāhmaṇa prose uses the causative in this sense, e. g. TB. 1. 6. 2. 5 *prajā eva tad yajamānaḥ poṣayati* 'Thus the sacrificer causes (his) offspring to increase'.

Finally K. and JB. use the accusatives *varṇam* and *rūpam* dependent on √ *puṣ*: thus K. 9. 11 (p. 113, 1) *ahnā devān asṛjata, te çuklaṁ varṇam apuṣyan* ('were resplendent in white colour') *rātryā 'surāṅs, te kṛṣṇā abhavan*; JB. 3. 303 *sā* [*pṛthivī*] *'kāmayata : pṛçniṁ varṇaṁ puṣyeyam iti, sai 'taṁ mantram apaçyad : ā 'yaṁ gauḥ pṛçnir akramīd* (RV. 10. 189. 1) *iti, tato vā iyaṁ pṛthivī pṛçniṁ varṇam apuṣyat* ('attained variegated appearance') *pṛçniṁ ha vai varṇaṁ prajayā*

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paçubhiḥ puṣyati ya evaṁ veda; K. 11. 2 (p. 146, 2) *bahu vā etad anyad anyaj juhoti, sa īçvaro 'nyad rūpaṁ poṣṭoḥ.*

Cf., in Mantra, VS. 4. 2 *bhadraṁ varṇaṁ puṣyan*; RV. 8. 41. 5 *sa kaviḥ kāvyā puru rūpaṁ dyaur iva puṣyati*; AV. 7. 60. 7 *viçvā rūpāṇi puṣyata* 13. 2. 10 *viçvā rūpāṇi puṣyasi.*

These accusatives of content or reference are easy developments of the frequent cognate accusative with √ *puṣ,* thus with *imān poṣān* MS. 1. 7. 2 (p. 111, 6); K. 9. 1 (p. 104, 14—15); MS. 1. 7. 3 (p. 112, 2); K. 8. 15 (p. 99, 10); PB. 21. 10. 5; with *etān poṣān* TS. 7. 1. 9. 1; PB. 8. 4. 4.; with *tān poṣān* TB. 2. 3. 3. 2; with *paramaṁ poṣam* PB. 21. 10. 9; with *bahūn poṣān* PB. 19. 5. 10; with *sarvān poṣān* PB. 21. 10. 7; 22. 7. 2; with *bhūyāṅsaṁ poṣam* ṢB. 3. 7. 14, 16; with *sahasrapoṣam* K. 24. 6 (p. 95, 18); with *sahasrapoṣān* JB. 1. 21 (*sahasrapoṣān puṣyati ya evaṁ vidvān agnihotraṁ juhoti*); with *puṣṭim* PB. 19. 14. 1; similary MS. 1. 5. 9 (p. 78, 1) *sahasrapoṣasye 'çe, puṣyati sahasram*; TB. 2. 3. 3. 1 *sa* [*agniḥ*] *sahasram* (Bibl. Ind. *sāhasram*) *apuṣyat,* 'He thrives [throve] a thousandfold'.

Cf. the Yajus ÇB. 14. 9. 4. 23 (= BĀU. 6. 4. 23 Mādhy. = 24 Kāṇv.) *asmin sahasraṁ puṣyāsam*; Kauç. 89. 13 *asmin sahasraṁ puṣyāsma*; ĀpMB. 2. 11. 32 *asminn ahaṁ sahasraṁ puṣyāmi.*

B. The accusative with √ *rādh,* where it occurs in the Brāhmaṇa prose, must be interpreted in the same way as accusative of content or reference. Thus, ÇB. 8. 6. 3. 1; TS. 2. 6. 9. 5 *idam arātsma*, 'We have been successful in this'; ÇB. 1. 3. 5. 10 *taṁ kāmam anaparādhaṁ rādhnoti,* 'He succeeds without fail in regard to this wish'.

ÇB. 14. 1. 2. 9 *yajñasya vām adya çiro rādhyāsam* merely paraphrases the Mantra VS. 37. 3 *makhasya vām adya çiro rādhyāsam.*

Inasmuch as 'to succeed in regard to something' is often substantially equivalent to 'to attain something' the √ *rādh* may occasionally be rendered by 'to attain', e. g. *idam arātsma* 'We have attained this'; *taṁ kāmaṁ rādhnoti,* 'He attains this wish.' Thus, MS. 3. 2. 2 (p. 16, 9—10) *agneḥ priyaṁ dhāmā 'rādhnot* and *agneḥ . . . priyaṁ dhāma rādhnoti,* 'He was [is] successful in regard to Agni's dear abode' is equivalent to 'He attained [attains] Agni's dear abode', and the parallel passages TS. 5. 2. 1. 6; K. 19. 12 (p. 14, 5—6) actually read here *avāruṇddha* and *avaruṇddhe*; cf. K. 20, 1 (p. 19, 2); TS. 5. 2. 1. 2; 5. 2. 3. 4 *agneḥ priyaṁ dhāmā 'vāruṇddha* and *agneḥ . . . priyaṁ dhāmā 'varuṇddhe;* K. 19. 11 (p. 13, 3) *etad vā agneḥ priyaṁ dhāma tad evā 'varuṇddhe.*

A cognate accusative with √ *rādh* has not been noted in the Brāhmaṇa prose, but it occurs in the Yajus AB. 5. 25. 13 *ṛddhim arādhnuvan* and *ṛddhiṁ rātsyāmaḥ.*

C. The cognate accusative forms the starting point for the accusatival constructions with √ *ṛdh.* Thus, with *ṛddhim* AB. 4. 23. 3 (bis); 4; TS. 1. 5. 4. 4; 6. 6. 6. 1; 7. 1. 8. 2; TB. 3. 3. 8. 9; 3. 11. 9. 3 (bis); K. 6. 6 (p. 55, 3); 8. 15 (p. 98. 17); 30. 1 (p. 182, 12); MS. 1. 7. 2 (p. 100, 10); PB. 6. 9. 17; 21; 21. 14. 20; 21; 22. 18. 8 (bis); 23. 1. 5 (bis); 23. 23. 2 (bis); 3; 24. 4. 2 (bis); 3; 24. 12. 4; 24. 18. 9 (bis); 25. 5. 3 (bis); 25. 6. 4 (bis); 25. 7. 2 (bis); 25. 14. 2; 3; 5 (bis); 25. 17. 4 (bis); 25. 18. 7 (bis); GB. 1. 3. 15; JB. 2. 60 *prajāpatir imām ṛddhim ārdhnot . . .,*

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tad yām eva prajāpatir ṛddhim ārdhnot tām eva ṛddhim ṛdhnoti . . . ya evaṁ veda; JB. 2. 98; 2. 132; 3. 186 *samānīm ṛddhim ṛdhnuyāva, . . ., samānīm ṛddhim ārdhnutām*; JB. 2. 213 (bis) *samānīm ṛddhim ṛdhnuyāt, . . ., sai 'tām eva ṛddhim ārdhnot*; JB. 2. 215 (bis) *samānīm ṛddhim ṛdhnuyām, . . ., tām eva ṛddhim ṛdhnoti*; JUB. 3. 19. 5.

Contrast with these cognate accusatives the cognate instrumental at MS. 4. 1. 2 (p. 3, 16) *sā 'rdhnod ṛddhyā*; GB. 2. 1. 12 *ṛddhyā ṛdhnoti.*

From this cognate accusative other accusatives of content or reference develop. Thus, as with √ *rādh*, the accusatives *kāmam* and *kāmān*: KB. 26. 1 *etān* and *tān kāmān ṛdhnuvanti*; 25. 2; 26. 15 *sarvān kāmān ṛdhnuvanti*; MS. 1. 6. 8 (p. 98, 3) *taṁ kāmam ārdhnot* and *ṛdhnoti*; K. 7. 5 (p. 67, 5) *kāmam asya* [*agneḥ*] *ṛdhnoti, manuṣasye 'n nu yaḥ kāmam ṛdhnoti sa vasīyān bhavati*; JB. 2. 324 (bis); 330 *taṁ kāmam ṛdhnavāni yo daçarātre*; JB. 2. 330 *ṛdhnoti hai 'nenai 'tān kāmān ya etasmin* [*atirātre*] *kāmaḥ*; ÇĀ. 1. 2 *sarvān kāmān ṛdhnuvanti.*

kāmam, kāmān ṛdhnoti, 'He succeeds in regard to his wish(es)' is thus nearly equivalent to *kāmam, kāmān āpnoti*, 'He attains his wish(es), ÇB. 2. 1. 4. 3; 4; 5; 30; 2. 2. 1. 5; 9; 3. 1. 4. 22; 4. 5. 8. 14 (bis); 6. 2. 1. 17; 7. 2. 2. 21; 9. 2. 1. 18; 9. 3. 3. 2 (bis); 8 (bis); 9. 4. 4. 10 (bis); 9. 5. 2. 9; 10. 2. 6. 15; 13. 4. 1. 1 (bis); 12; 13; 13. 5. 1. 9; 14; 13. 5. 2. 9; 22; 13. 8. 1. 3; AB. 3. 48. 5; 8. 14. 4; 8. 19. 2; KB. 2. 3; 4. 4 (bis); 6. 15 (bis); 7. 1; 11. 6; 13. 1; 28. 1 (ter); 29. 6; GB. 1. 1. 2; 2. 1. 26; 2. 2. 18; PB. 20. 3. 4 (bis); ṢB. 3. 7. 10; TB. 3. 7. 14. 2; K. 22. 8 (bis, p. 65 1; 4); MS, 3. 6. 4 (p. 64, 6); 4. 6. 8 (p. 91. 14), and to *kāmam, kāmān avarunddhe*, 'He obtains his wish(es)', PB. 7. 7. 8; 11. 8. 8; 12. 5. 20; 13. 3. 12; 13. 6. 9; 13. 12. 5; 14. 4. 7; 14. 5. 15; 14. 6. 6; 8; 10; 14. 12. 5; 23. 3. 4; TS. 3. 3. 5. 2; 5. 1. 8. 2; 5. 4. 8. 1; AB. 6. 2. 4; 2. 17. 10; 2. 20. 25; K. 23. 2 (p. 76, 1)

With the accusatives *devam*, *devatām*, or the name of a specific divinity, √ *ṛdh* has the sense of 'to succeed with the gods' = 'to win their favour', 'to win them over'. Thus PB. 25. 14. 4 *devatā ṛdhnoti*; AB 1. 1. 5 *devān ṛdhnuvanti*; TS. 5. 7. 4. 3 *devān ṛdhnoti*; JB. 2. 16 (quater) *tām* [*devatām*] *eva tena ṛdhnoti*; 17 *tām* [*devatām*] *eva ṛdhnuyāt*; PB. 17. 8. 3 *agnim ṛdhnoti*; K. 8. 13 (p. 97, 16); GB. 2. 1. 7 *prajāpatim ṛdhnoti*; K. 22. 8 (p. 64. 23) *enam* [*prajāpatim*] *ṛdhnoti*; TS. 1. 7. 3. 2 *sākṣād eva prajāpatim ṛdhnoti*; 5. 4. 12. 2; 5. 7. 1. 3 *tam* [*prajāpatim*] *eva sākṣād ṛdhnoti*; AB. 1. 30. 31 *ṛdhnoty enam* [*prajāpatim*]; JB. 2. 347; 356; 357; 358 *prajāpatim ṛdhnavāma*; 2. 236 *kṛtsnaṁ prajāpatim ṛdhnavāma*; MS. 4. 8. 10. (p. 119, 10) *tam* [*ādityam*] *ṛdhnoti*; K. 30. 5 (p. 187, 10) *tam* [*ādityam*] *ṛdhnuvanti.*

1. Cf. √ *āp* with *devān* ÇB. 7. 2. 2. 21; K. 30. 7 (p. 188, 20); 33. 2 (p. 28, 10); PB. 17. 1. 1; with *devatāḥ*, K. 10, 1 (p. 125, 20); PB. 17. 11. 3; 22, 7. 4; TS. 1. 8. 7. 1; AB. 4. 13. 7; GB. 2. 1. 11; with *prajāpatim*, AB. 4. 22. 9; GB. 2. 5. 4; 2. 5. 8; PB. 4 9. 14; 16. 4. 12; 13; 16. 16. 4; 17. 9. 4; 17. 11. 3; 18. 6. 4; 5; 8; 18. 7. 5; 19. 7. 6; 21. 14. 4; 22. 5. 5; 8; 22. 7. 5. 8; ṢB. 3. 7. 2; TS. 7. 4. 4. 1 (bis); TB. 1. 8. 7. 1; 3. 8. 16. 1 (bis); K. 8. 3 (p. 86, 14); 8. 11 (p. 95, 1); 8. 13 (bis, p. 97, 7; 16); 12. 9 (p. 172, 3); 14. 7

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(p. 206, 5); 14. 9 (p. 208, 20); 14. 10 (p. 209, 3); 18. 19 (p. 280, 7); 23. 2 (p. 75, 18); 29. 6 (bis, p. 174, 11; 12); 34. 9 (p. 43, 19); 37. 11 (p. 92, 18); MS. 1. 6. 7 (p. 96, 20); 1. 6. 12 (p. 105, 16); 1. 11. 6 (p. 168, 9); 1. 11. 9 (p. 171, 3); 2. 1. 8 (p. 10, 5); 3. 3. 4 (p. 36, 1); 4. 4. 1 (p. 51, 7); 4. 4. 7 (p. 58, 15); 4. 4. 10 (p. 61, 14); 4. 5. 3 (p. 67, 8); 4. 7. 5 (p. 99, 15); 4. 7. 7. (p. 102, 21); with *ādityam* KB. 25. 3; TB. 3. 12. 5. 8; with *ādityān* PB. 16. 14. 2 (bis); with *indrāgnī* KB. 3. 2; and √ *rudh* + *ava* with *devatāḥ* TS. 3. 5. 4. 4; 5. 4. 1. 2; 5. 4. 8. 3; 6; 5. 5. 1. 4—5; 5. 7. 4. 1; 6. 3. 7. 3; 7. 4. 1. 2; TB. 1. 2. 2. 5; 1. 2. 5. 2; 1. 6. 1. 6.; 2. 7. 1. 3; 4; MS. 3. 7. 1 (p. 75, 15); K. 8. 12 (p. 96, 6); 10. 1 (bis, p. 125, 3; 4); 23. 2 (p. 75, 12); 31. 11 (bis, p. 13, 11 and 14, 12); 37. 7 (p. 88, 6); with *agnim*, TS. 5. 3. 11. 2; TB. 2. 1. 2. 1 (bis); MS. 1. 8. 9 (p. 129, 8); K. 8. 15 (p. 99, 3); with *prajāpatim* GB. 2. 2. 13; MS 1. 11. 6 (p. 168, 10); with *somam* MS. 4. 1. 1 (p. 1, 7).

2. JB. 2. 262 *etāsu cai 'va devatāsv ṛdhnoty etāṅç ca lokān āpnoti*; 285 *tāsv* [*devatāsu*] *evai 'tad ṛdhnoti tāsu pratiṣṭhāya svargaṁ lokam eti* show the locative *devatāsu* instead of the accusative *devatāḥ*, although at JB. 2. 285 the accusative *diçaḥ* with √ *ṛdh* immediately precedes: *diça evai 'tena ṛdhnoti dikṣu pratiṣṭhāya svargaṁ lokam eti.*

3. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 176, 30 renders √ *ṛdh* in this connection by 'befriedigen'; PW. s. *ardh*, no 3. by 'genügen, befriedigen'; pw. s. *ardh*, no 2. by 'fördern'. Keith in his note to AB. 1. 1. 5 (cf. also his note to TS. 1. 7. 3. 2) regards the accusative as one of reference; his renderings vary: AB. 1. 1. 5 'They prosper as regards the gods'; TS. 1. 7. 3. 2 in the text 'He enjoys Prajāpati' in the note 'He prospers in relation to P.'; TS. 5. 4. 12. 2 and 5. 7. 4. 3 'He wins him'; 5. 7. 4. 3 'He prospers the gods', taking apparently √ *ṛdh*, like Haug, with causative force.

√ *ṛdh* in the sense of 'to be successful in regard to something' = 'to succeed in winning or attaining something' is also found in the following passages:

K. 11. 5 (p. 149, 21) *enā* [*oṣadhīḥ*] *ṛdhnoti*;

Cf. TB. 3. 8. 17. 4; K. 20. 3 (p. 21, 12) *tā evo 'bhayīr* [*oṣadhīḥ*] *avarunddhe*; KB. 20. 1 *āpnuvanti . . . oṣadhīḥ.*

MS. 3. 2. 1 (p. 16, 2) *sapta . . . saptāny agner ṛdhnoti*, 'He wins Agni's seven sevens'.

The 'seven sevens' refers to VS. 17. 79 *sapta te agne samidhaḥ sapta jihvāḥ.*

The parallel texts TS. 5. 4. 7. 5 and K. 19. 11 (p. 13, 19) read *prīṇāti* for *ṛdhnoti.*

JB. 2. 237; 323; 324 (bis) *atho yān imān ekaikān stomān upāgāma tān sārdham ṛddhvā teṣu pratiṣṭhāyo 'dṛcam açnavāmahā iti*, 'May we attain the goal winning together each one of these Stomas which we have singly undertaken (and) taking our stand in them'; JB. 2. 285 *diça evai 'tena ṛdhnoti dikṣu pratiṣṭhāya svargaṁ lokam eti*, 'He thereby wins the quarters; taking his stand in the quarters he goes to the heavenly world';

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Contrast with the accusative *diça rdhnoti* the locative *dikṣv ṛdhnoti* at TS. 3. 5. 10. 2; MS. 4. 7. 7 (bis, p. 103, 1); 3. 6. 1 (bis, p. 60, 16); K. 8. 1 (bis, p. 84, 1—2); 29. 6 (p. 174, 9) and cf. GB. 2. 4. 4 *etāḥ pañca diça āpnoti*; TS. 6. 4. 4. 3 *diça evā 'smā avarunddhe.*

JB. 2. 129 *brahmaṇā vāva sa tad brahmavarcasam ārdhnod, brahmaṇai 'va brahmavarcasam rdhnoti ya evaṁ veda*; 2. 131 *brahmaṇā brahmavarcasam ṛdhnavāma*; 2. 175 *yado vai brahmavarcasam ṛdhnoty atha sa tasya purodhāṁ gacchati*; 2. 288 *jyotir iva ha vai sa bhāti yo brahmavarcasam ṛdhnoti*; 2. 345 *tad brahmavarcasam ṛdhnuvanti tad u brahmavarcasino bhavanti*; JUB. 1. 37. 6;

Cf. *brahmavarcasam* with √ *āp*, GB. 2. 5. 8; with √ *rudh* + *ava*, TS. 1. 5. 8. 4; 2. 1. 7. 3; 7; 2. 2. 10. 2; 7. 2. 3. 1; 7. 4. 1. 3; 7. 4. 2. 5; TB. 1. 1. 3. 11; 2. 7. 1. 1 (ter); 2; 2. 7. 3. 3; 3. 8. 18. 5; 3. 9. 5. 4; 5; 3. 9. 3. 3; MS. 1. 5. 11 (p. 79, 12); 1. 6. 8 (p. 99, 16); 3. 3. 2 (p. 33, 8); K. 10. 2 (p. 126, 17); 20. 13 (p. 34, 1); 21. 2 (p. 38, 8); 32. 1 (p. 19, 20); 34. 9 (p. 43, 11); 34. 10 (p. 44, 4); 37. 7 (p. 88, 4); PB. 8. 10. 2; 16. 14. 5; 16. 16. 6; 18. 7. 2; 19. 5. 8; 19. 7. 7; 19. 10. 5; 19. 11. 6; 19. 17. 6; 19. 18. 3; 20. 10. 1; 25. 6. 3; ṢB. 3. 7. 20; GB. 1. 2. 2.

MS. 4. 3. 8 (p. 47, 7—8) *rāṣṭram ṛdhnoti*;

The parallel passage TB. 1. 7. 3. 1 has *ta evā 'smai rāṣṭraṁ prayacchanti*; and cf. *rāṣṭram* with √ *rudh* + *ava* TB. 1. 7. 3. 6; TS. 3. 4. 8. 1; 5. 4. 9. 3; and *rājyam* with √ *rudh* + *ava* MS. 1. 6. 11 (p. 104, 2—3).

JUB. 1. 37. 5 *avyāsiktām ekasthāṁ çriyam ṛdhnoti* 'He successfully attains good fortune not poured asunder (but) closely united';

For *avyāsikta* cf. KB. 11. 8 and probably 27. 6 below.

JUB. 1. 37. 7 *prāṇam ṛdhnoti*; PB. 4. 1. 6 *yajñamukhaṁ tad ṛdhnuvanti*;

Here the Comment. glosses: *yajñamukhaṁ yajñānāṁ mukhabhūtam agniṣṭomaṁ prāpyā 'rdhnuvanti sattriṇaḥ samṛddhā bhavanti.* K. 24. 8 (p. 99, 18) uses the locative: *yajñamukha evai 'tena rdhnoti.* And cf. MS. 3. 4. 1 (p. 45, 17) *yajñamukham evā 'varunddhe*; K. 8. 10 (p. 94, 3) *yajñamukham evā 'labhya . . .*

KB. 11. 8; 27. 6 *āpīnāṁ vācam avyāsiktām* (at 27. 6 Lindner's text, without mss. variant, reads *abhyāsiktām* which should probably be emended to *avyāsiktām*, cf. above JUB. 1. 37. 5) *prathamata* (27. 6 *antata*) *ṛdhnavāma*, 'May we in the beginning (at the end) successfully attain Speech fattened, not poured asunder'.

Dvandvam at PB. 24. 12. 4 *ādityā dvandvam ārdhnuvan*, 'The Ādityas prospered in couples' is, of course adverb; the Comment. glosses it by *dvau-dvau militvā*; cf. AB. 3. 50. 4; KB. 26. 7 (p. 122, 21); 29. 8 (p. 141, 20); ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 22 (bis); 14. 1. 3. 1 (bis); TS. 5. 4. 2. 1 (ter); 5. 6. 2. 5; K. 27. 1 (p. 138, 20); 29. 9 (p. 179, 3).

In view of all the preceding examples it seems advisable to regard the accusative *imaṁ lokam* at ÇB. 13. 5. 1. 2 *imaṁ lokam ṛdhnoti* as well as the similar accusatives JUB. 1. 37. 2 *ṛdhnotī 'maṁ lokam*; 3 *ṛdhnoty amuṁ lokam*; 4 *ṛdhnotī 'mam antarālokam*; ÇB. 13. 5. 3. 9 *antarikṣalokam ṛdhnoti*; 10 *amuṁ lokam ṛdhnoti*; GB. 2. 4. 18 *imāñ lokān ṛdhnoti*; JB. 2. 346 *yāvān svārājyo lokas*

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tāvantaṁ svārājyaṁ lokam ṛdhnavāma as originally quasi-cognate accusatives of content or reference; *imam lokam ṛdhnoti* combines the meanings of *asmiṅl loka ṛdhnoti* and *imaṁ lokam avarunddhe* or *āpnoti*: 'He is successful in winning this world and thrives having attained it'.

§ 18. **3. The Pendent Nominative consisting of a Simple Noun anticipates a Locative.**

1. *athai 'tac charīraṁ tasmin na raso 'sti*, 'Now this body,—there is no sap in it'. ÇB. 4. 4. 5. 1.

§ 19. **4. The Pendent Nominative consisting of a Simple Noun accompanied by Adjectival Qualifiers anticipates an Accusative.**

1. *athe 'tarāḥ [āpaḥ] peyāḥ svādvyaḥ çāntās tās tatrai 'vā 'bhyaçramyad abhyatapat samatapad*, 'But the other (waters) which were drinkable, palatable, appeased,—these he then toiled over, heated, thoroughly heated'. GB. 1. 1. 3.

The Proleptic Nominative immediately preceding this passage is listed above § 9, Ex. 4.

§ 20. **5. The Pendent Nominative consisting of a Noun accompanied by a Gerund anticipates an Accusative.**

1. *ātithyena vai devā iṣṭvā tānt samad avindat*, 'The gods having sacrificed with the guest-offering,—them discord befell'. ÇB. 3. 4. 2. 1; 3. 4. 3. 1.

1. Speijer, Ved. and Sanskrit Syntax, § 287, p. 91 cites this passage as an example of 'anacolouthic' constructions, and Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 409 notes it as an instance of the absolute use of the gerund with the remark that *iṣṭvā* is nearly equivalent to a finite verb. Cf. Keith, ZDMG. 63, 1909, p. 346.

2. At ÇB. 8. 1. 1. 3 *prajāpater visrastāt prāṇā udakrāman devatā bhūtvā, tān abravīt*: . . ., 'From Prajāpati being disjointed the breaths (= organs of sense), having become divinities, departed; to them he said: . . .', the punctuation must be placed after *devatā bhūtvā*, not, as Eggeling does, before it.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

§ 20 A. **5 A. The Pendent Nominative consisting of a Noun accompanied by a Present Participle which governs an Object Accusative anticipates an Accusative.**

1 A. *taṁ vai nu tvā pariṣvajā iti; taṁ ha sma pariṣvajamāno yathā dhūmaṁ vā 'pīyād vāyuṁ vā 'kāçaṁ vā 'gnyarciṁ vā 'po vai 'vaṁ ha smai 'naṁ vyeti*, '(Keçin Dārbhya said to Uccaiççravas Kaupayeya:) "Let me then embrace thee"; as he tried to embrace him,—as if one were to approach smoke or wind or

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(empty) space or the gleam of fire or water even so he (Uccaiç-çravas Kaupayeya) escaped him (Keçin Dārbhya)'. JUB. 3. 29. 7.

On the question of assigning to the present participle *parisvajamānaḥ* the function of a finite verb cf above § 10.

§ 21. The following two passages are dubious.

6. The Pendent Nominative consisting of a Noun accompanied by a Gerund anticipates an Ablative.

Under this heading would belong

1. *paçavo 'mūlā oṣadhīr mūlinīr jagdhvā 'paḥ pītvā tata eṣa rasaḥ sambhavati.* ÇB. 2. 3, 1. 10,

if *tataḥ* be regarded as equivalent to *tebhyaḥ [paçubhyaḥ]*, an assumption which is not probable; see the discussion of this passage below § 26, Ex. 6 and § 74, Ex. 6.

7. The Pendent Nominative accompanied by a Gerund anticipates a Dative.

Here would belong in our present Mādhyandina-recension

1. *athā 'pa [brahmā] ācāmati, . . ., atha parikṣālya pātram ‖ athā 'smai brahmabhāgaṁ paryāharanti,* 'Then he (the Brahman-priest) rinses his mouth with water; . . .; then he having rinsed the vessel,—they then carry the Brahman's portion round for him'. ÇB. 1. 7. 4. 17—18,

but, as Delbrück, who cites this passage Altind. Syntax, p. 409, 14, notes, there is doubt whether the final words of section 17 should really be construed with the beginning of section 18, or whether after *pātram* and before *athā 'smai* a lacuna should be assumed. The Commentary states that another Çākhā inserts at the end of section 17 after *pātram* the words *nābhim ālabhate*, 'he touches his navel', and cf. KÇ. 2. 20. 2 *prakṣālya pātraṁ nābhim ālabhate.*

B. The Pendent Nominative not resumed by a Demonstrative Pronoun.

§ 22. **1. The Pendent Nominative resumed by the Repetition of the Noun in its Proper Oblique Case.**

1. *etena vai devā yajñene 'ṣṭvā ye 'yaṁ devānāṁ prajātir yā çrīr etad babhūvur etāṁ ha vai prajātiṁ prajāyata etāṁ çriyaṁ gacchati*

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ya evaṁ vidvān etena yajñena yajate, 'The gods having sacrificed with this sacrifice,—what then this propagative power of the gods (and) what their prosperity were, with that propagative power he is propagated (and) that prosperity he attains who knowing thus sacrifices with this sacrifice'. ÇB. 2. 5. 4. 11.

Here the Pendent Nominative *devāḥ* in *devā iṣṭvā* is resumed by *devānām* instead of *teṣām*.

§ 23. **2. The Pendent Nominative resumed by a Past Participle in its Proper Oblique Case.**

1. *etya gṛhān paçcād gṛhyasyā 'gner upaviṣṭāyā 'nvārabdhāya ṛtvig antataḥ kaṅsena caturgṛhītās tisra ājyāhutīr aindrīh prapadaṁ juhoti,* '(The king) having returned to the house,—for him as he is seated behind the household fire and is touched (by the priest), he (the priest) finally offers in a bowl three butter-libations sacred to Indra taken in four portions in the Prapad-form'. AB. 8. 10. 9.

Here the Pendent Nominative [*rājā*] which must be supplied with *etya gṛhān* is resumed by the two past participles *upaviṣṭāya* and *anvārabdhāya*.

The statement of Speijer, Ved. und Sanskrit Syntax, p. 25, § 88 and Delbrück, Vergl. Syntax I, p. 743, § 292 that *paçcāt* c. genit. does not occur before the Çrautasūtras is due to an oversight. Delbrück himself, Altind. Syntax, § 112, p. 163, 12 refers for *paçcāt* c. genit. to Liebich, BB., 11, p. 296, 17—18 who quotes AB. 8. 10. 9; the PW. col. 612, 20 cites Chānd. Up. 5. 2. 8 *paçcād agneḥ.* Cf. further ÇB. 4. 3. 5. 13 *paçcāt . . . paçūnām*; 7. 4. 1. 35 *paçcād agneḥ*; K. 20. 6 (p. 24, 15) = 22. 10 (p. 66, 10) *paçcān me*; K. 20. 6 (p. 24, 16) = 22. 10 (p. 66, 11) *ya evā 'sya paçcāt*; K. 22. 10 (66, 10) *paçcād eteṣāṁ pavamānānām*; K. 13. 10 (p. 192, 4) *purastād anyan nābhyā avadyet paçcād anyat, . . ., purastād vai nābhyāḥ prāṇaḥ paçcād apānaḥ*; PB. 5. 6. 7 (bis) *paçcāt . . . dhiṣṇyasya;* 16. 2. 8 *paçoḥ paçcāt*; GB. 1. 4. 17 *paçcād viṣuvataḥ*; 1. 1. 22 *eṣai* [*ṛk*] *'va yajñasya purastād yujyata eṣā paçcāt;* Ait. Ār. 5. 1. 4 (p. 148, 2 Keith) *paçcāt svasya dhiṣṇyasya* (cf. Keith's note 10, p. 274).

§ 24. **3. The Pendent Nominative without any Resumption.** No instance of such a construction occurs. At GB. 1. 1. 32 in reply to the question

|| *kim svid āhur bhoḥ savitur vareṇyam* |
bhargo devasya kavayaḥ kim āhuḥ ||

'What do the sages, Venerable Sir, call "Savitṛ's highest bliss (RV. 3. 62. 10)", what do they call "The glory of the god (RV. 3. 62. 10)"?' the answer is given by the manuscripts and the Bibl. Ind. text:

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|| *vedāç* (sic) *chandāṅsi savitur vareṇyam* |
bhargo devasya kavaya 'nnam āhuḥ ||

'The Vedas (and) the Metres the sages call "Savitṛ's highest bliss, food (they call) "The glory of the god".' But the text should be emended (as is done in Gaastra's ed.) to *vedāṅç chandāṅsi* . . .

III. The Absolute Nominative.

§ 25. As has been pointed out above (§ 3, 1, c; § 4—6) the noun must be accompanied by an infinite verb-form, viz. either a participle (Ex. 1; 3) or a gerund (Ex. 2; 4—11).

The Examples are divided into two groups: In Group A there is a slight connecting link between the disjunct nominative and the subject of the sentence; in Ex. 1 the disjunct nominative consists of two nouns *(devāç cā 'surāç ca)* the first of which is identical with the subject of the sentence; in Ex. 2 the subject of the sentence (to be supplied from the context) consists of two nouns, viz. 'husband and wife', the former of which must be supplied as the noun of the disjunct nominative.

In Group B there is no such link between the subject of the sentence and the noun of the disjunct nominative. Within Group B the first subdivision (I, Ex. 3—8) is composed of those examples in which the subject noun of the absolute nominative is formally expressed, while the second subdivision (II, Ex. 9—18) comprises those instances in which the subject noun of the absolute nominative must be supplied from the context.

§ 26. Examples.

A. 1. *devāç ca vā asurāç cā 'ditye vyāyacchantas taṁ* (so the Comment. correctly for *tan* of the Bibl. Ind. text) *devā abhyajayan*, 'The gods and the Asuras contending about Āditya,—the gods won him'. PB. 5. 5. 15.

2. *kṣīraudanam* (14 *dadhyodanam;* 15 *udaudanam;* 16 *tilaudanam;* 17 *māṅsaudanam*) *pācayitvā sarpiṣmantam açnīyātām*, 'He (the husband) having caused (his wife) to cook a mess of milk and rice (of curds and rice; of water and rice; of sesamum and rice; of meat and rice),— they both (husband and wife) should

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eat (it) seasoned with butter'. ÇB. 14. 9. 4. 13—17 (= BĀU. 6. 4. 13—17 Mādhy. = 14—18 Kāṇv.).

Böhtlingk renders: 'Der lasse Reis in Milch kochen und verzehre diesen geschmälzt mit seiner Frau'; Deussen: 'So müssen beide Reis mit Milch gekocht und mit Butter übergossen essen'. The Comment. to BĀU. Kāṇv. throws no light on the exact construction. Both Böhtlingk and, apparently, Deussen regard the gerund *pācayitvā* as loosely construed with the subject of the finite verb *açnīyātām*, 'Both (husband and wife) having caused a mess of milk and rice to be cooked should eat (it) seasoned with butter'; but it is in fact the wife who does the cooking. Cf. below Ex. 9 and 10.

B. I. 3. *tān nānāchandasyānāṁ sahasraṁ sat sahasraṁ bṛhatyaḥ saṁpadyante*, 'In this manner, there being one thousand (verses) of varied metres, one thousand Bṛhatī (-verses) are computed'. KB. 18. 3.

The case-form of *sahasraṁ sat* is ambiguous; it might be accusative, cf. below § 37, Ex. 5.

4. *tasya catasṛṣu bahiṣpavamānaṁ bhavati, catuṣpadā vā açvās santaç catuççaphās te ye catuṣpadāḥ paçavaç catuççāphās tān evai 'tenā 'varunddhe*, 'Its Bahiṣpavamāna is (sung) on four (verses); the horses being four-footed, four-hoofed,—what animals are four-footed, four-hoofed those he thereby wins'. JB. 2. 176.

5. *daçā [paçavaḥ] 'labhyante, daçākṣarā virāḍ, virāḍ etāny eve 'ndriyāṇi vīryāṇy ātman dhitve, 'yaṁ virāḍ, asyām eva pratitiṣṭhati*, 'Ten (victims) are taken (for slaughter); the Virāj has ten syllables; the Virāj having placed this vigour (and) strenght in the self (of the sacrificer),—he (the sacrificer stands firmly upon this (earth), for the Virāj is (identical with) this (earth)'. MS. 2. 5. 10 (p. 61, 7).

The words *iyaṁ virāḍ* are an intercalary clause which logically belongs after *asyāṁ pratitiṣṭhati* for which it gives the reason; cf. the separation of the *ned*-clause by the intercalary *vajro vā açvaḥ* at ÇB. 6. 3. 3. 12 *etan no 'paspṛçati, vajro vā açvo, nen mā 'yaṁ vajro hinasad iti*, 'He does not then touch (the horse, thinking): "May this thunderbolt not injure me"; for the horse is a thunderbolt'. Such intercalary clauses are very frequently inserted between the Final Dative and the clause to which it properly belongs and will be discussed under the heading of Final Datives. Cf. Eggeling, SBE. 43, p. 137, note 1 (to ÇB. 8. 7. 2. 16).

6. *paçavo 'mūlā oṣadhīr mūlinīr jagdhvā 'paḥ pītvā tata eṣa rasaḥ saṁbhavati*, 'The rootless animals having eaten the rooty plants (and) having drunk the water,—then this sap originates'. ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 10.

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The translation follows Delbrück (Altind. Syntax § 226, p. 408, 33) who renders: 'Wenn nun die wurzellosen Tiere die bewurzelten Pflanzen gegessen und das Wasser getrunken haben, dann entsteht der Lebenssaft'.

Grammatically it would be permissible to take the adverb *tataḥ* as functionally equivalent to the ablative of the demonstrative pronoun *tebhyaḥ* (viz. *paçubhyaḥ*): 'The rootless animals having eaten the rooty plants (and) having drunk the water,—from them (viz. from these animals) this sap originates', cf. e. g. TS. 5. 1. 9. 4 *ya [agniḥ] ukhāyāi sambhavati* 'What (fire) is produced from the pan' immediately followed by *ato hy eṣa [agniḥ] sambhavati*, 'For from this (pan) this (fire) is produced'; ÇB. 13. 3. 1. 1 *tato* (viz. *prajāpater akṣṇaḥ*, cf. ÇB. 13. 4. 2. 3) *'çvaḥ samabhavat*, 'From this (eye of Prajāpati) the horse was produced'. If *tataḥ* be so taken the example would show a Pendent Nominative (above § 21, Ex. 1). But the four passages ÇB. 1. 3. 1. 25; 1. 7. 1, 18; 2. 3. 1, 16, and 2. 6. 3. 7 given below § 74, Ex. 5—6 make it well nigh certain that *tataḥ* has here the force of a temporal adverb 'then'.

7. *prajāpatir vā eṣa [agniḥ] bhūtvā yāvata īṣṭe yāvad enam anu tasya retaḥ siñcati yad agnihotraṁ juhoti*, 'This (Agni) having become Prajāpati,— he (the sacrificer), in that he offers the Agnihotra, casts the seed of all that over which he (Prajāpati) rules, of all that which is subject to this (Prajāpati)'. ÇB. 2. 3. 4. 8.

Here belongs also the following passage in which the Absolute Nominative precedes the exclamatory particle *ait (= et)* with dependent accusative:

8. *tato vai manuṣyāç ca ṛṣayaç ca devānāṁ yajñavāstv abhyāyan: yajñasya kiṁ cid eṣiṣyāmaḥ prajñātyā iti, te 'bhitaḥ paricarantu ait paçum eva nirāntaraṁ çayānam*, 'Thereupon men and sages went to the sacrificial ground of the gods (thinking:) "We will seek something or other of the sacrifice for the sake of orientation"; they wandering about on all sides;—lo, there was an animal lying (there) disemboweled'. AB. 2. 13. 6.

The form *ait* cannot, of course, be regarded as a 'grammatischer Schnitzer' as is suggested by Aufrecht (AB., p. 430, 20 where 2. 13. 6 should be read instead of 2. 7) who proposes an emendation to *āyan*. It is either a collateral form to *et* (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 318, 14, § 269, b, γ) or a faulty reading for *et* (Weber, Ind. Stud. 9, p. 249; Böhtlingk, Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1900, p. 416; pw. s. *et*, p. 272, col. 2).

In all the other passages where the exclamatory *et* with dependent accusative occurs it is (A) either preceded by a finite form of a verb of motion, thus *ceruḥ* ÇB. 1. 6. 2. 3; *eyāya* 4. 1. 3. 4; *ājagāma* 11. 5. 1. 11; *pravavrāja* 11. 6. 1. 3—7;

For the irregular external Sandhi at ÇB. 11. 5. 1. 11 *ājagām' et* and 11. 6. 1. 3—7 *pravavrāj' et* cf. Whitney, Gr. § 137, b (the instances VS. 13. 53

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tv'eman and *tv' odman* cited there are given by Patañjali on Vārttika 6 to Pāṇ. 6, 1. 94); Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 269, c; p. 319—320; Macdonell, Ved. Gr. § 70, 2, a; p. 64.

or (B) the place of the finite verb of motion is taken by a direct discourse containing such a verb, thus *punar ema iti* ÇB. 2. 2. 3. 3; 2. 2. 4. 12; 2. 3. 4. 2; *punar aimī 'ti* ÇB. 11. 5. 1. 4; 13; K. 8. 10 (p. 93, 19 where *sa punar aimī 'ty ed vṛkṣasyā 'gre 'gniṁ jvalantam* should be read with the mss. for Schroeder's *aid*, cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. 3, p. 463; Caland, WZKM. 23, p. 61).

II. In the following examples (Ex. 9—18) a definite subject for the Absolute Nominative must be supplied from the context. In this respect the instances here listed differ from those given below § 71—75 where the subject to be supplied with the gerund is indefinite and the disjunct gerund is therefore often more conveniently rendered in English by the passive.

9. *atha yasya jāyām ārtavaṁ vindet tryahaṁ kaṅse na pibed ahatavāsā, nai 'nāṁ vṛṣalo na vṛṣaly apahanyāt, trirātrānta āplūya vrīhīn avaghātayet*, 'Whose wife the menses overtake, she should not drink for the space of three days out of a (metal) bowl, being not dressed (the while) in a new-washed garment; neither a Vṛṣala nor a Vṛṣalī should touch her; at the expiration of three nights, —she having taken a bath,—he (the husband) should cause her to pound rice'. ÇB. 14. 9. 4. 12 (= BĀU. 6. 4. 12 Mādhy. = 13 Kāṇv.).

Incorrectly Böhtlingk, who takes the gerund *āplūya* as referring to the subject of the sentence: 'Nach Ablauf von drei Tagen bade er sich und lasse (die Frau) Reis dreschen'. Correctly Deussen: 'Nachdem die drei Nächte vorüber, soll sie sich baden und man soll sie den Reis ausdreschen lassen'. The Comment. to BĀU. Kāṇv. distinctly glosses: *tāṁ āplutāṁ vrīhīn avaghātayet*. Contrast, without change of subject, TB. 1. 6. 5. 2 *nirdiçyai 'vai 'naṁ [jāram] varuṇapāçena grāhayati*; 'She (the wife) having pointed out this (her paramour) causes him to be bound with the noose of Varuṇa'. And cf. Ex. 2 and 10.

10. *sa ābhyām eva prasūta indro vṛtram ahan, te devā vṛtraṁ hatvā 'gnīṣomāv abruvan: havyaṁ no vahatam iti*, 'Impelled by these two (viz. heaven and earth) this Indra slew Vṛtra; the gods,—he (Indra) having slain Vṛtra,—said to Agni and Soma: "Carry ye the oblation for us".' TS. 2. 5. 2. 6.

Keith renders: 'The gods having slain Vṛtra said to Agni and Soma . . .'; but it is Indra and not the gods who slew Vṛtra. Cf. above Ex. 2 and 9.

11. *athai 'naṁ [yajñam] brahmā 'nvait, tam āpnot, tam āptvā parastān nirudhyā 'tiṣṭhat, sa āptaḥ parastān niruddhas tiṣṭhañ*

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jñātvā svāny āyudhāni brahmo 'pāvartata, 'Then the Brahman (neut.) went after this (sacrifice); it (the Brahman) having reached it (the sacrifice), blocking it in front,—it (the sacrifice) stood still; it (the sacrifice) having been reached (and) blocked in front, standing still (and) recognizing its own weapons (viz. the sacrificial implements) turned toward the Brahman'. AB. 7. 19. 3.

Both Haug and Keith take *atiṣṭhat* as auxiliary verb with *nirudhya* and as referring to *brahma* as subject: 'It (the Brahman) kept blocking it (the sacrifice)'. But it is the sacrifice which, being reached (*āpnot, āptvā, āptaḥ*) and blocked (*nirudhya, niruddhaḥ*) by the Brahman, stood still (*atiṣṭhat, tiṣṭhan*). The situation is similar to that in ÇB. 1. 6. 2. 3—4 where the sacrifice, creeping away in the shape of a tortoise, stands still for Agni; and cf. TS. 2. 6. 3. 3.

12. *atha ha sītā sāvitrī somaṁ rājānaṁ cakame, çraddhām u sa cakame, sā ha pitaraṁ prajāpatim upasasāra, taṁ ho 'vāca: namas te 'stu bhagavaḥ, upa tvā yāmi* (Bibl. Ind. *yāni*) ‖ *pra tvā padye, somaṁ vai rājānaṁ kāmāye, çraddhām u sa kāmayata iti, tasyā u ha sthāgaram alaṁkāraṁ kalpayitvā daçahotāraṁ purastād vyākhyāya caturhotāraṁ dakṣiṇataḥ pañcahotāraṁ paççāt ṣaḍḍhotāram uttarataḥ saptahotāram upariṣṭāt saṁbhāraiç ca patnibhiç ca mukhe 'laṁkṛtya* ‖ *ā 'sya 'rdhaṁ vavrāja, tāṁ ho 'dīkṣyo 'vāca: upa mā 'vartasve 'ti*, 'Now Sītā Sāvitrī loved king Soma, but he loved Çraddhā; she (Sītā) betook herself to father Prajāpati; she said to him: "Obeisance be to thee, Venerable Sir, I come to thee, I approach thee; I love king Soma, but he loves Çraddhā"; he (Prajāpati) having caused an ornament of Sthagara to be prepared for her, having explained to her the Daçahotṛ-litany in front, the Caturhotṛ-litany in the south, the Pañcahotṛ-litany behind, the Saḍḍhotṛ-litany in the north, (and) the Saptahotṛ-litany above,—she (Sītā) having adorned her face proceeded with the (necessary) perquisites and with her women to the place of this (Soma); he, having caught sight of her, said: "Turn toward me".' TB. 2. 3. 10. 1—3.

13. *athā 'dhvaryur hiraṇyapātreṇa madhugrahaṁ gṛhṇāti*, . . ., *atho 'kthyaṁ gṛhṇāty atha dhruvam athai 'tānt somagrahān uttame stotra ṛtvijāṁ camaseṣu vyavanīya juhvati*, 'Now the Adhvaryu-priest draws the mead-libation with a gold cup; . . .; then he draws the Ukthya-libation, then the Dhruva-libation, then, at the last Stotra,—he (the Adhvaryu-priest) having poured these Soma-

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libations into the cups of the (several) priests,—they (the priests) offer them'. ÇB. 5. 1. 2. 19.

Eggeling notes the absolute construction of the gerund and refers to Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 408 (misprinted as 108).

14. || *dhānāruha u vai vṛkṣo 'nyataḥ pretya saṁbhavaḥ* || 'A tree grows from seed; it having died, —there is growth from another (seed, = a new tree grows from the seed of the old tree)'. ÇB. 14. 6. 9. 34 (= BĀU. 3. 9. 34 Mādhy. = 28 Kāṇv.). Çloka.

Contrast the impersonal use of *pretya* 'after death' at ÇB. 14. 7. 3. 13; 14 (= BĀU. 4. 5. 13; 14) below § 75, Ex. 1.

15. *taṁ [paçum] jaghanena cātvālam antareṇa yūpaṁ ca 'gniṁ ca haranti, . . ., tasmād antareṇa yūpaṁ ca 'gniṁ ca haranti, dakṣiṇato nidhāya pratiprasthātā 'vadyati,* 'They carry this (victim) back of the pit between the sacrificial stake and the fire; . . .; for this reason they carry it between the sacrificial stake and the fire; they having laid it down to the south (of the fire),—the Pratiprasthātṛ-priest makes the sacrificial cuttings'. ÇB. 3. 8. 3. 10.

16. *taṁ [garbham] jaghanena cātvālam antareṇa yūpaṁ cā 'gniṁ ca haranti, dakṣiṇato nidhāya pratiprasthātā 'vadyati,* 'They carry this (embryo) back of the pit between the sacrificial stake and the fire; they having laid it down to the south (of the fire),—the Pratiprasthātṛ-priest makes the sacrificial cuttings'. ÇB. 4. 5. 2. 8.

17. *gṛhapater evā 'raṇyoḥ saṁvadante: . . . ity evam uktvā gṛhapatir eva prathamaḥ samārohayate,* 'They hold converse with each other over the churning sticks of the Gṛhapati: . . ., they having thus held converse,—the Gṛhapati lifts (the fire) first. ÇB. 4. 6. 8. 13; 15.

The simplex *uktvā* repeats the compound *saṁvadante*; cf. JAOS. 28, p. 86, note 5.

Here belongs also most probably

18. *yasyā 'gnihotram adhiçritaṁ prāñ udāyan skhalate vā 'pi vā bhrañçate kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ,* 'If one's Agnihotra after it has been placed on (the fire) spills over or even (completely) falls down,—(the Adhvaryu-priest) going up to the east (= while the Adhvaryu-priest is going up to the east)—what expiation is there?' AB. 7. 5. 6.

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The translation, as do Haug's and Keith's, follows the Commentary which glosses: *agnihotradravyaṁ gārhapatye 'dhiçritaṁ pākād ūrdhvam ādāya prāṅmukha āhavanīyaṁ pratyudāyann udgacchann adhvaryur yadā bhavati tadānīṁ tad dravyaṁ skhaleta yad vā bhrañçeta, bindupatanaṁ skhalanam, sākalyena dravyapatanaṁ bhrañçaḥ.* Weber, Ind. Stud. 9, p. 310–311, on the other hand, construes *udāyan* with the subject of the clause: 'Wenn er zu dem (ans Feuer) angesetzten agnihotram hin ostwärts hinaufkommend strauchelt oder gar fällt . . .' with the note: '*Prāñ udāyan* kann nicht als parenthetischer Nebensatz gefaßt werden, sondern ist Subject des ganzen Satzes'.

Appendix I.

Apparent Instances of Disjunct Nominatives.

§ 27. Here are grouped together a number of passages in which at first glance instances of a Disjunct Nominative might be assumed. Upon closer examination, however, it will be found that these apparent Disjunct Nominatives admit of a different explanation.

1. *tad iṣṭāḥ prayājā āsur aparyagnikṛtam, athā 'surā anvājagmus, te devāḥ paryagninai 'vā 'surānt sapatnān bhrātṛvyān yajñād antarāyan*, 'Now the fore-offerings had been offered without the ceremony of carrying round the fire having (as yet) been performed; then (= at this moment) the Asuras came after (the gods); (but) these (gods) excluded the Asuras, their foes and rivals, from the sacrifice by means of the ceremony of carrying round the fire'. ÇB. 12. 9. 3. 9.

Eggeling translates: 'Now, the fore-offerings had been performed, but the fire had not been carried round (the oblations), when the Asuras come after him', and thus seems to take *tad iṣṭāḥ prayājā āsuḥ* and *aparyagnikṛtam* as two coordinated paratactical clauses. The rendering above takes *aparyagnikṛtam* as an adverbial accusative, cf. *anavadhṛtam*, KB. 16. 4 (bis, p. 71, 6), 'not fixedly' (PW. Nachträge, col. 980 'nicht feststehend, unbestimmt'; pw. 'nach eigenem Gutdünken': Keith 'insecurely'); *anājñātam* TS. 2. 1. 6. 5 'in a manner unknown'; *avichinnam* K. 13. 13 (p. 15, 17); MS. 3. 4. 1 (p. 45, 3); 3. 9. 3 (p. 117, 11) and *avyavachinnam* ÇB. 1. 9. 3. 5 'without interruption'; *asamavahitam* ÇB. 9. 4. 3. 15 'without paying heed to'. The adverbial accusative *aparyagnikṛtam* would then be the semantic equivalent of a locative absolute **aparyagnikṛte*, cf. AB. 2. 5. 2 *tṛcam āgneyaṁ gāyatram anvāha paryagnikriyamāṇe*, 'He recites a triplet in the Gāyatrī-metre (and) addressed to Agni while the ceremony of carrying round the fire is taking place', and similarly TS. 3. 4. 3. 5 *paryagnau kriyamāṇe juhoti*, 'He makes the offering while the ceremony of carrying round the fire is bring performed'. The closest parallel to ÇB. 12. 9. 3. 9 is ÇB. 9. 4. 3. 15–16 *iṣṭā devatā bhavanty*

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asamavahitam sviṣṭakṛte ‖ *athai 'naṁ pūrvābhiṣekenā 'bhimṛçati*, 'The divinities have been sacrificed to without the Sviṣṭakṛt having (as yet) been attended to; then he touches this (altar) with the formula for the preliminary consecration'.

2. *niviṣṭe mṛtā patnī naṣṭā vā 'gnihotraṁ katham agnihotraṁ juhoti* '(Supposing that) after (the Agnihotrin) has married, (his) wife has died or has disappeared, how does he offer the Agnihotra?' AB. 7. 10. 2.

Weber, Ind. Stud. 9, p. 312 translates: 'Stirbt nach dem Eintritt (des Mannes in den Stand des Agnihotrin dessen) Frau oder wird sie (sonst wie von ihm) verloren, wie kann er dann das Agnihotra opfern, das Agnihotra?' Keith: 'If one has commenced (the sacrifice), and his wife dies or disappears, how does he offer the Agnihotra?' Sāyaṇa glosses: *vivāhād ūrdhvam agnihotre niviṣṭe anuṣṭhātum upakrānte sati paçcāt patnī mṛtā bhavati.* But I am unable to find another passage where √ *viç* + *ni* appears in the technical sense of 'entering upon the state of an Agnihotrin or the like' or of 'commencing a sacrifice'. It would therefore seem preferable to take √ *viç* + *ni* here in the sense which it frequently has in the Epic, viz. 'to establish a household by getting married', cf. PW. s. √ *viç* + *ni* col. 1194, no. 5 = pw. p. 121, col. 1, no. 7 and col. 2, no. 14, f; PW. col. 1195, no. 10, e = pw. p. 122, col. 1, no. 2, and V. Nachträge, p. 242, col. 3, s. *aniviṣṭa*; PW. s. *niveça*, col. 226, no. 3, d = pw. p. 222, col. 2, no. 3, f; PW. s. *niveçya*, col. 227, no. 2 = pw. p. 222, col. 3, no. 3; PW. s. *niveṣṭavya*, col. 227 = pw. p. 222, col. 3, no. 2. As subject of the locative absolute [*agnihotriṇi*] should be understood with *niviṣṭe*. The words *niviṣṭe* [*agnihotriṇi*] *mṛtā patnī naṣṭā vā* form an independent paratactical clause equivalent in sense to a hypotactical conditional sentence.

Chapters 10 and 11 of the seventh book of AB. are interpolations; according to the Commentary they were recognized in certain localities only (*deçaviçeṣena ke cid āmananti ke cin nā 'mananti*).

The peculiar repetition of *agnihotram* occurs agaṁ at 7. 10. 4 *apatnīko 'gnihotraṁ katham agnihotraṁ juhoti.*

3. Eighteen passages of ÇB. show a nominative which Eggeling in his note to ÇB. 6. 1. 1, 2 calls 'striking' and 'vivid' and which according to his rendering he seems to construe as a Pendent Nominative. Delbrück, on the other hand, is inclined to construe the nominative with the verb of naming and he remarks on the absence of an expected *iti* (Altind. Syntax, § 64, p. 104, 28). In reality the nominative forms an independent paratactical and parenthetical clause.

These eighteen passages have this in common that they propose mystic etymologies i. e. etymological equations between the real, esoteric name of a person or thing and their every-day, cryptic name; thus 'Indra' is the every-day, cryptic

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name of the god whose real, esoteric name is 'Indha'. Such statements are commonly cast in the stylistic mould exemplified by the following examples; ÇB. 14. 6. 11. 2 (= BĀU. 4. 2. 2) *taṁ vā etam indhaṁ santam indra ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇe 'va* (Kāṇv. *parokṣeṇai 'va*; for *iva* = *eva* cf. above § 9, Ex. 21, Rem.), 'Him who is (really, esoterically) Indha they cryptically call (in every-day speech) Indra'; ÇB. 6. 1. 2. 13; 21 *etaṁ prajāpatiṁ santam agnir ity ācakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Prajāpati they call Agni'; AB. 3. 33. 6 *tan māduṣaṁ san mānuṣam ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇe 'va*, 'That which is (really) Māduṣa they cryptically call Mānuṣa'; AB. 3. 43. 1; 2; 3 *tam agnistomaṁ* (2. *catustomaṁ*; 3. *jyotistomaṁ*) *santam agniṣṭoma* (2 *catuṣṭoma*; 3. *jyotiṣṭoma*) *ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇa* 'That which is (really) Agnistoma (Catustoma, Jyotistoma) they cryptically call Agniṣṭoma (Catuṣṭoma, Jyotiṣṭoma); AB. 7. 30. 4 *taṁ nyagrohaṁ santaṁ nyagrodha ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇa*, 'This (tree) which is (really) the Nyagroha they cryptically call Nyagrodha'; GB. 1. 1. 1 *taṁ vā etaṁ suvedaṁ santaṁ sveda ity ācakṣate* 'That which is (really) Suveda they call Sveda (sweat)'; GB. 1. 1. 7 *taṁ vā etaṁ varaṇaṁ santaṁ varuṇa ity ācakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Varaṇa they call Varuṇa'; GB. 1. 1. 7 *taṁ vā etaṁ mucyaṁ santaṁ mṛtyur ity ācakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Mucya they call Mṛtyu (Death)'; GB. 1. 1. 7 *taṁ vā etam aṅgarasaṁ santam aṅgirā ity ācakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Aṅgaras they call Aṅgiras'; GB. 1. 1. 39 *puriçayaṁ santaṁ prāṇaṁ puruṣa ity ācakṣate*, 'The breath which is (really) Puriçaya (Resting in the Stronghold) they call Puruṣa (Person)'; GB. 1. 2. 21 *taṁ vā etam āglāhataṁ santam āglāgṛdha ity ācakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Āglāhata (?) they call Āglāgṛdha (?)'; GB. 1. 2. 21 *taṁ vā etaṁ rasaṁ santaṁ ratha ity ācakṣate*, 'That which is (really) Rasa (sap) they call Ratha (chariot)'; GB. 1. 3. 19 *taṁ vā etaṁ dhīkṣitaṁ santaṁ dīkṣita ity ācakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Dhīkṣita they call Dīkṣita (consecrated)'; GB. 1. 4. 23 *taṁ vā etaṁ spṛçyaṁ santaṁ pṛṣṭhya ity ācakṣate* 'That which is really Spṛçya they call Pṛṣṭhya'.

In the following eighteen passages, however, the real esoteric name is given in an independent paratactical clause which is then followed by the phrase *tam . . . ity ācakṣate* containing the every-day, cryptic name.

A combination of both types of expression occurs at Ait. Ār. 2. 4. 3 (p. 121, 2 Keith) = Ait. Up. 1. 3. 14 *tasmād idaṁdro nāme, 'daṁdro ha vai nāma, tam idaṁdraṁ santaṁ indra* (Röer *indram*) *ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇa*, 'Therefore he is Idaṁdra by name; Idaṁdra by name he (really) is; him who is (really) Idaṁdra they cryptically call Indra'; JUB. 1. 20. 4 *tad yad asminn idaṁ sarvam antas tasmād antaryakṣam, antaryakṣaṁ ha vai nāmai 'tat, tad antarikṣam iti parokṣam ācakṣate*; 1. 24. 2; 2. 8. 7.

1. *yad ainddha tasmād indha, indho ha vai, tam indra ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Because he kindled therefore he is the Kindler (Indha); the Kindler (Indha) indeed he (really) is; him they cryptically call Indra'. ÇB. 6. 1. 1. 2.

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Contrast ÇB. 14. 6. 11. 2 (= BĀU. 4. 2. 2) *indho vai nāmai 'ṣa yo 'yaṁ dakṣiṇe 'kṣan puruṣas, taṁ vā etam indhaṁ santam indra ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇe 'va* (Kāṇv. *parokṣenai 'va*; for *iva* = *eva* cf. above § 9, Ex. 21, Rem.), 'This Person in the right eye is (really) Indha by name; him being (really) Indha they cryptically call Indra'.

The adverbial instrumental *parokṣeṇa* with *ācakṣate* occurs in ÇB. only at 14. 6. 11. 2 (= BĀU. 4. 2. 2); Elsewhere the adverbial accusative *parokṣam* is used: ÇB. 2. 1. 2. 11; 3. 3. 3. 9; 6. 1. 1. 11 (bis); 6. 1. 2. 3; 6. 7. 1. 23; 7. 4. 1. 16; 7. 4. 2. 12; 7. 5. 1. 22 (bis); 8. 6. 2. 13; 9. 1. 1. 2; 9. 1. 1. 7; 9. 1. 2. 22 (bis); 9. 1. 2. 36; 10. 5. 2. 14; 10. 6. 2, 2; 13. 8. 1. 1 (bis).

2—3. *atha yo garbho 'ntarā 'sīt so 'grir asṛjyata, sa yad asya sarvasyā 'gram asṛjyata tasmād agrir, agrir ha vai, tam agnir ity ācakṣate parokṣam, . . ., atha yad açru saṁkṣaritam āsīt so 'çrur abhavad, açrur ha vai, tam açva ity ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'The embryo which was within was born as Agri; because it was born as summit (*agra*) of this universe therefore (it is called) Agri; Agri indeed he (really) is; him they cryptically call Agni; . . .; furthermore the tear (*açru*) which had flown together, that became Açru; Açru indeed it (really) is; it they cryptically call Açva (horse)'. ÇB. 6. 1. 1. 11.

4. *sa yad ukhā nāmai, 'tad vai devā etena karmaṇai 'tayā 'vṛte 'mān lokān udakhanan, yad udakhanaṅs tasmād utkho, 'tkhā ha vai, tām ukhe 'ty ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'Now as to its being called Ukhā (pan); by means of this rite (and) by means of this procedure the gods dug out these worlds; because they dug out (*udakhanan*) therefore (the pan is really called) Utkhā; Utkhā indeed it (really) is; it they cryptically call Ukhā', ÇB. 6. 7. 1. 23.

5. *asau vā āditya eṣa rukma, eṣa hī 'māḥ sarvāḥ prajā atirocate, roco ha vai, taṁ rukma ity ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'The gold plate is (equivalent to) yonder sun, for he outshines all these creatures; Roca, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Rukma'. ÇB. 7. 4. 1. 10.

6. *sa yo 'pāṁ rasa āsīt tam ūrdhvaṁ samudauhaṅs, tām asmai puram akurvaṅs, tad yad asmai puram akurvaṅs tasmāt pūṣkaram, pūṣkaraṁ ha vai, tat puṣkaram ity ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'What sap of the waters there was that they gathered up on top; they made it a stronghold for him; because they made a stronghold for him

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therefore it is (really called) Pūṣkara; Pūṣkara, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Puṣkara (lotus flower)'. ÇB. 7. 4. 1. 13.

7. *tad yad asyai 'tasyāṁ ramyāyāṁ tanvāṁ devā aramanta tasmād dhiramyaṁ, hiramyaṁ ha vai, tad dhiraṇyam ity ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'Because the gods were pleased with this pleasing form of his therefore it is (really) Hiramya; Hiramya, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Hiraṇya (gold)'. ÇB. 7. 4. 1. 16.

8. *yad abravīd: adhūrvīn me 'ti tasmād dhūrvā, dhūrvā ha vai, tāṁ dūrve 'ty ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'Because he said: "He hath injured me", therefore it is (really called) Dhūrvā; Dhūrvā, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Dūrvā (-grass)'. ÇB. 7. 4. 2. 12.

9—10. *yad abravīd: udabhārṣīn me 'ti tasmād udumbhara, udumbharo ha vai, tam udumbara ity ācakṣate parokṣam, . . ., uru me karad iti tasmād urukaram, urukaraṁ ha vai, tad ulūkhalam ity ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'Because he said: "He hath lifted me out", therefore it is (really) Udumbhara; Udumbhara it (really) is; it they cryptically call Udumbara; . . .; (and because he said:) "May it make a wide (space) for me", therefore it is (really) Urukara; Urukara, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Ulūkhala (mortar)'. ÇB. 7. 5. 1. 22.

11. *tad yad etaṁ devam etenā [annena] 'çamayaṅs tasmāc chāntadevatyaṁ, çāntadevatyaṁ ha vai, tac chatarudriyam ity ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'Because they appeased this god by means of this (food), therefore it is (really) Çāntadevatya; Çāntadevatya, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Çatarudriya'. ÇB. 9. 1. 1. 2.

12. *tad yad etaṁ çataçīrṣāṇaṁ rudram etenā [annena] 'çamayaṅs tasmāc chataçīrṣarudraçamanīyaṁ, çataçīrṣarudraçamanīyaṁ ha vai, tac chatarudriyam ity ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'Because they appeased this hundred-headed Rudra by means of this (food), therefore it is (really) Çataçīrṣarudraçamanīya; Çataçīrṣarudraçamanīya, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Çatarudriya'. ÇB. 9. 1. 1. 7.

13. *atha yad abruvann: avāñ naḥ kam agād iti tā avākkā abhavan, avākkā ha vai, tā avakā ity ācakṣate parokṣam,* 'Now because they said: "Downward hath our moisture gone", these Avakkās arose; Avakkās, indeed they (really) are; them they cryptically call Avākas (lotuses)'. ÇB. 9. 1. 2. 22.

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14. *iyaṁ vai rathantaram, iyam u vā eṣāṁ lokānāṁ rasatamo, 'syāṁ hī 'me sarve rasā, rasaṁtamaṁ ha vai, tad rathantaram ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'The Rathantara is (identical with) this (earth), for of (all) these worlds this (earth) is the one most filled with sap, for all these saps are (contained) in this (earth); Rasaṁtama, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Rathantara'. ÇB. 9. 1. 2. 36.

Cf. the mystic connection of *rasa* with *ratha* GB. 1. 2. 21 *taṁ vā etaṁ rasaṁ santaṁ ratha ity ācakṣate*; and cf., for *th* = *s*, the reading TB. 2. 7. 15. 1 *prasavāya* for *prathamāya* of AV. 7. 14. 3 and the other parallels.

15. *eṣa [prāṇaḥ] hī 'māḥ sarvāḥ prajāḥ praṇayati, tasyai 'te prāṇāḥ svāḥ, sa yadā svapity athai 'nam ete prāṇāḥ svā apiyanti, tasmāt svāpyayaḥ, svāpyayo ha vai, taṁ svapna ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'For this (breath) leads forth all creatures; these (other) breaths (organs of sense) are its own; now when one sleeps then these (other) breaths, being its own, go unto this (breath); therefore it (the state of sleeping) is (really) Svāpyaya; Svāpyaya, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Svapna (sleep)'. ÇB. 10. 5. 2. 14.

With *athai 'nam ete prāṇāḥ svā apiyanti* . . . cf. Chānd. Up. 6. 8. 1 *yatrai 'tat puruṣaḥ svapiti nāma satā saumya tadā saṁpanno bhavati svam apīto bhavati, tasmād enaṁ svapitī 'ty ācakṣate, svaṁ hy apīto bhavati*, 'When namely a man sleepeth, then, my dear, hath he become united with the Real, he hath gone unto (his) own; therefore they say of him: "He sleepeth."'

16. *sa vai yaḥ so 'ttā 'gnir eva sa, tasmin yat kiṁ cā 'bhyādadhaty āhitaya evā 'sya tā, āhitayo ha vai, tā āhutaya ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Now this eater is (identical with) Agni; whatever they put into this (Agni) that is (really) his Āhitis; Āhitis, indeed, they (really) are; them they cryptically call Āhutis (oblations)'. ÇB. 10. 6. 2. 2.

17. *yo vai kaç ca mriyate sa çavas tasmā etad annaṁ karoti, tasmāc chavānnaṁ, çavānnaṁ ha vai, tac chmaçānam ity ācakṣate parokṣam; çmaçā u hai 'va nāma pitṝṇām attāraḥ, . . ., tebhya etad annaṁ karoti, tasmāc chmaçānnaṁ, çmaçānnaṁ ha vai, tac chmaçānam ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Whoever dies he is a corpse; for him he prepares this food; therefore it is (really) Çavānna; Çavānna, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Çmaçāna (burial ground); furthermore the Eaters among the Fathers are Çmaças by name; . . .; for them he prepares this food; therefore it

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is (really) Çmaçānna; Çmaçānna, indeed, it (really) is; it they cryptically call Çmaçāna (burial ground)'. ÇB. 13. 8. 1. 1.

18. *sa u eva makhaḥ sa viṣṇus, tata indro makhavān abhavan, makhavān ha vai, taṁ maghavān ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'And he is also Makha, he is Viṣṇu; thence Indra Makhavan came into being; Makhavan, indeed, he (really) is; him they cryptically call Maghavan'. ÇB. 14. 1. 1. 13.

4. In the following passage the words *iyaṁ raçānā* and *raçānāyai yūpaçakalaḥ* and *yūpaçakalāc caṣālam* are to be construed as three independent paratactical clauses: '(First) there is this girdle rope here'; '(Counting upward) from the girdle rope (Eggeling: 'after the rope') there is the chip of the sacrificial stake'; and '(Counting upward) from the chip of the sacrificial stake (Eggeling: 'after the chip') there is the top ring'.

1. *svargasyo hai 'ṣa lokasya samārohanaḥ kriyate yad yūpaçakala, iyaṁ raçānā, raçānāyai yūpaçakalo, yūpaçakalāc caṣālaṁ, caṣālāt svargaṁ lokaṁ samaçnute*, 'And this, viz. the chip of the sacrificial stake, is made (a means of) ascent to the heavenly world; first there is this girdle rope here; (counting upward) from the girdle rope there is the chip of the sacrificial stake; (counting upward) from the chip of the sacrificial stake there is the top ring; from the top ring he reaches the heavenly world'. ÇB. 3. 7. 1. 23.

Formally it would be possible to construe *caṣālam* as accusative dependent on *samaçnute* and parallel to *svargaṁ lokam*; but the context makes it more likely that *çaṣālam* is nominative and the clause *yūpaçakalāc caṣālam* runs parallel with the two preceding paratactical clauses. For *caṣāla* as neuter cf. TS. 6. 3. 4. 7; K. 14. 8 (p. 207, 9); 26. 4 (bis, p. 126, 16 and 18); 26. 6 (p. 129, 7); MS. 1. 11. 8 (p. 169, 18); 3. 9. 4 (p. 119, 3). With *caṣālāt svargaṁ lokaṁ samaçnute* cf. K. 26. 4 (p. 126, 16) *caṣālād vai devās svargaṁ lokam āyan.*

5. The following passage contains the enumeration of fifteen sets of victims which is introduced by the verb *ālabhate*; fourteen of these are properly placed in the accusative, while the last item is loosely added as a paratactical nominative.

For similar anacolouthic constructions in Latin cf. Fredrik Horn, Zur Geschiche der absoluten Partizipial-Konstruktionen im Lateinischen, 1918, p. 68: 'Wir können oft, besonders in Grabinschriften, eine Menge Titel und andere Epitheta in demselben Kasus [obliquus] aufeinander folgen

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sehen, bis ein neuer und wichtiger Zusatz kommt, der dann oft im Nominativ steht.' Horn refers to the collections of Konjetzny in Wölfflin's Archiv, 15, p. 308 and of Pirson, La langue des inscriptions latines de la Gaule, p. 165.

1. *yad açve paçūn niyunakti yajña eva tad yajñam ārabhate* ‖ *açvaṁ tūparaṁ gomṛgam iti tān madhyame yūpa ālabhate, . . .* ‖ *kṛṣṇagrīvam āgneyam rarāṭe purastāt, . . .* ‖ *sārasvatīṁ meṣīm adhastād dhanvoḥ, . . .* ‖ *açvināv adhorāmau bāhvoḥ, . . .* ‖ *somāpauṣṇaṁ çyāmaṁ nābhyām, . . .* ‖ *sauryayāmau çvetaṁ ca kṛṣṇaṁ ca pārçvayoḥ, . . .* ‖ *tvāṣṭrau lomaçasakthyau sakthyoḥ, . . .* ‖ *vāyavyaṁ çvetaṁ pucche, . . ., indrāya svapasyāya vehataṁ yajñasya sendratāyai, . . . vaiṣṇavo vamo, yajño vai viṣṇuḥ . . .,* 'In that he ties up the (Paryañgya-)victims to the horse he seizes the sacrifice in the sacrifice; a horse, a hornless (he-goat), a bos gavaeus,—them he takes (for slaughter and ties up) at the middle stake; . . .; a black-necked (he-goat) sacred to Agni (he takes and ties up) to the (horse's) forehead in front; . . .; an ewe sacred to Sarasvatī (he takes and ties up) beneath the (horse's) jaws; . . .; two (he-goats) black on the lower part of their body (and) sacred to the Açvins (he takes and ties up) to the (horse's) front-legs; . . .; a dark-coloured (he-goat) sacred to Soma and Pūṣan (he takes and ties up) to the (horse's) navel; . . .; a white and a black (he-goat) sacred to Sūrya and Yama (he takes and ties up) to the (horse's) flanks; . . .; two (he-goats) with shaggy hind-legs sacred to Tvaṣṭṛ (he takes and ties up) to the (horse's) hind-legs; . . .; a white (he-goat) sacred to Vāyu (he takes and ties up) to the (horse's) tail; . . .; for Indra the Active (he takes and ties up) a cow who is wont to cast her calf, in order to secure a union of the sacrifice with Indra; (finally there is) a dwarfish (he-goat) sacred to Viṣṇu, for Viṣṇu is (identical with) the sacrifice'. ÇB. 13. 2. 2. 1—9.

Cf. the parallel passage TB. 3. 8. 23. 1—3 where a similar list consists of accusatives only dependent on *niyuñjanti* and *ālabhate.*

6. In glossing the first two words of the two Mantras VS. 37. 12 *āçrutir uttarato, dhātur ādhipatye rāyaspoṣaṁ me dhāḥ* and *vidhṛtir upariṣṭād, bṛhaspater ādhipatye vacaṁ me dhāḥ* the ÇB. 14. 1. 3. 22 and 23 has

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1. *āçrutir uttarata ity, āçrāvayann uttarata ity evai 'tad āha.*
2. *vidhṛtir upariṣṭād iti, vidhārayann upariṣṭād ity evai 'tad āha.*

Eggeling notes the masculine gender of the two participles *āçrāvayan* and *vidhārayan* (while the VS. invocation refers to the Earth) and further, referring to Mahīdhāra's gloss on the VS. Mantras, suggests that the two participles may be intended to signify: 'Where (the priest) calls for the Çrauṣaṭ-call to the north', and 'Where Bṛhaspati disposes on high'. But it seems more likely that the Brāhmaṇa, mechanically following the case of the two nouns *āçrutiḥ* and *vidhṛtiḥ*, really intends to equate them with the two masculine participles in the nominative.

7. At ÇB. 3. 1. 1. 8 the Mādhyandina recension reads

1. *tāṁ [çālām] vā etāṁ pariçrayanti ned abhivarṣād iti nv eva varṣāḥ.*

According to Eggeling's note the Kāṇva recension omits *iti nv eva varṣāḥ* and reads: 'Lest it should freeze in winter, lest it should pour in the rainy season, and lest there should be burning heat in the summer'.

As the passage stands in the Mādhyandina recension *iti* belongs both to the preceding *ned*-clause which it closes (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 178, p. 317, 2 and 317, 13—21) and to the following *nv eva varṣāḥ* (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 255, p. 517, 5—6 and § 263, p. 536, 31—34); cf. a similar haplology at JUB. 3. 13. 6—7). Then *varṣāḥ* would appear to be accusative of time (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 117, p. 170—171), cf. ÇB. 1. 5. 3. 11 *tad varṣā īḍitam ivā 'nnam icchamānaṁ carati*, 'This (vermin), being praised as it were, moves about during the rainy season seeking food'; 12 *tā [oṣadhayaḥ] varṣā vardhante,* 'These (plants) grow during the rainy season'.

The passage would then mean: 'This same (hut) they cover over lest it should rain in (upon the sacrificer while be is undergoing the initiation ceremony); so (it is done) during the rainy season at any rate'.

Eggling similarly renders: 'They enclose it on every side lest it should rain upon (the sacrificer while bring consecrated); this, at least, (is the reason for doing so) in the rainy season'.

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8. The passage ÇB. 4. 6. 9. 11
ta uttarasya havirdhānasya jaghanyāyāṁ kūbaryāṁ sāmā 'bhigāyanti sattrasya ṛddhir iti
is translated by Eggeling: 'At the hinder shaft of the northern Soma-cart they sing the Sāman (called) "The Completion of the Session".' But *sattrasya ṛddhir* is not the name of the Sāman in apposition to *sāma* but the Pratīka of VS. 8. 52 *sattrasya ṛddhir asi* as at KÇ. 12. 4. 11 and it is correctly listed as such for our passage in Bloomfield's Concordance. Cf. TS. 7. 4. 5. 4; 7. 5. 4. 2.

9. At MS. 2. 2. 6 (p. 19, 13) Schroeder's text reads
devā anyo 'nyasya çrīṣ ṭe tiṣṭhamānāç caturdhā vyudakrāman
which should be emended to
devā anyo 'nyasya çraiṣṭhye 'tiṣṭhamānāç caturdhā vyudakrāman, 'The gods, not yielding preeminence to one another, went apart in four directions'.

Cf. the same sentence at MS. 3. 7. 10 (p. 90, 1) where two mss. read *çraiṣṭe* and one ms. *çreṣṭhyai* for *çraiṣṭhye*; Schroeder's text misprints *çcaiṣṭhye* and omits the avagraha before *tiṣṭhamānāç*.

The parallel passages have: ÇB. 3. 4. 2. 1 *te [devāḥ] caturdhā vyadravann anyo 'nyasya çriyā atiṣṭhamānāḥ* (with √ *sthā* c. genit. personae et dat. rei); TS. 2. 2. 11. 5; 6. 2. 2. 1 *te [devāḥ] 'nyo 'nyasmai jaiṣṭhyāyā 'tiṣṭhamānāç caturdhā* (TS. 6. 2. 2. 1 *'tiṣṭhamānāḥ pañcadhā*) *vyakrāman* (with √ *sthā* c. dat. rei et personae). The locat. rei in the MS. passages is paralleled by the Çloka ÇÇ. 15. 27

|| *te saṁyañco vaiçvāmitrāḥ sarve sākaṁ sarātayaḥ* |
devarātāya tasthire jyaiṣṭhye çraiṣṭhye ca gāthināḥ ||

where the parallel passage AB. 7. 18. 8 has the datives *dhṛtyai çraiṣṭhyāya* for the ÇÇ. locatives *jyaiṣṭhye çraiṣṭhye*.

The different constructions of √ *sthā* 'concede, yield' are discussed under **Dative.**

Γ Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

9 A. ***trayo dharmaskandhā : yajño 'dhyayanaṁ dānam iti prathamaḥ || tapa eva dvitīyo, brahmacāry ācāryakulavāsī tṛtīyo 'tyantam ātmānam ācāryakule 'vasādayan***, 'There are three grades of Dharma: sacrifice, study (of the Veda), (alms-)giving are the first (stage); penance is the second (stage); a theological student living in the house of (his) teacher is the third (stage), — (a student namely) who greatly (?) mortifies his (flesh) in the house of (his) teacher'. Chānd. Up. 2. 23. 1—2. Here the nominatives ***brahmacāry ācāryakulavāsī***

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and *ātmānam ācāryakule 'vasādayan* are formally adapted to the preceding nominatives *yajño 'dhyayanaṁ dānam* and *tapaḥ* and they are furthermore used with a slightly illogical pregnancy, for strict logic would require in their stead: 'Life of a theological student living in the house of (his) teacher is the third (stage), —life of a student namely who greatly (?) mortifies his (flesh) in the house of (his) teacher'.

Böhtlingk deletes the words *atyantam . . . avasādayan* with the note: 'Erweist sich schon durch sein Nachhinken nach *tṛtīyo* als Glosse'. But cf. Chānd. Up. 2. 19. 2 where *majjño nā 'çnīyād iti vā* is similarly added after *vratam*.

The PW. renders *atyantam* for our passage by 'das ganze Leben hindurch' (and so Deussen following Çaṅkara: *yāvajjīvam*); but it belongs perhaps better to no. 3 'in hohem Grade' for which meaning the PW. quotes Kaṭha Up. 1. 17 and Çvetāçv. Up. 4. 11. 14. Neither *atyantam* nor the causative of √ *sad* + *ava* with an object accusative occur elsewhere in the Brāhmaṇa prose. ⌋

Appendix II.

The Anacolouthic Construction of Relative Clauses.

§ 28. As the present work deals with the relation of parts of the same clause to oneanother the anacolouthic construction of relative clauses does not properly come within its scope since that belongs to a discussion of the relation of clauses to each other. Without attempting to present a complete collection of the material the following instances are given for the sake of comparison with the disjunct uses of the nominative case.

The chief characteristic of the following passages is the loose connection of a relative clause (introduced by *ya*) with the main clause. The general type is discussed by Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 276, p. 561 and § 282, p. 568 under the heading 'Die Verbindung ist ungenau'. The relative pronoun *ya* is in these instances equivalent in meaning to a conditional conjunction plus an indefinite pronoun: 'who' = 'if any one'.

In English this type is represented by: 'As who should say: "I am Sir Oracle, | And when I ope my lips let no dog bark"' (Merchant of Venice, Act I, Scene 1).

§ 29. A. The Relative Clause has a Finite Verb.

1. *tad vai supūtaṁ yaṁ ghṛtenā 'pūnan,* 'That is good cleansing if they cleansed one with ghee' (literally: 'That is well cleansed whom they cleansed with ghee'). ÇB. 3. 1. 2. 11.

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2. *tad vai supūtaṁ yaṁ devaḥ savitā punāt*, 'That is good cleansing if god Savitṛ should cleanse one'. ÇB. 3. 1. 3. 22.

3. *tad dhai 'tat sarvāçyam iva yo dhenvanaḍuhayor açnīyāt*, 'That may be called (*iva*) omnivorousness if one should eat (the meat) of a cow or an ox'. ÇB. 3. 1. 2. 21.

4. *tad vai samṛddhaṁ yaṁ devāḥ sādhave karmaṇe juṣante*, 'That is assured success if the gods favour one for the good work'. ÇB. 3. 6. 4. 8.

5. a) *etad vai tapo yo dīkṣitvā payovrato 'sat*, 'That is penance if one, after having been initiated, lives on fast-milk'. ÇB. 9. 5. 1. 2.
b) *etat khalu vāva tapa ity āhur yaḥ svaṁ dadāti*, 'That indeed is called penance if one gives away his own property'. TS. 6. 1. 6. 3.

6. *yad ṛtuyājānām anuvaṣaṭkuryād asaṁsthitān ṛtūn saṁsthāpayet, . . ., ya enaṁ tatra brūyād* (GB. *yas taṁ tatra brūyād*): *asaṁsthitān ṛtūn samatiṣṭhipad duṣṣanaṁ bhaviṣyatī 'ti çaçvat tathā syāt*, 'If one were to utter the Anuvaṣaṭ-call in connection with the Seasonal Yājas he would put an end to the endless seasons; . . .; if anyone then were to say of him: "He hath put an end to the endless seasons, there will be a bad year", it would surely come to pass so'. AB. 2. 29. 7; GB. 2. 3. 7.

The reading of the GB. text in the Bibl. Ind. *samatiṣṭhi | yo duḥkham anubhaviṣyatī* (the mss. read *samatistiyo duḥsvamam* and *samatiṣṭipāhuḥ svamam*) must be emended, as is done in Gaastra's edition, to agree with AB.

The *kh* in *duḥkham* of the Bibl. Ind. stands for *ṣ*, cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 136, § 118. Conversely GB. 2. 6. 12 (Bibl. Ind. var. lect.) has *nyūṅṣa* for *nyūṅkha*. At KB. 2. 9 (p. 8, 13—14) all the mss. except M. read *viṣīdati* for *vikhidati*; at Çāṅkh. Ār. 9. 7 (p. 316, 30 Keith's ed. of the Ait. Ār. and JRAS. 1908, p. 374) *leṣīḥ* is undoubtedly an error for *lekhīḥ*, cf. VS. 5. 43; K. 3. 2 (p. 23, 18); 26. 3 (p. 125, 9), etc. and TS. 1. 3. 5. 1; 6. 3. 3. 3, etc. At MS. 3. 8. 3 (p. 95, 4) *āmukhaḥ* is read for *āmuṣaḥ*, cf. K. 25. 1 (p. 104, 1), Caland WZKM. 23, p. 55. In the Yajus Çāṅkh. Ç. 6. 3. 8 the majority of the mss. reads *açmā 'ṣaṇaḥ* for *açmā 'khaṇaḥ*, at 17. 15. 4 *āṣaṇam* for *ākhaṇam*, and at 17. 5. 5 the var. lect. has *āṣanāya* for *ākhanāya*.

7. *yad dvidevatyānām anuvaṣaṭkuryād asaṁsthitān prāṇān saṁsthāpayet; . . .; ya enaṁ tatra brūyād : asaṁsthitān prāṇān samatiṣṭhipat, prāṇa enaṁ hāsyatī 'ti çaçvat tathā syāt*, 'If one were to utter the Anuvaṣaṭ-call in connection with the Dvidevatya (cups)

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he would put an end to the endless breaths; . . .; if one then were to say of him: "He hath put an end to the endless breaths, breath will leave him", it would surely come to pass so'. AB. 2. 28. 3.

8. *prāṇā vai dvidevatyā, āyur vajras, tad yad dhotā 'ntareṇā 'guretā 'gurā vajreṇa yajamānasya prāṇān vīyād, ya enaṁ tatra brūyād: āgurā vajreṇa yajamānasya prāṇān vyagāt, prāṇa enaṁ hāsyatī 'ti çaçvat tathā syāt*, 'The Dvidevatya (cups) are (identical with) the breaths, the Āgur-formula is (identical with) a thunderbolt; if the Hotṛ-priest were to pronounce the Āgur-formula between (the offering of the two cups) he would separate the sacrificer's breaths by means of the Āgur-formula (which is identical with) a thunderbolt; if one then were to say of him: "By means of the Āgur-formula (which is identical with) a thunderbolt he hath separated the sacrificer's breaths, breath will leave him", it would surely come to pass so'. AB. 2. 28. 5.

9. *yas taṁ tathā brūyāt: prāṇād ātmānam antaragān na jīviṣyatī 'ti tathā ha syāt*, 'If one were to say of him: "He hath separated the self from breath, he will not live", it would be so'. KB. 12. 7.

10. *sa yo 'tra bhakṣayed yas taṁ tatra brūyād: açānto bhakṣo 'nanuvaṣaṭkṛtaḥ, prāṇān asya* (so the mss. LM.; Lindner's text *prāṇānt sa*) *vyagān na jīviṣyatī 'ti tathā ha syād; ya u vai na bhakṣayed yas taṁ tatra brūyāt: prāṇo bhakṣaḥ, prāṇād ātmānam antaragān na jīviṣyatī 'ti tathā ha syād*, 'Now if one were to eat (of it),—if one then were to say of such an one: "Unappeased is the food over which the Anuvaṣat-call hath not been pronounced; he hath separated his breaths; he will not live", it would be so; if, on the other hand, one were not to eat (of it),—if one then were to say of such an one; "Breath is food; he hath separated the self from breath; he will not live", it would be so'. KB. 13. 9.

11. *sa yo 'trā 'vānantaṁ brūyāt: prāṇād ātmānam antaragān na jīviṣyatī 'ti tathā ha syāt*, 'If one then were to say of him who breathes in: "He hath separated the self from breath, he will not live", it would be so'. KB. 23. 6.

12. *ya enaṁ tatra brūyād: anuvartmā nvā ayaṁ hotā sāmagasyā 'bhūt, . . ., cyoṣyata āyatanād iti çaçvat tathā syāt*, 'If one then were to say of him: "This Hotṛ-priest hath become subservient to the

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Sāman-singer; . . .; he will be pushed off from (his) place", it would surely come to pass so'. AB. 2. 22. 3.

13. *yas taṁ tatra brūyāc: cyoṣyata iti tathā ha syāt*, 'If one then were to say of him: "He will be pushed off", it would be so'. KB. 19. 4.

14. *ya enaṁ tatra brūyād: agnim agnim iti vai pratyapādy, agnim āpatsyatī 'ti çaçvat tathā syāt*, 'If one were to say of him: "Commencement hath been made with (recourse hath been had to) 'Agni', 'Agni'; he will fall into the fire", it would surely come to pass so'. AB. 4. 7. 7.

The passage refers to the injunction not to use RV. 10. 7. 3 *agniṁ manye pitaram agnim āpim* as initial strophe (pratipad); *pratyapādi* is then used with the double meaning of 'use as initial strophe, begin with' and 'have recourse to'.

15. *sa yo 'trā 'vānantaṁ brūyān: mṛtyor āsyam āpāti na jīviṣyatī 'ti tathā ha syāt*, 'If one then were to say of him who breathes in: "He hath fallen into the maw of Death, he will not live", it would be so'. KB. 14. 2.

Lindner's text misprints *āpăti* for *āpāti*.

16. *ya enaṁ tatra brūyād: vācaḥ kuṭena yajamānāt paçūn niravadhīr apaçum enam akar iti çaçvat tathā syāt*, 'If one then were to say to him (viz. the Hotṛ-priest): "Thou hast cut off the cattle from the sacrificer by the hammer of speech; thou hast deprived him of cattle", it would certainly come to pass so'. AB. 6. 24. 13.

17. *ya enaṁ tatra brūyād: etābhyāṁ devatābhyāṁ yajamānasya prāṇān vyagāt prāṇa enaṁ hāsyatī 'ti çaçvat tathā syāt*, 'If one then were to say of him: "From these two divinities he hath cut off the breaths of the sacrificer; breath will forsake him", it would surely come to pass so'. AB. 6. 26. 6.

18. *ya enaṁ tatra brūyād: yajamānam agnau prāvārkṣīḥ, . . ., mariṣyati yajamāna iti çaçvat tathā syāt*, 'If one were to say of him: "Thou hast cast the sacrificer into the fire; . . .; the sacrificer will die", it would certainly come to pass so'. AB. 7. 26. 6.

19. *ya āhitāgnir upavasathe 'çru kurvīta* (2 *upavasathe 'vratyam āpadyeta*; 3 *amāvāsyāṁ paurṇamāsīṁ vā 'tīyāt*) *kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ*, 'If one who has piled the fire should shed tears on the eve of the sacrifice (should do anything contrary to his vow on the eve of the sacrifice; should pass over the ceremonies of the new moon or of the full moon), what expiation is there?' AB. 7. 8. 1—3.

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20. *ya āhitāgnir āgrayaṇenā 'niṣṭvā navānnaṁ prāçnīyāt kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ*, 'If one who has piled the fire should eat new food without having made the first-fruit offering, what expiation is there?' AB. 7. 9. 1.

21. *yas taṁ tatra brūyāt: saṁgatāṁ vā ayaṁ bhūmānaṁ devānāṁ patnīr abhyavānaiṣīt sabhām asya patny abhyavaiṣyatī 'ti tathā ha syāt,* 'If one then were to say of him: "He hath led down the (divine) Wives to the host of the assembled gods (?), his wife will go down to the assembly", that would be so'. KB. 7. 9.

The form *saṁgatām* occurs also in the preceding clause: *yathā saṁgatāṁ bhūmānaṁ devānāṁ patnīr abhyavanayed evaṁ tat.* The short form *saṁgatām* for *saṁgatānām* would be unique and extremely curious for the Brāhmaṇa prose; it is rare even in RV., cf. Whitney, Gr. § 329, f (in fine); Oldenberg, SBE. 46, p. 319; ZDMG. 55, p. 289; Rigveda Noten, Index I, p. 425; II, p. 375; Lanman, Noun-Inflection, p. 354; Macdonell, Ved. Gr. p. 262, § 372, Bartholomae, Stud. I, p. 48. The only parallel would be Ait. Ār. 2. 1. 5 (p. 104, 11 Keith) *prahitām*, if interpreted with Sāyaṇa as standing for *prahitānām*, but cf. Keith's note 5, p. 207 who is inclined to derive it from a base *prahit* 'impeller'.

For *saṁgatām* Keith suggests '*saṁgatim* or *saṁgatam*, as a noun'. Perhaps *saṁgataṁ bhūmānam* 'to the assembled multitude of the gods'?

22. *sa yo 'trā 'nurūpaṁ kurvantaṁ brūyād: apriya enaṁ bhrātṛvyaḥ pratyākhyāyiṣyata iti tathā ha syāt*, 'If one then were to say of him who recites the antistrophe: "His unfriendly rival will gainsay him", that would be so'. KB. 17. 1.

23. *tad yad enaṁ [adhvaryum] nirbruvantaṁ brūyād: aniruktāṁ devatāṁ niravocat prāṇa enaṁ hāsyatī 'ti tathā hai 'va syāt*, 'If one were to say of this (Adhvaryu-priest) who pronounces (the Yajus) distinctly: "He hath pronounced the indistinct divinity distinctly, breath will forsake him", that would be even so'. ÇB. 10. 3. 5. 15.

24. *yo hai 'naṁ [adhvaryum] tatra brūyāt: pratipratiṁ nvā ayam adhvaryur yajamānasya dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyam akat pratyudyāminam itī 'çvaro ha tathai 'va syāt,* 'If one were to say of this (Adhvaryu-priest): "This Adhvaryu-priest hath made the spiteful rival of the sacrificer his equal (and) a match (for him)", it would presumably be even so'. ÇB. 11. 4. 2. 1.

The third person singular of the root-aorist *akat* is confined to ÇB. (3. 1. 2. 21; 11. 4. 2. 1; 9; 12); Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 261, b, note (in fine), p. 306, 3 explains it as an analogical formation after the second person *akaḥ*.

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For a very doubtful similar formation *ădat* (RV. 5. 32. 8) from √ *dṛ* 'split' + *ā* cf. Oldenberg, Rigveda-Noten, I, p. 328, line 2 from below.

A very curious form *akṛt* occurs in five passages of JB., viz. 1. 204 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 81) *anuṣṭubhi nānadam* [*sāma*] *akṛt* = 3. 80 (where Whitney's transcript reads *akṛn* before following *gaurivītau*, while Caland gives *akran* as the reading of his mss. for this passage); 1. 234 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 91) *na vai vidma yatra me putram akṛt*; 3. 193 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 267) *indro vāva me 'dam ittham akṛt*; 3. 234 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 278) *anṛtaṁ gṛhapatir akṛt* (where the ms., before following *na*, reads *akraṅ*, but the emendation to *akṛn* is patently called for by the other passages). Such a form *akṛt*, with unstrengthened root, however, is quite anomalous (Whitney, Gr. § 831, a); RV. *dart* from √ *dṛ* 'split' would lead one to expect **akart*, cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 261, a, p. 304, 35—305, 3.

For the confusion of *ṛ* and *ar* cf. RV. 1. 156. 1 *ardhyaḥ* but TB. 2. 4. 3. 9 *ṛdhyaḥ*; VS. 12. 65 and ÇB. 7. 2. 1. 15 *aviçṛtyam* but MS. 2. 7. 12 (p. 91, 2 where the Padapāṭha ms., however, has *aviçṛtyam*) and K. 16. 12 (p. 234, 10) *avicartyam*; RV. 10. 155. 5 and VS Mādhy. 35. 18 *ahṛṣata* but VS Kāṇv. *aharṣata*; AV. 10. 1. 22 and 12. 3. 9 *mṛḍitṛ* for RV. (passim) *marḍitṛ*.

Cf. for the confusion of *ṛ* and *ra* below § 49, Ex. 14, Rem.

For the genderless, petrified *īçvaraḥ* cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. 9, p. 279; 13, p. 111 Liebich, BB. 11, p. 301; Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 53, p. 87, 31; Speijer, Sansk. Syntax, § 392, p, 309, 1. For the construction cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 342, 25 — 343, 15, § 193, 1.

25. *yo hai 'naṁ tatra brūyāc: chūlau nvā ayam adhvaryur bāhū akṛta çūlabāhur bhaviṣyatī 'tī 'çvaro ha tathai 'va syāt*, 'If one were to say of him: "This Adhvaryu hath made his arms spears, he will have spearlike arms", it would presumably be even so'. ÇB. 11. 4. 2. 4. The like construction occurs also in the similar passages ÇB. 11. 4. 2. 9; 13; 14; 11. 5. 4. 13; 14; 11. 7. 2. 4; 12. 4. 1. 4; 12. 4. 2. 7; 9; 12. 4. 3. 6; 7; 8; 12. 5. 1. 17; 14. 4. 2. 19 (BĀU. 1. 4. 19 Mādhy. = 8 Kāṇv.).

26. *sa yo hai 'naṁ tatrā 'nuvyāharet: parān asmād yajño 'bhūd itī 'çvaro ha yat tathai 'va syāt*, 'If one then were to curse him: "The sacrifice hath turned away from him", it would be likely that it would be even so'. ÇB. 2. 1. 4. 19.

For the construction of *īçvaraḥ* with *yad* cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 193, 1, p. 342, 27—31.

27. *ye brāhmaṇāḥ çuçruvāṅso 'nucānā vidvāṅso yajayanti sai 'vā 'hvālā*, 'If learned, instructed, knowing Brāhmaṇas perform the sacrifice there is no failure'. ÇB. 3. 1. 1. 5.

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28. *ye vā asmiṅ loke 'gnihotram ajuhvato nai 'vaṁvido 'çraddadhānā yajante tad açraddhāṁ gacchati, yac chraddadhānās tac chraddhām,* 'If any in this world, not offering the Agnihotra (and) not knowing thus, sacrifice without faith,—that (sacrifice of theirs) goes unto Non-Faith; if (they sacrifice) with faith that (Agnihotra goes) unto Faith'. JB. 1. 43 (JAOS. 15, p. 236—237).

Note that the relative pronoun *ye* in the first half corresponds to the conjunction *yad* in the second.

29. *dvāv atirātrau ṣaṭçatam agniṣṭomā dve catvariṅçe çate ukthyānām iti nu ya ukthyānt svarasāma upayanti || atha ye 'gniṣṭomān dvādaçaçatam agniṣṭomā dve catustriṅçe çate ukthyānāṁ dvādaça ṣoḍaçinaḥ ṣaṣṭiḥ ṣaḍahāḥ,* 'Now if any enter upon (the performance of) the Svarasāmans as Ukthyas, there are two Atirātras, one hundred and six Agniṣṭomas, two hundred and forty Ukthyas; but if any (perform them) as Agniṣṭomas, there are one hundred and twelve Agniṣṭomas, two hundred and thirty-four Ukthyas, twelve Ṣoḍaçins, (and) sixty Ṣaḍahas'. ÇB. 12. 2. 1. 6—7.

30. *ubhayaṁ hai 'tad bhavati pitā ca putraç ca prajāpatiç cā 'gniç cā 'gniç ca prajāpatiç ca prajāpatiç ca devāç ca devāç ca prajāpatiç ca ya evaṁ veda,* 'This, if one knows thus, becomes both father and son, Prajāpati and Agni, Agni and Prajāpati, Prajāpati and the gods, the gods and Prajāpati'. ÇB. 6. 1. 2. 27.

31. *tām anu vyṛddhiṁ yaç ca veda yaç ca na tā ubhāv [agnī] āhatuḥ: . . .,* 'After this failure, whether one knows (it) or not, these two (fires) say: . . .' ÇB. 12. 4. 4. 6; 7.

32. *yo vā apanābhim agniṁ cinute yajamānasya nābhim anupraviçati, sa enam īçvaro hiṅsitoḥ* 'Should one (viz. an Adhvaryu-priest) pile the fire-altar without a navel, it (the fire) enters the navel of the sacrificer in consequence (thereof); it is likely to injure him'. TS. 5. 2. 8. 7.

⌈ Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

32 A. *sa ya enam ṛchād eva tā devatā upasṛtya brūyāt: . . .,* 'If anyone should harm him he, taking refuge with these divinities, should say: . . .'. JUB. 2. 12. 5.

32 B. *ya āvir bhavaty anye 'sya lokam upayanti,* 'If one (viz. one

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who has died) becometh manifest (= reappears), others go to his world'. JUB. 3. 29. 5.

32 C. *sa yo ha vā amūr devatā upāste . . . dūrūpā vā etā duranusaṁprāpyā iva*, 'If one worships yonder divinities . . . they are of evil form, difficult to be completely attained, as it were'. JUB. 3. 33. 3.

32 D. *yas tvai 'tarhi* (Delbrück's emend. for *tve 'tarhi*) *brūyān: mūrdhā te vipatiṣyatī 'ti mūrdhā te vipatet*, 'If one were to say to thee: "Thy head will fly asunder", thy head would fly asunder'. Chānd. Up. 1. 8. 6; 8.

32 E. *sa ya idam avidvān agnihotraṁ juhoti yathā 'ñgārān apohya bhasmani juhuyāt tādṛk tat*, 'If one, without knowing this, offers the Agnihotra that would be as if one having removed the coals should offer in the ashes'. Chānd. Up. 5. 24. 1.

32 F. *asya saumya mahato vṛkṣasya yo mūle 'bhyāhanyād jīvant sraved, yo madhye 'bhyāhanyād jīvant sraved, yo 'gre 'bhyāhanyād jīvant sravet*, 'If, my dear, one were to strike at the root of this great tree [if one were to strike at the middle; if one were to strike at the top] it would bleed but continue to live'. Chānd. Up. 6. 11. 1.

32 G. *yo yo hy annam atti yo*[1] *retaḥ siñcati tadbhūya eva bhavati*, 'For whosoever (it is who) eats the food (and) who (soever it is who) casts the seed,—a suchlike being comes into existence (i. e. the nature of the being which is to be reborn depends on the nature of the being which begets it)'. Chānd. Up. 5. 10. 6.

1. Böhtlingk in his translation and in his discussion of the passage in Berichte über die Verhandl. d. königl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1897, p. 89 renders: 'Ja jeder, der Speise genießt und Samen vergießt, wird von neuem zu diesen (d. i. zu Speise und Samen' = 'Ein Mann, der nur ißt und erzeugt, verdient kein besseres Schicksal') and expressly notes 'Bei *bhavati* kann nicht an ein neues Subjekt gedacht werden'. But apart from the fact that the numerous examples of anacolouthic constructions of relative clauses offer abundant parallels for a change of subject a comparison with the parallel passages BĀU. 6. 1 Mādhy. = 6. 2 Kāṇv. makes Böhtlingk's interpretation impossible.

Both recensions of BĀU. and the Chānd. Up. agree that the souls to be reborn

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[1] Rāmānuja on Vedānta Sūtras 3. 1. 26 (Bombay Sanskrit Series LXVIII, p. 581, 19) reads *yo yo retaḥ siñcati*, with repetition of the relative pronoun as in the preceding clause.

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descend in the form of rain[1] (BĀU. *vṛṣṭim* [*abhiniṣpadyante*]; Chānd. Up. *pravarṣanti*[2]). The next step in BĀU. is, that when they have reached the earth they become food (*vṛṣṭeḥ pṛthivīm* [*abhiniṣpadyante*], *te pṛthivīṁ prāpyā 'nnaṁ bhavanti*); in the Chānd. Up. the same idea is expressed by an enumeration of the different kinds of plants in the shape of which the descending souls are reborn on earth (*ta iha vrīhiyavā oṣadhivanaspatayas tilmāṣā iti jāyante*). In the description of the final stage the three texts differ: a) The Mādhyandina recension of BĀU. simply and very briefly says that 'they thus turn round in a circle in proper sequence' (*ta evam evā 'nuparivartante*) i. e. they follow the course of *saṁsāra* (cf. the opposite *mānavam āvartaṁ nā 'vartante* of those who are released from *saṁsāra* at Chand. Up. 4. 15. 6, and BĀU. 6. 1. 18 Mādhy. = 6. 2. 15 Kāṇv. *teṣāṁ na punarāvṛttiḥ*). The statement that the food consumed is first converted into semen and thence into the embryo is omitted. b) The Kāṇva recension of BĀU states these facts wanting in the other recension in the phraseology of the *pañcāgnividyā* (ÇB. 14. 9. 1 19 = BĀU. 6. 1. 19 Mādhy. = 6, 2. 16 Kāṇv.; Chānd. Up. 5. 7—8; JB. 1. 46 [quoted below, § 51, Ex. 7])[3]: 'They again are offered in the man-fire, thence they are born in the woman-fire, rising up toward the worlds they thus turn round in a circle in proper sequence' (*te punaḥ puruṣāgnau hūyante tato yoṣāgnau jāyante lokān pratyutthāyinas*[4] *ta evam evā 'nuparivartante*). c) The Chānd. Up. adds here two considerations which are peculiar to that text. α) In the first place (5. 10. 7) it makes the nature of the rebirth to depend on the conduct (*caraṇa*) during the previous (human) existence (*tad ya iha ramaṇīyacaraṇā abhyāço ha yat te ramaṇīyāṁ yonim āpadyeran brāhmaṇayoniṁ vā kṣatriyayoniṁ vā*[5] *vaiçyayoniṁ vā, 'tha ya iha kapūyacaraṇā abhyāço ha yat te kapūyāṁ yonim āpadyerañ chvayoniṁ vā sūkarayoniṁ vā caṇḍālayoniṁ vā*). β) But between this statement of the factors on which a happy or unhappy rebirth depends (section 7) and the statement that the descending soul is reborn as food (section 6) which, we have to supply, is converted into semen and thence into the embryo, the author of the Chānd. Up. inserts the remark that the transition from the plants to human form is more difficult than

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[1] The preceding steps are in BĀU. 1. *ākāça*, 2. *vāyu*; in Chānd. Up. 1. *ākāça*, 2. *vāyu*, 3. *dhūma*, 4. *abhra*, 5. *megha*.

[2] The plural is Böhtlingk's plausible conjecture, see below 2, d.

[3] For the sequence Earth—Man—Woman—Child cf. ÇB. 11. 6. 2. 8—10 *te* [*āhutī*] *imām āviçataḥ*; *te puruṣam āviçataḥ*; *te striyam āviçataḥ*; *tataḥ putro jāyate*.

[4] Cf. ÇB. 11. 6. 2. 4; 10 *lokaḥ pratyutthāyī* and JB. 1. 46 *tasyā āhuter hutāyai puruṣo 'muṁ lokaṁ saṁbhavati, so 'sya lokaḥ punarutthāyī* (the mss. *punarutthāyai*) *bhavati*.

[5] Cf. JUB. 3. 28. 4 where, without any reference to previous conduct, the being which is to be reborn selects (cf. Windisch, Berichte d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1907, p. 124, note 1) the family (*kula*) in which he desires to be reborn (*sa yadi kāmayeta punar ihā 'jāyeye 'ti yasmin kule 'bhidhyāyed yadi brāhmaṇakule yadi rājakule tasminn ājāyate*).

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the previous transition from the moon to space (*ākāça*), to the wind (*vāyu*), to smoke (*dhūma*), to mist (*abhra*), to the cloud (*megha*), to the rain (*pravarṣanti*), and to rice, barley, herbs, trees, sesamum and beans (*vrīhiyavā oṣadhivanaspatayas tilamāṣāḥ*): *ato vai khalu durniṣprapattaram.*[1] The exact nature of this difficulty must be contained in the following *hi*-clause: *yo yo hy annam atti yo retaḥ siñcati tadbhūya eva bhavati.* The import of these words must be: In order to effect a rebirth at all the plants must be eaten and converted into semen, for, failing this, the soul which is to be reborn is forced to continue its plant-existence; but in order to be born as a human being it is further necessary that the plants must be consumed as food by a human male; if, on the other hand, the plants happen to be eaten by an animal a rebirth in animal shape ensues; cf. Çaṅkara ad loc. *tathā hi puruṣāt puruṣo jāyate gor gavākṛtir eva, na jātyantarākṛtis, tasmād yuktaṁ tadbhūya eva bhavatī 'ti.* The point which the author of the Chānd. Up. wants to emphasize is, that whereas in the previous series of transformations (from space to the plants) each transformation is unequivocally determined, in the last transformation from the plants to the embryo a rebirth in human shape does not necessarily take place but is conditioned on the food's being eaten by a man.

> There is no inconsistency between this statement and the statement in section 7 that those who have led a putrid life in a previous (human) existence are likely to be conceived in the womb of a bitch or sow. For this need simply imply that in their case the plants are consumed by suchlike animals.

The transformation implied in *tadbhūya eva bhavati,* no matter how these words may be parsed (see below, 2) must refer to the soul which descends for rebirth.

Of the western translators e. g. Max Müller[2], Deussen[3], Thibaut[4], and Hertel[5]

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[1] Read so according to the plausible emendation of Lüders, Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. 1922, p. 237; cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 75, f, p. 176, where VS. 15. 8 *pratipád* and *anupád* may be added. The root *pad* + *nis-pra* 'to move forward out of something' is the opposite of *pad* + *abhi-nis* 'to move out of one's present state into another state', 'to be transformed into' ÇB. 14. 9. 1. 19 (BAU. 6. 1. 19 Mādhy. = 6. 2. 16 Kāṇv.); Chānd. Up. 8. 4. 2.

[2] 'For whoever the persons may be that eat the food and beget offspring, he henceforth becomes like them'.

[3] 'Denn nur wenn ihn einer gerade als Speise verzehrt und als Samen ergießt, so kann er sich daraus weiter entwickeln'; in his translation of Çaṅkara's Commentary to the Vedānta Sūtras: 'Denn nur wer ihn als Speise verzehrt, wer ihn als Samen ergießt, dessen Vermehrung (Nachkommenschaft) wird er'.

[4] In his translation of Rāmānuja's Commentary to the Vedānta Sūtras: 'Whoever the being may be that eats the food and begets offspring, that being he (i. e. the soul that has descended) becomes'.

[5] 'Denn nur wenn von allen denen, welche Nahrung verzehren, einer Samen ergießt, so kann, wer sich im Zustande dieses Samens befindet [= wer sich als Nahrung aufgenommen aus dieser in Samen verwandelt hat], wieder geboren werden'.

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have so taken it; and they are in this respect in accord with the native Commentators. Both Çaṅkara and Rāmānuja discuss our passage in detail in their Commentaries to the Vedānta Sūtras 3. 1. 26. The whole trend of the argumentation of both great scholastics leaves no doubt that they regard the *anuçayin* i. e. the soul to which a portion of *karman* still attaches and which is therefore bound in the chain of *saṁsāra* (the *avarohañ jīvaḥ* as it is elsewhere [e. g. in Raṅga Rāmānuja's gloss to Chānd. Up. 5. 10. 6] called) as subject of *tadbhūya eva bhavati* and contrast this *anuçayin* with the *retaḥsic* who is the subject of the two relative clauses *yo yo hy annam atti* and *yo retaḥ siñcati*.

The mooted point in the discussion is, whether *jāyante* and *bhavati* at Chānd. Up. 5. 10. 6 refer in their literal sense to an actual and substantial transformation and identification of the *anuçayin*, or whether they should be understood figuratively as expressing merely a close attachment (*saṁçleṣa*) or union (*yoga*) of the *anuçayin* to and with the plants and the *retaḥsic*. Both, following the *sūtrakāra*, decide in favour of the second alternative, because an actual and substantial identity of the *anuçayin* with the *retaḥsic* is impossible (*na cā 'tra mukhyo retaḥsigbhāvaḥ saṁbhavati*, Çaṅkara, p. 776, 7); the *anuçayin* who enters the *retaḥsic* through the food which the latter consumes can only figuratively be said to "become" the *retaḥsic* (*katham ivā 'nupacaritatadbhāvam adyamānānnānugato 'nuçayī pratipadyate*, Çaṅkara, p. 776, 8) for the *retaḥsic* has existed as a separate individual long before the act of generation takes place (*cirajāto hi prāptayauvano retaḥsig bhavati*, Çaṅkara, p. 776, 7—8) and continues as such after propagation; consequently there can be no doubt that the *retaḥsigbhāva* (implied in the words *tadbhūya eva bhavati* of the Upaniṣad) must be interpreted here as *retaḥsigyoga* (*tatra tāvad avaçyaṁ retaḥsigyoga eva retaḥsigbhāvo 'bhyupagantavyaḥ*, Çaṅkara, p. 776, 9—10); and, by analogy, the meaning of *jāyante* in the preceding clause of the Upaniṣad must likewise be interpreted figuratively (*itaç cau 'pacārikaṁ vrīhyādijanmavacanam*, Rāmānuja, p. 581, 18; *tadvad vrīhyādibhāvo 'pi vrīhyādiyoga eva*, Çaṅkara, p. 776, 10).

2. While it is thus certain that it is the *anuçayin* to whom the clause *tadbhūya eva bhavati* refers there remains the question whether *anuçayī* should be understood as forming the grammatical subject to *bhavati*. With the exception of Böhtlingk all the western translators seem to have construed the clause in this way, differing merely in the interpretation of *tadbhūyaḥ*. With regard to this they fall into three classes:

a) The group *tadbhūyaḥ* may be regarded as consisting of the two separate words *tad* and *bhūyaḥ* (adverbial neuter). This is apparently the view of Raṅga Rāmānuja who glosses: *bhūyaḥ paçcāt tad bhavati, retaḥsigbhāvaṁ prāpnoti . . . retaḥsigyogī bhavati*, and of Böhtlingk who renders 'Er wird von Neuem zu diesen (d. i. zu Speise und Samen)'. *Bhūyo bhavati* would then be the equivalent of *punar bhavati* 'comes again into existence' as *bhūyo jāyate* is the equivalent of *punar jāyate* 'is born again' at Kaṭh. Up. 3. 8 *na tu tat padam āpnoti yasmād*

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bhūyo na jāyate (Comment. *bhūyaḥ punar na jāyate saṁsāre*); Bhagavadgītā 13. 23 *na sa bhūyo 'bhijāyate* (Comment. *punar nā 'bhijāyate*); Amṛtanāda Up. 38 *yatra tatra mriyetā 'pi na sa bhūyo 'bhijāyate.* The preceding *tad* would then necessarily refer to *annam* and *retaḥ* ('He is born again a such, viz. as food and semen') as Böhtlingk takes it. But, as was pointed out above 1., this cannot be the sense of the clause; moreover the *eva* should then stand after *tad* not after *bhūyaḥ*.

b) The bulk of the native Commentators regard *tadbhūyaḥ* as a Tatpuruṣa-compound, and Deussen and Thibaut in their translations of Çaṅkara's and Rāmānuja's Commentaries to the Vedānta Sūtras as well as Col. Jacob in his Concordance follow them.[1]

Cf. the Commentary to Çiçupālavadha 14. 81 (*dāçarathibhūyam etya*): *dāçarathī rāmaḥ, tasya bhāvaḥ dāçarathibhūyaṁ, ramatvam.*

And cf. *tadbhāva* Kāty. Ç. 4. 3. 13 (*payasas tadbhāvāt*); Maitr. Up. 6. 27 (*atas tadbhāvam acireṇai 'ti*, Comment. *tadbhāvaṁ tasya tejaso bhāvam . . . prāpnoti*).

As second member of a Tatpuruṣa *-bhūya* is not infrequent in the older literature.

Similar formations with unstrengthened radical vowel and occurring as second member of compounds only are:

— *áj-ya* : *pṛtanájya* RV.
— *ád-ya* : *annádya* AV. + ; *havirádya* RV.
— *áç-ya* : *sarváçya* ÇB. 3. 1. 2. 21 (for the accent see Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 92, c, note, p. 224, 8—10)
— *í-t-ya* : *pratítya* RV. 4. 5. 14 (cf. Geldner's note in his translation); 7. 68. 6
— *kṛ́-t-ya* : *vājakṛ́tya* RV. 10. 50. 2; *karmakṛ́tya* AV. 4. 24. 6
— *cár-ya* : *brahmacárya* AV. + ; *bhikṣācárya* ÇB. 14. 6. 4. 1 (= BĀU. 3. 4. 1 M. = 3. 5. 1 K.); 14. 7. 2. 26 (= BĀU. 4. 4. 26 M. = 22 K.)
— *pat-ya* : *kartapatya* PB. 16. 1. 2; *gartapatya* KB. 16. 9 (p. 72, 11) = 25. 14 (p. 119, 9)
— *bhíd-ya* : *çīrṣabhídya* AV. 10. 5. 50
— *bhṛ́-t-ya* : *rāṣṭrabhṛ́tya* AV. 19. 37. 3
— *mí-t-ya* : *apāmítya* MS. 1. 10. 2 (p. 142, 9) = K. 9. 5 (p. 108, 5). In Mantra.
— *yáj-ya* : *devayájya* RV. 7. 3. 9
— *van-ya* : *ajitapunarvaṇya* AB. 7. 22. 1
— *vídya* : *patividya* RV. 10. 102. 11; *putravídya* AV. 3. 23. 6
— *vī-ya* : *takvavīya* RV. 1. 134. 5
— *çrú-t-ya* : *mantraçrútya* RV. 10. 134. 7

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[1] Deussen: 'Dessen Vermehrung (Nachkommenschaft) wird er'; Deussen's rendering 'kann er sich daraus weiter entwickeln' is perhaps merely a free paraphrase of this translation. — Thibaut: 'That being he becomes'. — Col. Jacob s. *tadbhūya*. — The PW. and pw. do not register a compound *tadbhūya* because Böhtlingk (see above 2, a) separates *tad* from *bhūyaḥ*.

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—*sád-ya* : *admasádya* RV, 8. 43. 19; *sattrasádya* AV. 9. 6. 42; *talpasádya* TB. 1. 2. 6. 5; 6; *agniṣṭomasádya* ÇB. 4. 2. 4. 7; *antarikṣasádya* and *uparisádya* ÇB. 5. 2. 1. 22; 5. 4. 4. 1; *upariṣadya* PB. 5. 5. 1

—*sáh-ya* (with metrical lengthening —*sā́h-ya*) : *abhimātiṣā́hya* RV. 3. 37. 3; *nṛṣā́hya* RV.; *pṛtanāṣā́hya* RV. 3. 37. 1 (in the TB. parallel *pṛtanāsā́hya*, cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 197, b, p. 225, 6—9)

—*sic-ya* : *retaḥsicya* KB. 10. 3 (p. 46, 20 where both *retaḥsicyam* and *retodheyam* should be read as compounds)

—*sū́-ya* : *rājasū́ya* AV. +

—*sṛ-t-ya* : *sindhusṛ́tya* AV. 10. 2. 11

—*há-t-ya* : *ahihátya* RV.; *dasyuhátya* RV.; *rakṣohátya* RV. 6. 45. 18; *vṛtrahátya* RV. +; *çambarahátya* RV. 1. 112. 14; TB. 2. 8. 3. 8 = MS. 4. 14. 13 (p. 236, 13); *çuṣṇahátya* RV. 1. 51. 6. — For the accent of the Vṛddhi-derivatives *váirahatya* VS. 30. 13 = TB. 3. 4. 1. 7 (Mantra); TB. 1. 5. 9. 5 (prose) and *avairahatyá* AV. 6. 29. 3 cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 105, b, β, note, p. 268, 21—23. For *avairahatyá* 'the sense would favor the accent *ávairahatya*' (Whitney's note to his AV. translation) cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 32, c, p. 80; § 91, a, p. 215.

—*hū́-ya* : *devahū́ya* RV. 7. 85. 2; ÇB. 2. 1. 3. 2; *pitṛhū́ya* ÇB. 2. 1. 3. 2

A few instances of such formations with irregular oxytone accentuation are met with, thus

—*jñā-yá* : *abhyājñāyá* ÇB. 9. 5. 1. 17

—*jyā-yá* : *nṛjyāyá* MS. 2. 1. 3 (p. 4, 18 = 5, 3; 4, 21, *nṛjyāyáṁ jināti* and *jinīyāt*)

—*muh-yá* ; *aturmuhyá* MS. 2. 1. 9 (p. 10, 18 and 20, *aturmuhyáṁ syāt* and *bhavati*). The meaning of the compound is obscure, Roth's emendation (pw. IV Nachträge, p. 291, col. 3) to *antarmuhyá* is hardly correct.

TS. 5. 5. 10. 7 *sudhāyá* in the proverb *sudhāyáṁ ha vai vājī suhito dadhāti* is correctly explained by Weber, Ind. Studien, 13, p. 97, 13 as an old error for the locative *sudhāyām* which is read in the same proverb at AB. 3. 39. 5 = 47. 8, cf. also besides ÇB. 2. 2. 2. 6 *ta enam ubhaye devāḥ prītāḥ sudhāyāṁ dadhati* (cited by Weber) AV. 17. 1. 6 (etc.) *sudhāyām mā dhehi.*

Cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 92. c, note, p. 223, 40—224, 10.

And cf. in general, Lindner, Altind. Nominalbildung § 76, p. 99; Reuter, KZ. 31 (1892) p. 533—540; Whitney, Gr. 1213. c; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 75, g, p. 177.

Thus,

abhibhū́ya : AV. 19. 37. 3 (dative *abhibhū́yāya*)

vasyobhū́ya : AV. 16. 9. 4 (dative *vasyobhū́yāya*)

amutrabhū́ya : AV. 7. 53. 1 = VS., TS., MS., K. (ablative *amutrabhū́yād*)

āvirbhū́ya : MS. 1. 8. 6 (p. 123, 15, accusative *āvirbhū́yam* with *gacchati*); Ait. Ār. 2. 3. 2 (Keith, p. 112, 11, accusative *āvirbhūyam* with *açnute*).

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In the Ait. Ār. passage all mss. and editions read *tasya* [*pañcavidhasyo 'kthasya*] *ya ātmānam āvistarāṁ vedā 'çnute hā 'virbhūyaḥ* which the Commentary glosses by *sa pumān bhūya āviḥ atiçayena prakaṭatvam açnute vyāpnoty eva vidyaiçvaryādikīrttiṁ bahulāṁ prāpnoti*, and Keith translates 'He obtains fuller being'. But in view of the MS. passage (cf. the parallel K. 6. 7, p. 57, 11 *āviḥ prajāsu bhavati*) there can be little doubt that the wholly anomalous neuter form *āvirbhūyaḥ* should be emended to *āvirbhūyam*. Cf. *āvirbhāva* ÇB. 10. 3. 5. 16; Chānd. Up. 7. 26. 1; *āvirbhūti* K. 8. 9 (p. 93, 6 *āvirbhūtyai*), all quoted by PW. and pw.

vasīyobhū́ya : MS. 1. 4. 10 (p. 59, 1—2) = K. 32. 7 (p. 26, 11—12, accusative *vasīyobhū́yam agacchan* and *gacchati*.)

ātmabhūya : Ait. Ār. 2. 5. 1 (Keith, p. 121, 7) = Ait. Up. 4. 2 (accusative *ātmabhūyam* with *gacchati*.)

satyabhū́ya : ÇB. 14. 8. 6. 2 (= BĀU. 5. 6. 2 Mādh. = 5. 5. 1 Kāṇv. *anṛtaṁ satyena parigṛhītaṁ satyabhūyam eva bhavati*.

Weber's text accents *satyábhūyam*, and the pw. retains this accentuation while PW. (s. *bhūyam*) suggested an emendation to *satyabhū́yam*. The accent should be on *bhū́*; the accentuation of ÇB. XIV is generally inaccurate, cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 91, f, γ, p. 221, 9—10, and I, § 252, d, p. 295, 18—19.

The PW. (s. *bhū*, p. 314, col. 2, line 17 and s. *bhūyam*, p. 354, col. 2) regards *-bhūyam* in *satyabhūyam* and *ekadhābhūyam* as 'absolutivum' but pw. takes both correctly as neuter nouns.

For the construction of compounds in *-bhūya* with the root *bhū* see below under *ekadhābhū́ya* and *ekabhūya*, and cf. *karmabhūyaṁ bhūtvā*, Çaṅkara on Vedānta Sūtras 4. 1. 6 (p. 1068, 9) *yat tū 'ktam udgīthādimatibhir upāsyamānā ādityādayaḥ karmabhūyaṁ bhūtvā phalaṁ kariṣyantī 'ti tad ayuktam*, 'But it is incorrect to assert that the Sun etc. because they are worshipped as Udgītha etc. assume the characteristics of *karman* and thus produce fruit.'

ekadhābhū́ya : ÇB. 14. 8. 13. 1 (= BĀU. 5. 13. 1 Mādh. = 5. 12. 1 Kāṇv.) *ekadhābhūyaṁ bhavati*.

ekabhūya : Kauṣ Up. 3. 2 = ÇĀ. 5. 2 *ekabhūyaṁ gacchanti* and *ekabhūyaṁ bhūtvā*.

From the post-Vedic literature PW., pw., Apte, and Hertel (p. 81, note) quote: *devabhūya*: Harṣacarita 160. 13; 194. 7 (*devabhūyaṁ gataḥ*); Somamandira Ratnapālak. 301.

brahmabhūya: Manu 1. 98; 12. 102; Bhagavadgītā 14. 26 = 18. 53 (*brahmabhūyāya kalpate*); Jābāla Up 5 (*brahmabhūyāya bhavati*); Raghuvaṅça 12. 28 (*brahmabhūyaṁ gatim ājagāma*).

dāçarathibhūya : Çiçupālavadha 14. 81 (*dāçarathibhūyam etya*).

bhasmabhūya : Ravivarmabhūpa Pradyumnābhyudaya 4, 23, b (p. 40).

bhṛṅgabhūya : Jinakīrti Pālagopālakathā 218.

The Kāçikā on Pāṇini 3. 1. 107 gives *devabhūya* = *devatva* and *brahmabhūya* = *brahmatva*.

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The native Commentators gloss the Vedic examples of *-bhūya* by *-bhavana* (on AV. 7. 53. 1; 19. 37. 3; VS. 27. 9); *-bhāva* (on ÇB. 14. 8. 13. 1; Ait. Up. 4. 2; Kauṣ Up. 3. 2[1]); *cirāvasthāna* (on TS. 4. 1. 7. 4); *avyatirekatā* (on Ait. Ār. 2. 5. 1). Sāyaṇa on ÇB. 14. 8. 6. 2 and the Commentators to the corresponding Upaniṣad-passage gloss *satyabhūyam* by *satyabāhulyam*.

In the post-Vedic occurrences the Commentators usually gloss *-bhūya* by the suffix *-tva*.

c) If *tadbhūyaḥ* is thus construed as predicate with *bhavati* ('He becomes such a being') the masculine gender is surprising. And Hertel, evidently because he took offence at the masculine gender of a Tatpuruṣa in *-ya*, proposes to take *tadbhūyaḥ* as Bahuvrīhi: 'wer sich im Zustande dieses Samens befindet'. This interpretation is grammatically quite possible although adjectival Bahuvrīhis with the last member in *-ya* are exceedingly scarce: RV. 9. 30. 3 *nṛṣáhyam* with *çúṣmam* may have attained adjectival value (cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 75, g, note, p. 177, 37—39). Possibly also at ÇB. 14. 8. 6. 2 (= BĀU. 5. 5. 2 Mādhy. = 1 Kāṇv.) the accentuation[2] *satyábhūyam* (see above under b) may be due to the fact that it was regarded as an adjectival Bahuvrīhi, *anṛtaṁ satyena parigṛhītaṁ satyabhūyam eva bhavati* 'Untruth grasped all around by truth becomes having truth as its nature'.

An undoubted adjectival compound in *-bhūya* appears to be the suspect (PW. 'Verdorbene Lesart'; pw. 'wohl verdorben') *vṛttabhūya* as epithet of the Açvins at Mbh. 1. 3. 63 (= 728) *açvinā*v *indum amṛtaṁ vṛttabhūyau tiro dhattām* which the Commentators gloss by *vṛttaṁ nirvṛttam utpannaṁ viyadādi tasya bhūyaṁ bhāvaḥ, kṛtsnaprapañcātmakau* and by *vṛttabhūyau bhūyovṛttau nānākarmāṇau.*

d) All the above translators (2 b and c) make the *anuçayin* (i. e. the soul which descends for rebirth on earth) the grammatical subject of *bhavati* and take *tadbhūyaḥ* either as predicate noun with *bhavati* (2, b) or as adjective qualifying the omitted subject *anuçayī* (2, c), while, according to my opinion, *tadbhūyaḥ* is the grammatical subject: 'For whosoever (it is who) eats the food (and) whosoever (it is who) casts the seed,—a suchlike being comes into existence', i. e. the nature (*-bhūya* = *bhāva*) of the being which comes into existence (*bhavati*) through the generative act of the *retaḥsic* (*yo retaḥ siñcati*) is the same (*tad-*) as the nature of the respective *retaḥsic*, consequently only if the latter is a human being the former can be reborn as such.

This interpretation, it seems to me, is made necessary by the fact that both the BĀU. and the Chānd. Up. in describing the successive stages through which the soul (both on its way to final release and on its way through the *saṁsāra*) has to pass do not use the singular but the plural. Thus in BĀU. 6. 1. 18

[1] For *ekabhūya* = *ekabhāva* cf. Nir. 7. 28 and Sāyaṇa on RV. 10. 88. 10 *tredhā bhuve* = *tredhābhāvāya*; Nir. 12. 19 (cited by Sāyaṇa on RV. 1. 22. 17) *tredhā* = *tredhābhāvāya.*

[2] Cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 91, d, p. 218.

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Mādhy. = 6. 2. 15 Kāṇv. of those who are released from *saṁsāra*: *te ye . . . viduḥ*; *ye cā 'mī . . . upāsate*; *te . . . abhisaṁbhavanti*; *tān . . . gamayati*; *te . . . vasanti*; *teṣāṁ na punarāvṛttiḥ*, and 6. 1. 19 Mādhy. = 6. 2. 16 Kāṇv. of those who return to the *saṁsāra*: *ye . . . jayanti*; *te . . . abhisaṁbhavanti*; *te . . . annaṁ bhavanti*; *tān . . . devāḥ . . . bhakṣayanti*; *te . . . abhiniṣpadyante*; *te . . . annaṁ bhavanti*; [in the Kāṇva recension only: *te . . . hūyante . . . jāyante*]; *te . . . anuparivartante*. And in the Chānd. Up. 5. 10. 1—2 of those who are released from *saṁsāra* : *ye . . . viduḥ*; *ye ce 'me . . . upāsate*; *te . . . abhisaṁbhavanti* (the singular *abhisaṁbhavati* in the Bibl. Ind. is a palpable error, Böhtlingk and the Ānandāçr. ed. have the correct *abhisaṁbhavanti*); *enān* (read so with Böhtlingk and the Ānandāçr. ed. for *enaṁ* of the Bibl. Ind.) . . . *gamayati*, and 5. 10. 3. 5; 6; 7 of those who return to the *saṁsāra* : *ya ime . . . upāsate*; *te . . . abhisaṁbhavanti*; *nai 'te . . . abhiprāpnuvanti*; *punar nirvartante*; *dhūmo bhavanti* (read so with Böhtlingk for *bhavati*); *abhraṁ bhavanti* (read so with Böhtlingk for *bhavati*); *megho bhavanti* (read so with Böhtlingk for *bhavati*); *pravarṣanti* (read so with Böhtlingk for *pravarṣati*); *te . . . jāyante*; *ye . . . ramaṇīyacaraṇāḥ*; *te . . . āpadyeran*; *ye . . . kapūyacaraṇāḥ*; *te . . . āpadyeran*.

The faulty singulars in Chānd. Up. 5. 10. 5 *dhūmo bhavati, abhraṁ bhavati*, 6 *megho bhavati*, *pravarṣati* (corrected by Böhtlingk to the corresponding plurals) are old mistakes (all the editions including the Ānandāçr. ed. have them) due to the proper singular in *tadbhūya eva bhavati*.

Of these successive stages through which the *anuçayin* passes the *tadbhūya eva bhavati* of Chānd. Up. 5. 10. 6 does not form a part. But, as pointed out above (1, c, β), the sentence *ato vai khalu durniṣprapattaram, yo yo hy annam atti yo retaḥ siñcati tadbhūya eva bhavati* is an obiter dictum of the author of the Chānd. Up. which a modern author might prefer to relegate to a foot note.[1]

There remains then the irregular masculine gender of *tadbhūyaḥ* for which the neuter *tadbhūyam* would be expected. Such an emendation would be slight and would solve the difficulty at once. But even a masculine *tadbhūyaḥ* is not without analogy:

Both Sāyana on RV. 7. 85. 2 (locative *devahūye*) and the Kāçikā on Pāṇ. 3. 1. 123 assume a masculine *devahūyaḥ*. Sāyana glosses by *devā vijigīṣavo yoddhāro hūyante yuddhārthaṁ parasparam āhūyanta iti devahūyaḥ saṁgrāmaḥ*, and the Kāçikā says *devaçabda upapade hvayater juhoter vā kyap dīrghas tugabhāvaç ca* (= *-hūya* is derived either from the √ *hū* or from the √ *hu*, with the suffix *-ya*, with long radical vowel and without interposition of *-t-*) *devahūyaḥ*.

AV. 19. 37. 3 *abhibhūyāya* (dative) is derived by Sāyaṇa from the masculine *abhibhūyaḥ* = *abhibhavanam*.

The Commentator on TS. 4. 1. 7. 4 derives the ablative *amutrabhūyād* from the masculine *amutrabhūyaḥ* : *bhūyaḥ* (*bhāvaḥ*) *amutra* (*svarge*) *amutrabhūyaḥ*; while Mah. on VS. 27. 9 and Sāyaṇa on AV. 7. 53. 1 derive it from the neuter *amutrabhūyam* : *amutra paraloke bhavanam amutrabhūyam*.

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[1] Norden, Kunstprosa, I, p. 90, 2.

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Rājasūya occurs both as neuter and as masculine, adapting its gender on the one hand to *karma* (cf. TS. 5. 6. 2. 1 *rājasūyam*, Comment. *rājasūyākhyaṁ karma*), on the other to *yajñaḥ, kratuḥ* (cf. AB. 7. 15. 8 *tasmā etaṁ rājasūyaṁ yajñakratuṁ provāca*). Thus *rājasūya* appears as neuter at AV. 11. 7. 7; 19. 33. 1; and at TS. 5. 6. 2. 1 and its parallel K. 37. 6 (p. 87, 15) while the parallel TB. 2. 7. 6. 1 has *rājasūyaḥ*. Cf. the adjectival *rājasūya* in the Mantra K. 15. 6 (p. 216, 7) = MS. 2. 6. 8 (p. 68, 9) *apo devīr* [VS., ÇB. *devā*] *madhumatīr agṛbhṇam* [TS. *agṛhṇan*; VS., ÇB. *agṛbhṇan*] *ūrjasvatī rājasūyāç* [TS. *rājasūyāya*; VS., ÇB. *rājasvaç*] *citānāḥ*.

B. A still looser connection of the relative clause with the rest of the sentence is seen in the following examples:

1. The relative clause has a gerund instead of a finite verb.

33. *ya āhitāgnir jīve mṛtaçabdaṁ çrutvā kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ*, 'If one who has piled the fire, having heard the report of (his own) death while he is (still) alive, —what expiation is there?' AB. 7. 9. 7.

The Commentary glosses: *āhitāgniḥ svasmiñ jīvaty eva svakīyamaraṇaçabdaṁ yadā dveṣimukhāc chṛṇuyāt* . . ., and Aufrecht (AB., p. 430, 18, cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. 9, p. 249) remarks on the peculiar use of the gerund *çrutvā* instead of the finite form *çṛṇuyāt*. Böhtlingk (Ber. d. Verh. d. sächsischen G. W. 52, 1900, p. 417) proposes the emendation *jīven* for *jīve*: 'Wenn der Autor dies (viz. the thought 'Wenn einer, der das heilige Feuer angelegt hat, bei seiner Lebzeit das Gerücht, daß er gestorben sei, hören sollte') hätte ausdrücken wollen, würde er nicht *jīve*, sondern in richtigem Skt. *jīvan* gesagt haben. Daß man aber ein Gerücht vom eigenen Tode nur bei Lebzeiten hören kann, versteht sich wohl von selbst. Durch ein vor *mṛta*° hinzugefügtes *n* erhalten wir korrektes Skt., den erwarteten Optativ und einen unanfechtbaren Sinn: "Wenn ein Āhitāgni am Leben bleiben sollte, nachdem er das Gerücht von seinem Tode gehört hatte".' Keith follows Böhtlingk: 'The construction is so odd that *jīvet* seems obviously needed', and (p. 89, § 23): 'The apparent use of the gerund as finite verb . . . cannot be correct, and the obvious solution is to read *jīven mṛtaçabdam* which would be written *jīveṁ* and the *ṁ* would easily disappear'.

To me it seems that substituting *jīven* for *jīve*, while undoubtedly easing the grammar, is a correction of the text rather than an emendation. It must not be overlooked that the clumsy constructions at AB. 7. 9. 2—4; 5; 6; 8 (see Ex. 34—36 immediately below) also defy the rules of strict syntax. Nor is the absolute locative *jīve* (= **jīve sati*), unusual as it is, wholly without parallel, cf. ÇB. 5. 1. 3. 2 (bis) *tad etad* (the second time *tasmād etad*) *anatirātre sati rātre rūpaṁ kriyate*, 'Thus (therefore thus) while it is not an overnight rite it is performed in the form of (= like) a night-rite' (see below § 66, 3 and § 67).

ĀÇ. 3. 13. 11 shows the normal construction: *surabhaya eva yasmiñ jīve mṛtaçabdaḥ* which the Commentary glosses by: *yasminn āhitāgnau jīvaty eva mṛta iti yadi çabdaḥ saṁjāyeta tadā iyam iṣṭiḥ kāryā.*

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2. Two relative clauses are intertwined, the former of which is without verb.

34. *ya āhitāgnir yasya bhāryā gaur vā yamau janayet kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ*, 'If one who has piled the fire,—if such an one's wife or cow gives birth to twins,—what expiation is there?' AB. 7. 9. 8.

In this awkward construction the second relative clause *yasya . . . janayet* is an afterthought elaborating and correcting the preceding *ya āhitāgniḥ*: 'If one who has piled the fire, that is, to express it more exactly, if his wife or cow gives birth to twins . . .'

3. A conditional clause introduced by the conjunction *yadi* is combined with the relative clause and both clauses share the same finite verb.

35. *ya āhitāgnir yadi prātar asnāto 'gnihotraṁ juhuyāt* (6. *yadi sūtakānnaṁ prāçnīyāt*) *kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ*, 'If one who has piled the fire,—if he without having bathed in the morning offers the Agnihotra (—if he eats food defiled through child-birth), what expiation is there?' AB. 7. 9. 5; 6.

The conjunction *yadi* is here really redundant; by its omission the sentence would assume the type discussed under A.

4. A conditional clause introduced by the conjunction *yadi* is combined with a relative clause, but the verb of the conditional clause cannot be construed with the subject of the relative clause which is thus left incomplete, without verb, and wholly in the air.

36. *ya āhitāgnir yadi kapālaṁ naçyet* (3. *yadi pavitraṁ naçyet*; 4. *yadi hiraṇyaṁ naçyet*) *kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ*, 'If one who has piled the fire,—if the potsherd be lost (if the strainer be lost; if the gold piece be lost),—what expiation is there?' AB. 7. 9. 2—4.

Here the Commentary restores the syntactical cohesion by glossing *ya āhitāgniḥ* with *yasyā 'hitāgneḥ*.

5. The thought: 'A part of these forms settled in the water; that part assumed the character of water and in this shape he collected them; the other part of these forms settled on this earth; that part assumed the character of clay and in this shape he collected them' is very awkwardly expressed in the following passage:

37. *yad eṣām* [*rūpāṇām*] *apsu praviddhānāṁ pratyatiṣṭhat tā āpaḥ samabharad, atha yad asyāṁ tāṁ mṛdam*, 'What (part) of these (forms) which had been thrown into the water had settled (there),

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—that water he collected; (and) further, what (part of these forms had settled) on this (earth),—that clay (he collected)'. ÇB. 6. 2. 1. 8.

C. The relative pronoun *ya* in an oblique case is equivalent to the conjunction *yad* or *yadi* plus a demonstrative pronoun.

38. *sruvaç cā 'tra sruk ca prayujyete, vāg vai sruk prāṇaḥ sruvaḥ* . . . ‖ *yad v eva sruvaç ca sruk ca yo vai sa prajāpatir āsīd eṣa sa sruvaḥ, prāṇo vai sruvaḥ, prāṇaḥ prajāpatir, atha yā sā vāg āsīd eṣā sā srug, yoṣā vai vāg, yoṣā sruk,* . . . ‖ *tāṁ saṁtatāṁ juhoti, saṁtatā hi tā āpa āyann, atha yaḥ sa prajāpatis trayyā vidyayā sahā 'paḥ prāviçad eṣa sa yair etad yajubhir juhoti,* 'Now the Sruva-spoon here and the Sruc-ladle are used; the Sruc-ladle is (identical with) speech, the Sruva-spoon is (identical with) breath;...; and as for its being the Sruva-spoon and the Sruc-ladle, —the Sruva-spoon is (identical with) him who was this Prajāpati, for the Sruva-spoon is (identical with) breath and breath (in turn) is (identical with) Prajāpati; again, the Sruc-ladle is (identical with) her who was this speech, for speech is female and the Sruc-ladle is female; he offers this as a continuous (libation), for continuous these waters went along; furthermore he is the same Prajāpati who with the threefold knowledge entered these waters, inasmuch as he makes the offering with these Yajuses'. ÇB. 6. 3. 1. 8—10.

The relative pronoun *yaiḥ* in the last clause is equivalent to *yad etaiḥ*.

39. *prajāpatir yasmād yoneḥ prajā asṛjata so 'lelāyad eva sa dīpyamāno* (var. lect. *saṁdīpyamāno*) *bhrājamāno 'tiṣṭhat,* 'When Prajāpati had created creatures out of this womb he wavered, he stood blazing (and) shining'. JB. 1. 299.

The relative pronoun *yasmād* is equivalent to *yad asmād*.

The entry: "*lelāyat* JB." in Whitney's Roots s. √ 2 lī, p. 149, 2 should be deleted as it is based on this passage; cf. below § 57, Ex. 7 Rem.

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2. Disjunct Accusative.

I. The Proleptic Accusative Resumed by a Demonstrative Pronoun.

§ 30. **A. The Simple Proleptic Accusative (without accompanying infinite verb-form).**

a) The Proleptic Accusative most frequently consists of a series of nouns (Ex. 1; 3—10; 12—16) which is occasionally marked off by *iti* (Ex. 6; 7; 13); more rarely of a single noun (Ex. 2; 11). b) As a rule the Resumptive Pronoun follows immediately upon the Proleptic Accusative (Ex. 1; 3—5; 7—16), rarely it is separated from it by other words (Ex. 2; 6). c) A series of singular nouns is usually resumed by the Demonstrative Pronoun in the plural (Ex. 1; 3—10; 12), less frequently by the Demonstrative Pronoun in the singular (Ex. 13—16; 17 A). d) Once (Ex. 17) a simple Demonstrative Pronoun accompanied by a relative clause is resumed by a second Demonstrative Pronoun.

§ 31. Examples:

1. *trīṇy ātmane 'kurute 'ti, mano vācaṁ prāṇaṁ tāny ātmane 'kuruta*, '"Three (kinds of food) he prepared for himself"; mind, speech, breath,—these he prepared for himself'. ÇB. 14. 4. 3. 8 (= BĀU. 1. 5. 8 Mādhy. = 3 Kāṇv.).

The quotation refers to the Çloka ÇB. 14. 4. 3. 1 (= BĀU. 1. 5. 1) ‖ *yat saptā 'nnāni medhayā 'janayat pitā | . . . trīṇy ātmane 'kuruta* ‖

2. *paçūn vā asyāṁ [bṛhatyām] tān upādadhuḥ*, 'The cattle,—those he deposited in this (Bṛhatī)'. PB. 7. 4. 4.

3. *āgneyaṁ sārasvatīṁ saumyaṁ bārhaspatyaṁ tān sahā 'labheta brahmavarcasakāmaḥ prajākāmaḥ paçukāmaḥ purodhākāmaḥ*, 'A

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(victim) sacred to Agni, one sacred to Sarasvatī, one sacred to Soma, (and) one sacred to Bṛhaspati,—those he should take together (for slaughter) who is desirous of theological renown, desirous of offspring, desirous of cattle, desirous of the office of Purohita': K. 29. 10 (p. 179, 13).

4. *tasmin paçau saṁbhūte prāṇaṁ cakṣuḥ çrotraṁ vācam tāni dadhāti.* 'Breath, sight, hearing, speech,—these he places into this animal after it has been created'. MS. 3. 2. 8 (p. 28, 7).

Cf. without prolepsis, K. 20. 9 (p. 28, 17) *retasy eva sikte prāṇaṁ manaç cakṣuç çrotraṁ vācaṁ dadhāti,* 'Into the seed after it has been cast he places breath, mind, sight, hearing, speech'.

5. *loma chavīṁ māṅsam asthi majjānam || tāni cā 'tmanaḥ spṛṇoti, . . ., stanāv āṇḍau çiçnam avāñcaṁ prāṇaṁ tāni cā 'tmanaḥ spṛṇoti,* 'And hair, skin, flesh, bone, marrow,—these of the body he wins; . . .; and teats, scrotum, penis, the downward breath,—these of the body he wins'. TB. 2. 3. 7. 2—3.

6. *açvaṁ tūparaṁ gomṛgam iti sarvahuta etāñ juhoty eṣāṁ lokānām abhijityai,* 'A horse, a hornless (he-goat), a bos gavaeus,—these he offers as complete offerings, for the sake of conquering these worlds'. TB. 3. 8. 20. 5.

For the 'comprehensive' use of *iti* cf. above § 9, Ex. 3, Rem.

7. *açvaṁ tūparam gomṛgam iti tān madhyame yūpa ālabhate,* 'A horse, a hornless (he-goat), a bos gavaeus,—these he takes (for slaughter) at the central stake'. ÇB. 13. 2. 2. 2.

8. *apa* (TB. *āpa*) *oṣadhīḥ paçūṅs tān evā 'smā ekadhā saṁsṛjya* (MS. *tān asmai saṁsṛjyai 'kadhā*) *madhumataḥ karoti,* 'The waters, plants, (and) cattle,—uniting these together he makes (them) sweet for him'. K. 31. 7 (p. 8, 5); MS. 4. 1. 9 (p. 11, 5); TB. 3. 2. 8. 2.

For the accusative *āpaḥ* of TB. cf. below § 60, Ex. 135 (AB. 8. 17. 1).

9. *prāṇaṁ vyānam apānaṁ* (MS. *prāṇam apānaṁ vyānaṁ*) *tān eva* (MS. *tān*) *yajamāne dadhāti,* 'In-breathing, through-breathing, (and) out-breathing,—these he places into the sacrificer'. K. 31. 5 (p. 6, 12); MS. 4. 1. 7 (p. 9, 12).

The parallel passage TB. 3. 2. 6. 4 does not enumerate the breaths but simply reads: *prāṇān eva yajamāne dadhāti.*

10. *saptadaça pṛçnīn ukṣṇaḥ pañcavarṣān saptadaça pṛçnīs trivatsā apravītās tān paryagnikṛtān prokṣitān e 'tarā labhante pre 'tarān*

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sṛjanti 'Seventeen speckled five year old bulls (and) seventeen speckled three year old cows which are not with calf,—these, after the fire has been carried round them (and) after they have been consecrated,—the female ones they take (for slaughter), the male ones they let go'. PB. 21. 14. 7.

For the masculine *tān paryagnikṛtān prokṣitān* cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 53, p. 87—88; Vergl. Syntax III, p. 244—247; Keith's note to Ait. Ār. 2. 1. 7, p. 208—209; Speijer, Ved. und Sanskrit Syntax, § 101; Sanskrit Syntax, § 28, b, p. 19—20. For the construction καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος cf. Gaedicke, Accusativ, p. 268; Speijer, Ved. und Sanskrit Syntax, § 83; Delbrück, Vergl. Syntax, I, p. 385.

11. *sa yat pūrvam ācāmati sapta prāṇāṅs tān etenā 'sminn āpyāyayati yā hye 'mā bāhyāḥ çarīrān mātrās tad yathai 'tad agniṁ vāyum ādityaṁ candramasam apaḥ paçūn anyāç ca* (Bibl. Ind. and Gaastra's text *anyāṅç ca*) *prajās tān etenā 'sminn āpyāyayati*; . . .; *sa yad dvītīyam ācāmati saptā 'pānāṅs tān etenā 'sminn āpyāyayati yā hye 'mā bāhyāḥ çarīrān mātrās tad yathai 'tat paurṇamāsīm aṣṭakām amāvāsyāṁ çraddhāṁ dīkṣāṁ yajñaṁ dakṣiṇās tān etenā 'sminn āpyāyayati*; . . .; *sa yat tṛtīyam ācāmati sapta vyānāṅs tān etenā 'sminn āpyāyayati yā hye 'mā bāhyāḥ çarīrān mātrās tad yathai 'tat pṛthivīm antarikṣaṁ divaṁ nakṣatrāṇy ṛtūn ārtavān saṁvatsarāṅs tān etenā 'sminn āpyāyayati*, 'In that he takes the first sip, the seven in-breathings,—these he thereby replenishes in him, (and) what elements there are outside of the body, to wit, fire, wind, the sun, the moon, the waters, cattle, and the other creatures,—these he thereby replenishes in him; . . .; in that he takes the second sip, the seven out-breathings,—these he thereby replenishes in him, (and) what elements there are outside of the body, to wit, the night of the full moon, the eighth day of the full moon, the night of the new moon, faith, the consecration, the sacrifice, the sacrificial fees,—these he thereby replenishes in him; . . .; in that he takes the third sip, the seven through-breathings,—these he thereby replenishes in him, (and) what elements there are outside of the body, to wit, the earth, the atmosphere, the sky, the constellations, the seasons, the divisions of the year, the years,—these he thereby replenishes in him'. GB. 1. 1. 39.

12. *āgrayaṇapātram ukthyapātram ādityapātram etāny anu gāvaḥ*

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prajāyante, 'The Āgrayaṇa-vessel, the Ukthya-vessel, (and) the Āditya-vessel,—after (= in accordance with) them cows are born'. ÇB. 4. 5. 5. 8.

13 a) *tasmai* [*suparṇāya*] *hā 'nvāgatāya sarpiḥ kṣīram āmikṣāṁ dadhī 'ty etad upanidadhuḥ*, 'For this (eagle) when he had come they (viz. the Pāṇis) put down this, viz. liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, (and) sour curds'. JB. 2. 438. 3 (JAOS. 19, p. 99).

b) *tasyai* [*saramāyai*] *hā 'nvāgatāyai tathai 'va sarpiḥ kṣīram āmikṣāṁ dadhī 'ty etad upanidadhuḥ*, 'For this (Saramā) when she had come they put down in exactly the same manner this, viz. liquid butter, milk, clotted curds (and) sour curds'. JB. 2. 439. 4 (JAOS. 19, p. 100).

For the 'comprehensive' use of *iti* cf. above § 9, Ex. 3 Rem.

14. *tad vai tad agnihotraṁ dvādaçāhaṁ brahma juhavāṁ cakāra, tad dvādaçāhaṁ hutvā kīrtiṁ yaçaḥ prajātim* (the mss. *prajāpatim*) *amṛtaṁ tad udājahāra*, 'Now the Brahman offered this Agnihotra extending over twelve days; having offered this (Agnihotra) extending over twelve days, fame, glory, (the power of) procreation, immortality,—that he took out'. JB. 1. 37.

15. *tad vai tad agnihotraṁ dvādaçāhaṁ prajāpatir juhavāṁ cakāra, tad dvādaçāhaṁ hutvā* (var. lect. *kṛtvā*) *prajñāṁ medhāṁ mīmāṅsāṁ tapas tad udājahāra*, 'Now Prajāpati offered this Agnihotra extending over twelve days; having offered this (Agnihotra) extending over twelve days, knowledge, understanding, deliberation, penance, —that he took out'. JB. 1. 37.

16. *devā asurān yudham upaprayanto 'bruvan: yan no vāmaṁ vasu tad apanidhāya yudhyāmahai . . . iti, prāṇā vāva teṣāṁ vāmaṁ vasv āsīt, tad apanidhāya yudham upaparāyaṅs, tad ekadhā bhūtvā sṛjamānam atiṣṭhad, ṛcas sāmāni* (here the mss. insert *tu*) *yajūṅṣi gām açvam ajām aviṁ vrīhiṁ yavaṁ brāhmaṇaṁ rājanyaṁ vaiçyaṁ çūdraṁ yad idaṁ kiṁ ca tat sarvaṁ tad ebhya ācakṣate* (the mss. *ebhyācakṣate*): *'daṁ vai vas tad vāmaṁ vasv ekadhā bhūtvā sṛjamānaṁ tiṣṭhatī 'ti*, 'The gods engaging in combat with the Asuras said: "Let us enter the combat having laid away that which is our dearest treasure . . ."; now the breaths were their dearest treasure; having laid that away they went off to the

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combat; that treasure having become one . . . (?); now with regard to the Ṛces, the Sāmans, the Yajuses, the cow, the horse, the she-goat, the sheep, rice, barley, the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya, the Vaiçya, the Çūdra, and what ever else there is,—with regard to all this (people) reported to the gods: "This your dearest treasure having become one . . . (?)"' JB. 1. 142 (Caland, Auswahl. p. 43).

For *ekadhā bhūtvā sṛjamānam* Caland reads, with Avagraha, *ekadhā bhūtvā 'sṛjamānam* and renders: 'Hier steht eure liebe Habe, zu einem geworden, ohne zu schaffen'. But what can be the exact import of 'without creating'? The preceding *ekadhā bhūtvā* would favour a conjecture *saṁsṛjyamānam*, and *atiṣṭhat, tiṣṭhati* may be auxiliaries: 'Kept, keeps being mixed or fused together'.

17. *etāni ha vai yāny asmād ījānād vyutkrāntāni bhavanti tāny evā 'smiṅs tad dadhāti*, '(All) these (things) which are departed from him in various directions after he has sacrificed,—them he thus places (back) into him'. AB. 8. 8. 7.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

17 A. *tad u ha* (3. *tad u ha punar eva*) *jānaçrutiḥ pautrāyaṇaḥ ṣaṭ çatāni* (3. *sahasraṁ*) *gavāṁ niṣkam açvatarīrathaṁ* (3. adds *duhitaraṁ*) *tad ādāya praticakrame*, 'Six hundred cows [a thousand cows], a gold ornament, a chariot drawn by female mules, [and his daughter],—taking (all) this (with him) Jānaçruti Pautrāyaṇa then [then again] went to (Raikva)'. Chānd. Up. 4. 2. 1; 3. ⌋

B. The Proleptic Accusative consists of a Noun accompanied by a Participle.

§ 32. 1. **The accompanying Participle is a Present Participle.** In Ex. 1—5 the participle is not further qualified, in Ex. 6 it is qualified by an instrumental.

1. *samavattām eva satīṁ tad enāṁ* [*iḍām*] *pratyakṣaṁ hotari çrayati*, 'This (Iḍā) being completely cut off,—it he then visibly fixes in the Hotṛ-priest'. ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 17.

2. *ahar-ahar vā etad avlīyamānaṁ tad rakṣāṅsy asacanta*, 'That (third) day which was not being crushed,—that the Rakṣases pursued'. PB. 12. 3. 13.

3. *ahaḥ santam upāṅçuṁ taṁ rātrau juhoti*, 'The Upāṅçu-cup being (equivalent to) the day,—it he offers at night'. ÇB. 4. 1. 2. 13.

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4. *rātriṁ santam antaryāmaṁ tam udite juhoti*, 'The Antaryāma-cup being (equivalent to) the night,—it he offers when (the sun) has risen'. ÇB. 4. 1. 2. 14.

5. *prajāpater vai paçavo 'jātāç ca jāyamānāç ca rudrasya jātā, vyrddhena vā eṣa paçunā carati ya etayos santaṁ paçuṁ tam anir-yācyai 'tayor ālabhate*, 'To Prajāpati belong the animals before birth and while being born, to Rudra after birth; (consequently) a victim which (really) belongs to these two (gods),—he who takes such a (victim for slaughter) without (first) having asked the permission of these two, proceeds with a victim which is (sacrificially) spoiled'. K. 30. 9 (p. 191, 4).

Schroeder's text omits the avagraha in *paçavo 'jātāç*.

6. *devān ha vai yajñena yajamānāṅs tān asurarakṣasāni rarakṣur: na yakṣyadhva iti, tad yad arakṣaṅs tasmād rakṣāṅsi*, 'The gods sacrificing with the sacrifice,—them the Asuras and Rakṣases impeded: "Ye shall not sacrifice"; because they impeded (them), therefore they are (called) Rakṣases'. ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 16.

Speijer (Ved. und Sanskrit Syntax, § 287, p. 91), who mentions this passage among anacolouthic constructions, calls attention to the Triṣṭubh-cadence of the words *devān ha . . . rarakṣuḥ*.

On the similarity of this proleptic accusative construction with the examples of the proleptic nominative see above § 10, Delbrück, Altind. Syntax § 219, p. 394, 1—8.

Eggeling translates the √ *rakṣ* here and in the similar passage ÇB. 2. 1. 4. 15 (below § 34, Ex. 1) by 'forbid'; Weber, Ind. Streifen, I, p. 34 (= ZDMG., 4. p. 291) by 'verwehren'; Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 294, 1 by 'zurückhalten' (p. 394, 7 'retteten' must be an oversight); the Commentary glosses it at ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 16 by √ *bandh* + *prati* and at 2. 1. 4. 15 by √ *rudh* + *ni*; the context also (viz. the direct discourse following: *na yakṣyadhve* and *nā 'gnir janiṣyate, nā 'gnī ādhāsyadhve*) requires √ *rakṣ* to mean 'impede, obstruct, hinder'.

A √ 2 *rakṣ* 'injure' assumed by PW., pw, Graßmann (cf. Bartholomae, Alt-iran. WB.; col. 1516; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 209, b, p. 240, 6; Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 164; Hopkins, Epic Mythology, § 17, p. 38) is not quotable from Sanskrit literature. The only passage which is given in support of such a root, viz. AV. 5. 7. 1 *mā no rakṣīr dakṣiṇāṁ nīyamānām* does not require nor indeed favour the meaning 'injure'. Weber, while rendering it in his translation by 'falle nicht an' admits in the note the possibility of 'wehre nicht ab'; Ludwig translates 'hemme nicht'; Bloomfield 'do not keep from us', adding in the note: 'More particularly the poet has in mind the dakṣiṇā of the priest; that shall not be withheld, but shall accrue abundantly'; Whitney hesitatingly translates 'do not prevent'.

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The two meanings 'protect' and 'impede' are natural developments of the central meaning 'keep'; cf. English 'keep' = 1. 'guard, protect' and 2. 'hold back, prevent, withhold, restrain' (Oxford Dictionary, nos. 14 and 27); Old High German 'warjan' = 1. 'protect, defend' and 2. 'impede, restrain'; Middle High German 'weren' = 1. 'protect, defend' and 2. 'keep away, hold back'; Greek ἐρύομαι = 1. 'protect, guard' and 2. 'keep back' (Solmsen, Untersuchungen z. griech. Laut- und Verslehre, p. 245); Latin 'arceo' = 1. 'protect' and 2. 'keep off'.

Both Whitney, Roots, s. √ *rakṣ*, p. 134, and Uhlenbeck, Etymol. WB. s. *rakṣas*, p. 242, col. 1 rightly therefore reject a √ 2 *rakṣ* 'injure' for the Sanskrit.

For the etymological connection of *rakṣas* with √ *rakṣ* in our ÇB. passage cf. the connection of *rakṣastva* with √ *riṣ* at RV. 8. 18. 13 *yó naḥ káç cid rírikṣati rakṣastvéna mártyaḥ*. Yāska (Nir. 4. 18) gives three 'etymologies' for *rakṣas*: 1. *rakṣitavyam asmād* 'one against whom one should be on his guard' (Durga: *rakṣitavyaṁ hi çarīram asmād bhavati, rakṣo hi mānuṣān bhakṣayati*); 2. *rahasi kṣaṇote*, 'he injures in a desert place'; and 3. *rātrau nakṣate*, 'he approaches by night'.

§ 33. 2. **The accompanying Participle is an Active Perfect Participle qualified by an object accusative.**

1. *indraṁ vai vṛtraṁ jaghnivāṅsaṁ taṁ samantaṁ mṛdhas saṁprākampanta*, 'Indra having slain Vṛtra,—him (his) detractors crowded upon on all sides'. K. 10. 9 (p. 135, 20).

Five lines before, K. 10. 9 (p. 135, 15) without prolepsis: *indraṁ vai vṛtraṁ jaghnivāṅsaṁ mṛdho 'sancanta*. The √ *kamp* + *sam* — *pra* is here transitive as at K. 10. 9 (p. 135, 21) and 25. 6 (p. 110, 3).

§ 34. 3. **The accompanying Participle is a Future Participle qualified by an object accusative.**

1. *devān ha vā agnī ādhāsyamānān tān asurarakṣasāni rarakṣur: nā 'gnir janiṣyate, nā 'gnī ādhāsyadhva iti, tad yad arakṣaṅs tasmād rakṣāṅsi*, 'The gods being about to pile the two fires,—them the Asuras and Rakṣases impeded: "Agni shall not be born; ye shall not pile the two fires"; because they impeded (them) therefore they are (called) Rakṣases'. ÇB. 2. 1. 4. 15.

Cf. above § 32, Ex. 6 Rem. For the imperatival future cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 167, p. 293.

2. *maruto ha vai krīḍino vṛtraṁ haniṣyantam indram āgataṁ tam abhitaḥ paricikrīḍuḥ*, 'Indra wishing to slay Vṛtra (and) having come, —him the Sportive Maruts sported about on all sides'. ÇB. 2. 5. 3. 20.

Immediately afterwards, without prolepsis: *tatho evai 'taṁ [yajamānam] pāpmānaṁ dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ haniṣyantam abhitaḥ parikrīḍante*.

For the past participle *āgatam* cf. below § 35, Ex. 1.

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§ 35. **4. The accompanying Participle is a Past Participle without Qualifiers.**

1. *maruto ha vai krīḍino vṛtraṁ haniṣyantam indram āgataṁ tam abhitaḥ paricikrīḍuḥ*, ÇB. 2. 5. 3. 20, see above § 34, Ex. 2.

2. *etā ha devatāḥ sutā etena savena yenai 'tat soṣyamāno bhavati tā evai 'tat prīṇāti*, 'These same divinities which have been consecrated by that consecration by which he is about to be consecrated,—even these he thus gratifies'. ÇB. 9. 3. 4. 5.

3. *agniṁ vai sṛṣṭaṁ prajāpatis taṁ çamyā 'gre samainddha*, 'Agni having been created,—him Prajāpati first kindled with Çamī-wood'. K. 8. 2 (p. 85, 4).

4. *somaḥ pavate janitā matīnām* (SV. 1. 527) *iti prātaḥsavane ṣoḍaçinaṁ gṛhītaṁ taṁ tṛtīyasavane prajanayati*, 'The Ṣoḍaçin-cup which has been drawn at the morning pressing,—that he produces at the third pressing with (the verse) SV. 1. 527'. PB. 2. 11. 6.

⌈ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

4 A. *yathā somya*[1] *mahato 'bhyāhitasyai 'kam aṅgāraṁ khadyotamātraṁ pariçiṣṭaṁ taṁ tṛṇair upasamādhāya pravlayet* . . ., 'As, my dear, a single coal of the size of a fire-fly left over from a large piled up (fire),—covering that completely with (dry) grass one would make it blaze up . . .' Chānd. Up. 6. 7. 5.

§ 35 A. **C. An Accusative depending on a Gerund is resumed by a Demonstrative Pronoun.**

1 A. *yathā somya*[1] *puruṣaṁ gandhārebhyo 'bhinaddhākṣam ānīya taṁ tato 'tijane visṛjet* . . ., 'As if, my dear, having led a blindfolded man hither from the (country of the) Gandhāras,—him one were to let loose in a desert place . . .' Chānd. Up. 6. 14. 1. ⌋

II. The Absolute Accusative.

§ 36. **1. Semi-disjunct use of the Accusative.**

There are a great many instances where a Conjunct Accusative accompanied by a Participle (cf. above § 5) may be rendered in English by a hypotactical clause. Thus, for instance, a) KB. 18. 12 *tam* [*paçum*] *āprītaṁ paryagnikṛtam udañcaṁ nayeyuḥ*, 'When the Āprī-verses have been recited over this (victim) and the fire

[1] Cf. Lüders, SB. preuß. A. W. 1922; p. 229.

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has been carried round it, they should lead (it) to the north'; b) JB. 1. 240. 4; 5 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 163 and 164) *tau [açvinau] dravantāv* (5 *dravantā*) *agniḥ* (5 *uṣāḥ*) *paryudatiṣṭhat*, 'As the two (Açvins) were driving along, Agni (the Dawn) blocked (their) way'; c) JB. 2. 142 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 171) *taṁ [indram] vijigyānaṁ sarve devā abhitaḥ samantaṁ paryaviçan*, 'When this (Indra) had won a complete victory all the gods crowded around him' < cf. above § 33, Ex. 1 the similar passages, K. 10. 9 (p. 135, 20 and 15), the former with a proleptic accusative. >; d) JB. 1. 267 *retas tat siñcati, tad retas siktaṁ gāyatryo 'dvardhayati*, 'He thus casts the seed; after this seed has been cast, he causes (it) to thrive by means of the Gāyatrī; e) JB. 3. 310, *prajāpatiṁ prajāḥ sasṛjānaṁ mukhataḥ pāpmā 'sinot*, 'After Prajāpati had created offspring, evil bound (him) at the mouth' < Finite forms of the √ *sā* 'bind' according to the *nu*-class are confined to JB. 3. 310 where *asinot* occurs three times. >; f) JB. 1. 238 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 92) *te [devāḥ] vai tan [annādyam] nā 'vindanta, . . ., tān avindamānān [agniḥ] abravīt . . .*, 'The gods did not find that (food); . . .; when they could not find (it), Agni said (to them)'; g) JB. 2. 297 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 200) *tena hai 'tena [yajñena] maruto yata indrāgnī īkṣāṁ cakrāte: ime ced vā idaṁ samāpayanti maruta eve 'daṁ sarvaṁ bhaviṣyantī 'ti*, 'Indra and Agni observed the Maruts as they proceeded with this (sacrifice): "If these Maruts accomplish this they will become this All"'; h) TS. 6. 1. 5. 3 *devaviçaṁ khalu vai kalpamānaṁ manuṣyaviçam anukalpate*, 'As the subjects of the gods are in harmony, so he brings the human subjects into harmony' (Keith); i) TS. 3. 2. 1. 3 *taṁ [pavamānam] vichidyamānam adhvaryoḥ prāṇo 'nuvichidyate*, 'If this (Pavamāna) be cut in twain the breath of the Adhvaryu-priest would be cut in twain as a consequence thereof'; j) AB. 2. 15. 13 *mā 'yajñiyāṁ vācaṁ proditām anupravadiṣma*, 'We will not enter upon the recitation after a speech unsuited to the sacrifice has been uttered'; k) JB. 1. 111 *tāḥ [prajāḥ] prāṇaṁ vividānā rakṣāṅsy anvasacanta*, 'When these (creatures) had found breath, the Rakṣases followed after (them); l) K. 23. 9 (p. 85, 16) *taṁ [yajñam] sravantaṁ yajamāno 'nu parāsravati prajayā ca paçubhiç ca*, 'When this sacrifice leaks the sacrificer

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also together with (his) offspring and cattle leaks in consequence thereof'; m) Chānd. Up. 3.19.3 *taṁ [ādityam] jāyamānaṁ ghoṣā ulūlavo 'nūdatiṣṭhant sarvāṇi ca bhūtāni sarve ca kāmāḥ*, 'When this (sun) was being born, noise and jubilation arose after (it)[1] and all beings and all wishes'; n) Chānd. Up. 4. 16. 3 *yajñaṁ riṣyantaṁ yajamāno 'nuriṣyati*, 'When the sacrifice comes to grief, the sacrificer (also) comes to grief in consequence thereof; 5 *yajñaṁ pratitiṣṭhantaṁ yajamāno 'nupratitiṣṭhati*, 'When the sacrifice has a firm stand, the sacrificer (also) has a firm stand in consequence thereof'.

Such instances could be quoted in great number, but there is neither an external nor an internal indication which would warrant the assumption of a disjunct accusative much less that of an Absolute Accusative in any of them (cf. above § 3, 1, c; § 4—6). The mere presence of a participle is not sufficient to make the case a disjunct one. Except for the presence of a participle examples like those given above under h), i), l) do not differ in any way from passages like JB. 1. 114 *gāyatrīṁ chidrāṁ karoti, gāyatrīṁ chidrām anu yajñas sravati yajñam anu yajamāno yajamānam anu prajāḥ*, 'He makes the Gāyatrī leaky; in consequence of the Gāyatrī (being) leaky the sacrifice leaks, in consequence of the sacrifice (leaking) the sacrificer (leaks); in consequence of the sacrificer (leaking) the offspring (leaks)'; JB. 1. 178 *yajñāyajñīyaṁ chidraṁ karoti, yajñāyajñīyaṁ chidram anu yajñas sravati yajñam anu yajamāno yajamānam anu prajāḥ*, 'He makes the Yajñāyajñīya leaky; in consequence of the Yajñāyajñīya (bring) leaky the sacrifice leaks; in consequence of the sacrifice (leaking) the sacrificer (leaks); in consequence of the sacrificer (leaking) the offspring (leaks)', where a predicate adjective takes the place of the participle or the noun is used without any qualifier.

§ 37. The Absolute Use of the Accusative.

In the following passages an Absolute Accusative may be assumed with more or less certainty:

1. *te [aṅgirasaḥ] vatsam upāvāsṛjann : idam no havyaṁ pradāpaye 'ti, so 'bravīd : varaṁ vṛṇai, daça mā rātrīr jātaṁ na dohan, āsaṁgavaṁ mātrā saha carāṇī 'ti, tasmād vatsaṁ jātaṁ daça rātrīr na*

[1] Cf. RV. 1. 66. 10; 69. 10; TB. 2. 7. 9. 4; K. 37. 1 (p. 86, 7); Chānd. Up. 1. 11. 7.

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duhanti, āsaṁgavaṁ mātrā saha carati, vārevṛtaṁ hy asya, tasmād vatsaṁ saṁsṛṣṭadhayaṁ rudro ghātukaḥ, ati hi saṁdhāṁ dhayati, 'These (Aṅgirases) admitted the calf (to the speckled cow, saying): "Cause (her) to give this oblation to us"; this (calf) said: "Let me choose a boon; when I am born ye shall not milk (the mother cow) for the space of ten nights; let me stay with (my mother) until the time when the cows are driven together"; therefore when a calf is born they do not milk (the mother cow) for the space of ten nights, it stays with (its) mother until the time when the cows are driven together, for that is its chosen boon; therefore Rudra is fain to slay a calf which is admitted to and sucks (the mother cow at any other time), for it sucks transgressing the covenant'. TB. 2. 1. 1. 3.

It is clear that in the two clauses *daça mā rātrīr jātaṁ na dohan* and *tasmād vatsaṁ jātaṁ daça rātrīr na duhanti* the accusatives *mā jātam* and *vatsaṁ jātam* cannot depend as direct objects on the √ *duh* for which the Commentary correctly supplies [*gām*] as direct object. In the first instance the Commentary explains *mā jātam* by assuming an ellipsis of *dṛṣṭvā* (*jātaṁ māṁ dṛṣṭvā daça rātrīr bhavanto gāṁ na duhantu*) — clearly a mere make-shift. Böhtlingk (ZDMG., 54, p. 514) proposes an emendation of *dohan* and *duhanti* to *dṛṅhan* and *'dṛṅhanti* respectively; but, as Geldner (Ved. Stud. 3, p. 111, note 3) points out, this emendation is not acceptable because the √ *dṛṅh* is never used in the sense of 'tying up' a calf, but always means 'to make firm, to steady'[1]; moreover the Commentary is explicit on this point: *atrai 'tad dharmatrayam avagamyate daçasu rātriṣu kṣīraṁ na grāhyam, pratidinam āsaṁgavaṁ mātrā saha vatso mocanīyaḥ, paççān mātuḥ sakāçād apakartavya iti.* Geldner's interpretation of the two accusatives as 'peculiar accusatives of time' seems the most plausible solution of the difficulty.

On the passage TB. 2. 1. 2. 6 *tad* [*agnihotram*] *dhūyamānam ādityo 'bravīt*, which Geldner cites as a parallel construction cf. below, Ex. 3.

The Accusatives Absolute *māṁ jātam* and *vatsaṁ jātam* would thus be equivalent to the Absolute Locatives **mayi jāte* and **vatse jāte*, cf. TS. 2. 2. 5. 3—4 *vaiçvānaraṁ dvādaçakapālaṁ nirvapet putre jāte, . . ., yasmiñ jāta etām iṣṭiṁ nirvapati pūtaḥ || eva tejasvy annāda indriyāvī paçumān bhavati*, 'He should offer (a cake) on twelve potsherds to Vaiçvānara when a son is born; . . .; (a son) at whose birth he offers this offering becomes pure, splendid, an eater of food, strong, (and) possessed of cattle'; JB. 1. 297 *tasmād yajñāyajñīyasya stotre varaṁ dadyād yathā putre jāte varaṁ dadati*, 'Therefore at the Stotra of the Yajñāyajnīya he should grant a boon, just as they grant a boon when as son is born'; ÇB. 14.

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[1] Cf. the Yajus ĀpÇ. 1. 13. 11 *dṛṅha gāḥ* parallel to *dṛṅha gopatim*.

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9. 4. 23 (= BĀU. 6. 4. 23 Mādhy. = 24 Kāṇv.) [*putre*] *jāte 'gnim upasamādhāya . . . juhoti*, 'When (a son) is born, putting (fuel) on the fire . . . he makes the offering'.

For another instance of the absolute *jātam* cf. below, Ex. 6.

2. *vi vā etad yajñaṁ chindanti yat ṣaḍahasaṁtataṁ santam athā 'har utsṛjanti*, 'Verily they cut the sacrifice in twain if, while it (= the sacrifice) is a continuously performed six-day rite, they leave out a day'. TS. 7. 5. 6: 3.

The Commentary glosses: *ṣaḍahair abhiplavapṛṣṭhyarūpaiḥ sātatyena vartamānaṁ yajñam upetya yady ahar utsṛjeyur etena yajñaṁ vichindanty eva*, supplying *upetya* as governing the accusative *ṣaḍahasaṁtataṁ santam*, as it supplies *dṛṣṭvā* in the preceding example (TB. 2. 1. 1. 3, above Ex. 1) and at TB. 2. 1. 2. 6 (below, Ex. 3).

For *atha* after the Accusative Absolute cf. KB. 30. 5 (below, Ex. 6) and § 7, b.

For *ṣaḍahasaṁtata* cf. K. 33. 7 (p. 32, 17) *saṁ ṣaḍahaṁ tanvanti.*

In the following passage the assumption of an Absolute Accusative is not necessary:

3. *tad* [*agnihotram*] *dhūyamānam āditye 'bravīn: mā hauṣīḥ, ubhayor vai nāv* [viz. *mama ca agneç ca*] *etad iti, so 'gnir abravīt: kathaṁ nau hoṣyantī 'ti, sāyam eva tubhyaṁ juhavan prātar mahyam ity abravīt, tasmād agnaye sāyaṁ hūyate sūryāya prātaḥ*, 'When this (Agnihotra was being offered)' (or, 'With reference to this Agnihotra as it was being offered', see the Remark) Āditya said: "Do not offer it, for it belongs to both of us (viz. to me and to Agni)"; Agni said: "How shall they offer it to both of us?" (Āditya) said: "In the evening they shall offer it to thee, in the morning to me"; therefore they offer (the Agnihotra) in the evening to Agni, in the morning to Sūrya'. TB. 2. 1. 2. 6.

This example is cited by Geldner, Ved. Stud. 3, p. 111, note 3, as a parallel to the Absolute Accusatives at TB. 2. 1. 1. 3 (above, Ex. 1). The Commentary glosses: *tad dhūyamānam* by *tad dhavir agnyarthaṁ prajāpatinā hūyamānaṁ dṛṣṭvā*, assuming an ellipsis of *dṛṣṭvā* as in TB. 2. 1. 1. 3 (above Ex. 1), just as it assumes an ellipsis of *upetya* at TS. 7. 5. 6. 3 (above Ex. 2).

It is, however, not necessary to construe *tad dhūyamānam* in this passage as an Absolute Accusative; the accusative may depend on *abravīt*: 'With reference to this (Agnihotra) as it was being offered Āditya said'. Cf. for the accusative with √*brū* in the sense of 'to say with reference to someone or something'. ÇB. 11. 8. 3. 6 (below § 38, Ex. 1) and e. g. ÇB. 10. 3. 5. 15; 11. 4. 2. 1; 11. 6. 2. 5; 11. 7. 2. 4; 12. 4. 1. 4; 12. 4. 2. 7; 9; 12. 4. 3. 6; 7; 8; 12. 5. 1. 17; TS. 6. 4. 10. 2; 6. 5. 5. 3; MS. 3. 1. 4 (p. 5, 7); K. 8. 7 (bis, p. 87, 3 and 5); 21. 2 (p. 39, 12); 21. 6 (p. 45, 7); 22. 6 (p. 62, 20); AB. 2. 21. 2; 2. 22. 3; 2. 28. 3; 5; 2. 29.

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7; GB. 2. 3. 7; AB. 4. 7. 7; 6. 26. 6; KB. 7. 9 (p. 33, 9); 9. 4 (p. 43, 1); 12. 7 (p. 56, 23); 13. 9 (bis, p. 61, 2 and 4); 14. 2 (p. 62, 9); 17. 1 (p. 75, 8); 23. 6 (p. 106, 1); PB. 4. 8. 12 (bis); 15. 12. 3; 20. 3. 2. The closest parallels to our passage are ÇB. 3. 7. 3. 11 *tān etad devā atiṣṭhamānāṅs tvaṣṭāram abruvan*, 'The gods said to Tvaṣṭṛ with regard to these (animals) which were unwilling to submit'; ÇB. 11. 8. 3. 5. *tasmād u paçuṁ saṁjñaptaṁ brūyāc : chetāṁ nu muhūrtam iti*, 'Therefore he should say with regard to the quieted (= slaughtered) victim: "Let it lie a moment"'; AB. 8. 12. 5; 8. 17. 5, *tam* [*indram*, 8. 17. 5 *rājānam*] *etasyām āsandyām āsīnaṁ viçve devā abruvan* (8. 17. 5 *āsīnaṁ rājakartaro brūyur*) : *na vā anabhyutkruṣṭa indro* (8. 17. 5. *anabhyutkruṣṭaḥ kṣatriyo*) *vīryaṁ kartum arhaty abhy enam utkroṣāme 'ti*, 'With regard to this [Indra; king] seated upon this throne the All Gods [the king-makers] said [should say]. "Verily, Indra [the Kṣatriya] cannot develop strength unless he is greeted with shouts of acclamation; let us greet him with shouts of acclamation".'

4. *pratyupāhuto 'chāvāko: nivartadhvaṁ mā 'nugāte* (RV. 10. 91. 1) *'ty etasya sūktasya yāvatīḥ paryāpnuyāt tāvatīr anudraved dhotā vā pratikāminam achāvākam*, 'The Achāvāka-priest, being invited, should run over as many (verses) of the hymn RV. 10. 91 as he may be able to grasp, or the Hotṛ-priest (should do so) if the Achāvāka-priest be unwilling (?)'. KB. 13. 8.

Lindner's text, evidently by a mere oversight, reads *vā 'pratikāminam*.

As the text stands it is hardly possible to construe the accusative *pratikāminam achāvākam* as anything but an absolute accusative. But it is not impossible that after *achāvākam* the gerund *pratyupahūya* should be inserted, cf. ÇÇ. 7. 6. 8 (= 12) *anupahūto 'chāvāko nivartadhvam iti sūktasya yāvac chaknuyāt tāvad anudravet*, 9 (= 13) *hotā vā pratikāminam achāvākaṁ pratyupahūya* 'Without being called upon the Achāvāka-priest should run over as much of the hymn RV. 10. 91 as he can, or the Hotṛ-priest (should do so) after he has called (in vain) on an unwilling Achāvāka-priest'.

Keith, who renders: 'Or a Hotṛ (may do so) to an unwilling Achāvāka', suggests an emendation to *hotā vā prati pratikāminam achāvākam*.

The compound *pratikāmin* must mean here and at ÇÇ. 7. 6. 9 (= 13) 'unwilling', while *pratikāmina* (cf. Whitney § 441, b; 1209, c)[1] which is found at KB. 15. 3 (p. 67, 7—8) = 15. 4 (p. 68, 4—5) *pratikāminam annādyam atti* appears to mean 'undesirable' (PW., pw. 'unerwünscht, widerwärtig', Keith 'unpleasant'). For the force of *prati* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 313, § 119, b, ε, 1. The relation of *pratikāmin(a)* to *anukāmin* (in the Yajus TS. 3. 5. 6. 1 *athā 'ham anukāminī*[2] *sve loke viçā iha*) is parallel to that of *pratikūla* to *anukūla*, *pratiloma* to *anuloma*.

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[1] The assumption of a transfer to the *a*-declension seems to me much preferable to Keith's second alternative of a change of the gender of *annādya* (HOS. XV, p. 81).

[2] So also the parallel ĀpÇ.; the MÇ. parallel has *anugāminī*.

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5. *tan nānāchandasyānāṁ sahasraṁ sat sahasrāṁ bṛhatyaḥ saṁpadyante*, KB. 18. 3. Cf. above § 26, Ex. 3.

The case-form of *sahasraṁ sat* is ambiguous; it may be nominative.

6. *taṁ [yajamānam] brāhmaṇāchaṅsine prayacchati, taṁ sa sukīrtinā yoninā pratigṛhṇāti, jātam athai 'taṁ vṛṣākapiṁ paṅktiçaṅsaṁ nyūṅkhaṁ çaṅsaty, annaṁ vai nyūṅkho, jāta evā 'smiṅs tad annādye pratitiṣṭhati*, 'He hands him (the sacrificer) over to the Brāhmaṇāchaṅsin-priest; he (= the latter) receives him with the Sukīrti-hymn (RV. 10. 131) as womb; when he (the sacrificer) is born, then he recites the Vṛṣākapi-hymn (RV. 10. 86) as a Paṅkti-set (and) with the Nyūṅkha-insertion; the Nyūṅkha-insertion is (identical with) food; thus even as he is born, he takes his firm stand in this food-eating'. KB. 30. 5.

The AB. parallel (6. 29) is much more detailed. According to it the Sukīrti-hymn is the divine womb (6. 29. 1 *devayonir vai sukīrtiḥ*) from which the sacrificer is begot by the Brāhmaṇāchaṅsin-priest (6. 29. 1 *tad yajñād devayonyai yajamānaṁ prajanayati*; 5. *taṁ [yajamānam] brāhmaṇāchaṅsī janayitvā . . .*); the Vṛsākapi-hymn is identified with the body, and thus by the recitation of this hymn the body of the sacrificer is shaped (6. 29. 2 *ātmā vai vṛṣākapir, ātmānam eva 'sya [yajamānasya] tat kalpayati*); the Nyūṅkha-insertion (i. e. the insertion of the syllable '*o*') is identified with food, thus the recitation of the Vṛṣākapi-hymn with the Nyūṅkha-insertion provides food for the new-born sacrificer (6. 29. 3 *annaṁ vai nyūṅkhas, tad asmai [yajamānāya] jātāyā 'nnādyaṁ pratidadhāti yathā kumārāya stanam*); the Pentad-form of the Vṛṣākapi hymn is identified with the five elements of which the human body is composed, viz. hair, skin, flesh, bones, and marrow; thus by the recitation of the Vṛṣākapi hymn in Pentad-form the sacrificer receives size and shape of a man (6. 29. 4 *sa pāṅkto bhavati, pāṅkto 'yaṁ puruṣaḥ pañcadhā vihito: lomāni tvañ māṅsam asthi majjā, sa yāvān eva puruṣas tāvantaṁ yajamānaṁ saṁskaroti*); after the sacrificer has thus been (re)born the Brāhmaṇāchaṇsin-priest hands him over to the Achāvāka-priest who provides firm standing for him (6. 29. 5 *taṁ [yajamānam] brāhmaṇāchaṅsī janayitvā 'chāvākāya saṁprayacchaty: etasya tvaṁ pratiṣṭhāṁ kalpaye 'ti*).

Cf. the similar account at AB. 5. 15. 4 where with the Nābhānediṣṭha hymn the seed is cast (*nābhānediṣṭhenai 'va reto 'siñcat*), with the Vālakhilya-verses the body is shaped (*tad vālakhilyābhir vyakarot*) and with the Sukīrti-hymn the womb is made to open for delivery (*sukīrtinā kākṣīvatena yoniṁ vyahāpayat*; the Commentary: *tena sukīrtinā hotā yoniṁ vyahāpayad garbhanirgamāya vivṛtam akarot*).

In the more condensed KB. passage it is clear that *jātam* cannot be taken as direct object of *pratigṛhṇāti* nor can it be construed as conjunct case with the following *çaṅsati*. It is probably best taken as Absolute Accusative equivalent to

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an Absolute Locative **tasmiñ jāte*, cf. above TB. 2. 1. 1. 3 (Ex. 1) *māṁ jātam* and *vatsaṁ jātam,* the only difference between these and the *jātam* of KB. being the absence of the subject *tam* in the latter.

Keith notes: '*Jātam* represents an elliptical clause', and he renders: 'Him he receives in the womb of the Sukīrti (hymn); for him born he recites in Pañkti-form with repetition of o the Vṛṣākapi hymn', taking apparently the elliptical *jātam* as equivalent to a conjunct *jātāya* depending on *çaṅsati.*

For *atha* after the absolute accusative cf. TS. 7. 5. 6. 3 (above Ex. 2) and above § 7, b.

§ 38. The following two passages do not belong here:

1. *tasmād u putraṁ jātam akṛttanābhiṁ pañca brāhmaṇān brūyād ity enam anuprāṇite 'ti*, 'Therefore, with reference to a new-born son whose navel-string has not yet been cut he should say to five Brāhmaṇas: "Breathe ye at him successively in this manner".' ÇB. 11. 8. 3. 6.

The accusative *putraṁ jātam akṛttanābhim* is neither an Absolute Accusative = 'when a son has been born, (but) before the navel-string has been cut', nor is it a Proleptic Accusative anticipating the object of *anuprāṇita,* but it depends as second accusative on *brūyāt*, cf. above § 37, Ex. 3 Remark. The closest parallel is ÇB. 3. 7. 3. 11 *tān [paçūn] etad devā atiṣṭhamānāṅs tvaṣṭāram abruvan*: . . ., 'The gods said to Tvaṣṭṛ with regard to these (animals) which did not submit: . . .'

2. *atha vai paçum ālabhyamānaṁ puroḍāço nirupyate* (read with Lindner against all mss. *'nunirupyate*) 'Along with the victim as it is being taken (for slaughter) a cake is offered'. KB. 10. 5.

Lindner's emendation of the reading of all mss. *nirupyate* to *'nunirupyate* (on the *anu-* of which the accusative *paçum ālabhyamānam* depends) is patently correct. It is supported by the reading of the mss. O, L, and C *yatra puroḍāço 'nunirupyate* immediately below (p. 48, 2) where Lindner by an oversight has accepted the reading of the single ms. M. *nirupyate* into his text; cf. ÇB. 3. 8. 3. 2 *yatra kva cai 'ṣa paçuṁ puroḍāço 'nunirupyate*, and, with the locative *paçau*, AB. 2. 8. 7; 2. 11. 11; 12 *paçau puroḍāçam anunirvapanti.*

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3. The Disjunct Instrumental.

§ 39. No clear example of a Disjunct Instrumental has been noted in the prose of the Brāhmaṇas or in that of the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

Germs out of which an **Absolute Instrumental** might have developed are indeed not wanting.

For such constructions of an Instrumental accompanied by a participle in Classical Sanskrit cf. de Saussure, De l'emploi du génitif absolu en Sanscrit, 1881, p. 94, note 1, who remarks: 'Cette construction est fréquente surtout à l'instrumental, et il vaut la peine d'ajouter, qu'elle a été bien près d'engendrer un troisième cas absolu sanscrit'; Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 372, p. 290; § 375, p. 292—293; Ved. und Sansk. Syntax, § 213, p. 65.

Thus a) AB. 1. 13. 8 (cited by Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 375, p. 293, note 2) glosses RV. 10. 71. 10 *sárve nandanti yaçásā 'gatena* (*sabhāsahéna sákhyā sákhāyaḥ*) by *sarvo ha vā etena* [*somena*] *krīyamāṇena nandati* which might well be rendered by 'Everyone rejoices when this (Soma) is being purchased' < cf. the Locative Absolute *some krīte* below § 60, Ex. 48—54 > and b) KB. 27. 1 *nandati ha vai yajño viduṣā 'gacchatā*, 'The sacrifice rejoices when a knowing one approaches' < cf. the Locatives Absolute with *āgate* below § 59, Ex. 74—79 and with the present participle of √ *i* + *ā* below § 61, Ex. 74—79 >, but in both passages the Instrumentals are really conjunct cases depending on the √ *nand*: 'Everyone rejoices at this (Soma) when it is being purchased', and 'The sacrifice rejoices at a knowing one when he approaches' < cf. the simple Instrumental without accompanying participle GB. 1. 1. 1 *tenā* [*snehena*] *'nandat*; 1. 1. 2 *tābhir* [*svedadhārābhiḥ*] *anandat*; ṢB. 1. 6. 2 *ye yajñasya vyrddhena na nandanti nandanti yat samṛddhena*; 1. 6. 3 *yo 'haṁ yajñasya vyrddhena nandāmi nandāmi yat samṛddhena*, and cf. below § 63, Ex. 3 Rem. toward the end >. c) Eggeling renders ÇB. 1. 2. 4. 7 *tena saṁçitena nā 'tmānam upaspṛçati na pṛthivīm* by

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'When it has been sharpened he does not touch either himself or the earth' but the Instrumental is really to be construed as conjunct case with *upaspṛçati*: "With it, when it has been sharpened, he does not touch either himself or the earth' < cf. the similar Instrumental accompanied by a participle depending on the √*hiṅs*: ÇB. 1. 2. 4. 7 *ned anena vajreṇa saṁçitenā 'tmānaṁ vā pṛthivīṁ hinasāni*, 'Lest I hurt myself or the earth with this weapen which has been sharpened'; 1. 2. 4. 15 *ned anena vajreṇa saṁçitena pṛthivīṁ hinasāni*, 'Lest I hurt the earth with this weapon which has been sharpened'; 9. 1. 1. 27 *na hy avatatena dhanuṣā kaṁ cana hinasti*, 'For with a bow which is unstrung he injures no one'. > d) ÇB. 1. 6. 3. 36 and 37 *sa visrastaiḥ parvabhir na çaçāka saṁhātum* and *sa saṁhitaiḥ parvabhir idam annādyam abhyuttasthau* may be rendered by 'His joints being relaxed, he was not able to rise[1]', and 'His joints having been repaired he stood up for food-eating', but it literally means: 'With his relaxed joints he was not able to rise', and 'With his joints repaired he stood up for food-eating < cf. ÇB. 4. 6. 4. 2 *yenā 'yaṁ samahāsta*, 'With what (fast-food) he raised himself'; 5. 2. 1. 14 *çīrṣṇā yūpam atyujjihīte*, 'With his head he rises above the sacrificial stake' = 'He raises his head above the stake'; 10. 6. 2. 8 *āhutibhir hy agnir uttiṣṭhati*, 'For by means of the oblations Agni stands (= blazes) up'; 9 *candramasā hy āditya uttiṣṭhati*, 'For by means of the moon the sun stands up'; 10 *annena hi prāṇa uttiṣṭhati*, 'For by means of food breath stands up'; 8. 2. 4. 20 *pūrvārdhena ca jaghanārdhena ca paçur uc ca tiṣṭhati saṁ ca viçati* 'With its fore-part and with its hind-part an animal stands up and lies down' >. Of like character are e) AB. 1. 27. 1 *tāyā [vācā] mahāṇagnyā* (for the *ṇ* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 194, § 173) *bhūtayā somaṁ rājānam akrīṇan*, 'With this (Speech) who had become a courtesan (as purchase money) they purchased King Soma'; TS. 6. 1. 7. 7 *anumatayai 'vai 'nayā [vācā somam] krīṇāti* 'With this (Speech as purchase money) after she has consented he purchases (the Soma); ÇB. 3. 2. 4. 10; 15 *prītayā [vācā] somaṁ krīṇāni* 'May I buy the Soma with Speech who is gratified'. f) AB. 2. 31. 2 *tam [vajram] eṣām*

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[1] For √*hā* + *sam* cf. Lüders, SB. preuß. A. W. 1916, p. 289.

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[*devānām*] *asurā na pratyabudhyanta, . . ., tenai 'nān apratibuddhenā 'ghnan*, 'The Asuras did not notice this (weapon) of these (gods): . . .; with this (weapon) unnoticed (the gods) slew these (Asuras). g) ÇB. 2. 4. 1. 1; 4. 6. 9. 24 *tayā* [*vācā*] *samṛddhayā 'çiṣam āçāste* (4. 6. 9. 24 *'çiṣa āçāsate*) 'With this (Speech) who has been made to prosper he (they) asks (ask) a blessing (blessings); 1. 8. 1. 17 *tayā* [*iḍayā*] *'tmañ chṛtayā hotā yajamānāyā 'çiṣam āçāste*, 'With this (Iḍā) which is boiled in the self the Hotṛ-priest invokes a blessing for the sacrificer' < cf. the simple Instrumental without participle with *āçiṣam āçāste* at ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 9; 10; 11; 1. 9. 1. 16; 3. 5. 1. 22; 3. 5. 2. 9; 3. 7. 4. 9; AB. 1. 13. 19; PB. 11. 10. 10; 13. 12. 7; 15. 5. 13 >. h) MS. 3. 8. 6 (p. 103, 8—10) *atho haviṣā vā etat skannena dvitīyām āçiṣam avarunddhe, . . ., kim u sa yajñena yajeta yo haviṣā skannena dvitīyam āçiṣam avarundhaṁ na vidyāt*, 'Even though the oblation be spilled (literally: 'Even with a spilled oblation') he attains the second blessing; . . .; but why should he sacrifice with a sacrifice who doth not know how to attain the second blessing even though the oblation be spilled (literally: 'even with a spilled oblation')?' < The parallel K. 15. 7 (p. 112, 7) reads: *kim u sa yajeta yo yajñasya skannena na vasīyānt syāt*, 'Why should he sacrifice who doth not grow stronger through the spilled (part) of the sacrifice?' > i) ÇB. 6. 3. 1. 14 *na hy ayuktena manasā kiṁ cana çaknoti kartum*, 'For when the mind is unyoked (literally: 'with an unyoked mind') he is not able to accomplish anything'. j) ÇB. 3. 5. 3. 11 *tābhyāṁ* [*manasā ca vācā ca*] *yuktābhyāṁ yajñaṁ tanvate* 'With these two (viz. mind and speech) yoked they perform the sacrifice'; 4. 6. 9. 21 *tayā* [*vācā*] *'pīnayā yātayāmnyo 'ttaram ahas tanvate*, 'With this (Speech) strengthened (and) invigorated they perform (the rite of) the last day'.

§ 40. The most noteworthy example of an incipient Absolute Instrumental denoting time is *udyatā sūryeṇa* at TB. 2. 7. 9. 4 *udyatā sūryeṇa kāryaḥ; udyantaṁ vā etaṁ sarvāḥ prajāḥ pratinandanti*, 'When the sun rises (literally: 'With the rising sun') it should be performed; for all creatures joyfully greet him (the sun) when he rises'[1]. The parallel passage K. 37. 1 (p. 85, 7) has here

[1] Cf. RV. 1. 66. 10; 69. 10; Chānd. Up. 1. 11. 7; 3. 19. 3.

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the Absolute Locative: *yad udyati sūrye kriyata etad vai prajāpate rūpam, yarhy eṣa udeti sarvā vā etaṁ prajāḥ pratinandanti.*

The temporal instrumental *udyatā sūryeṇa* easily develops out of the sociative Instrumental (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 84, p. 123—126) cf. TS. 1. 8. 4. 1; 2; TB. 1. 6. 6. 2; 1. 6. 7. 5 *sākaṁ sūryeṇo 'dyatā* (below § 61, Ex. 18, Rem.).

The simple Instrumental of Time usually denotes the extent of time (Delbrück's 'Instrumentalis der Zeiterstreckung', Altind. Syntax, § 89, p. 130); thus, *ahnā,* 'during the day' and *rātryā*, 'during the night': MS. 2. 4. 3 (p. 40, 10) *sa vā iṣumātram evā 'hnā tiryañn avardhata*, 'He grew to the extent of an arrow-shot in width during the (space of a) day'; ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 11 *sa yat tato rātryā 'çnāti, . . .,* 12 *sa yat tato 'hnā 'çnāti*, 'When he then eats during the night [during the day]'; ÇB. 2. 3. 4. 9 *tad ahnā rātryā bhūyo-bhūya eva 'kṣayyaṁ bhavati,* 'Thus there is during the day (and) during the night ever-increasing imperishableness'; ÇB. 6. 6. 4. 1 *tad yat kiṁ cā 'to rātryo 'pasamādadhāti . . .,* 2 *tad yat kiṁ cā 'to 'hno 'pasamādadhāti,* 'Whatever thereafter he puts on during the night [during the day] . . .'; ÇB. 11. 5. 5. 13 *tad uttareṇā 'bhivitanvate 'hnā*, 'That (unfinished work) they carry over and perform during the next day'. *Rātribhiḥ*, 'during the night': MS. 4. 5. 1 (p. 63, 9) *tasmād rātribhiḥ çravasyate*, 'Therefore he travels during the night'. *Ahorātrābhyām* 'during the day and during the night': ÇB. 12. 9. 2. 2 *yad evā 'horātrābhyām enaḥ karoti . . .*, 'What sin he commits during the day and during the night . . .'; TS. 2. 1. 7. 3; 2. 4. 10. 1 *ahorātrābhyāṁ khalu vai parjanyo varṣati*, 'During the day and during the night Parjanya rains'; TS. 2. 1. 7. 3; 2. 4. 10. 2 *tāv evā 'smā ahorātrābhyāṁ parjanyaṁ varṣayataḥ*, 'These two make Parjanya rain for him during the day and during the night'; TS. 2. 1. 7. 4 *ahorātrābhyāṁ khalu vai prajāḥ prajāyante*, 'During the day and during the night offspring is born'; ÇB. 12. 3. 2. 7 *çramād anyatra parivartamānas . . . ahorātrābhyāṁ puruṣaḥ samena kati kṛtvaḥ prāṇiti cā 'pa cā 'niti*, 8 *ahorātrābhyāṁ puruṣaḥ samena tāvat kṛtvaḥ prāṇiti cā 'pa cā 'niti*, 'How many times doth man, as he turns about, . . . breathe in and breathe out regularly during the day and during the night except from toil; so many times doth man breathe in and breathe out during the day and during the night'; ÇĀ. 4. 7; Kauṣ. Up. 2. 7 *yad ahorātrābhyāṁ pāpaṁ karoti . . .*, 'What evil he does during the day and during the night . . .' *Grīṣmahematābhyām* 'during the summer and winter': ÇB. 1. 5. 3. 11 *idaṁ kṣudraṁ sarīsṛpaṁ grīṣmahematābhyāṁ nityaktaṁ bhavati*, 'This small creeping (vermin) is driven away during the summer and winter'; 12 *yā imā oṣadhayo grīṣmahematābhyāṁ nityaktā bhavanti*, 'The plants which are driven away during the summer and winter'. And so *anṛtubhiḥ* at MS. 3. 6. 7 (p. 68, 13) is probably 'during unsuitable times' rather than 'zu unerlaubten Zeiten' (as Delbrück renders it): *tasmād dīkṣitena dīkṣitavimitān nā 'nṛtubhiḥ krāmyam*, 'Therefore one who has been consecrated should not leave the

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hut of consecration during unsuitable times'. Cf. also *ārtyā* PB. 9. 6. 5 below § 60, Ex. 80, Remark.

A similar instance of an incipient Absolute Instrumental denoting time is *anuditena* and *uditena* [*sūryeṇa*] at K. 8. 3 (p. 86, 5) *āsuryā rātrī varṇena çukriyam ahaç, çukriya ādhatte ya* [*agnim*] *udite sūrya ādhatte, naktaṁ vā anuditena divo 'ditena, divā 'dhatte ya udite sūrya ādhatte*, 'Asura-like in colour is the night, bright the day; he who lays down (the fire) when the sun has risen lays it down in brightness, for when the sun has not (yet) risen there is night, (on the other hand) when it has risen there is day; he who lays down (the fire) when the sun has risen lays it down by day'.

The juxtaposition of the Instrumentals *anuditena* and *uditena* and the Absolute Locative *udite sūrye* is noticeable. The Instrumentals *anuditena* and *uditena* [*sūryeṇa*] may be here interpreted either as sociative Instrumentals ('along with the sun when it has not yet risen there is night; along with the sun when it has risen there is day') or as Causal Instrumentals ('through the sun when it has not yet risen there is night; through the sun when it has risen there is day').

For the hypostasis of *naktam* and *divā* cf. below § 59, Ex. 8 Rem.

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4. The Disjunct Dative.

I. The Proleptic Dative.

§ 41. Only the following two examples of the proleptic use of the Dative have been noted. In the first instance the Proleptic Dative consists of a series of simple nouns which are resumed by a demonstrative pronoun; in the second instance the pronoun *tābhyām*, after a long comparison introduced by *yathā* and a parenthetical clause joined to it, is resumed by the pronoun *ābhyām*.

1. *yajñāya yajamānāyā 'tmane tebhya evā 'çīṣam āçāste*, 'For the sacrifice, for the sacrificer, (and) for himself,—for them he invokes a blessing'. TS. 2. 6. 9. 3; TB. 3. 3. 6. 11.

2. *tābhyām* [= *indrāya cā 'gnaye ca*] *etad yathā jnātibhyāṁ vā sakhibhyāṁ vā sahā 'gatābhyāṁ samānam odanaṁ paced ajaṁ vā tad aha mānuṣaṁ havir devānām evam ābhyām etat samānaṁ havir*

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niravapann aindrāgnaṁ dvādaçakapālaṁ puroḍāçam, 'For these two (viz. for Indra and Agni) then,—as one would cook a common mess or a goat for two relatives or for two friends who have come together (on a visit),—that namely is human (practice), (but) to the gods (belongs) the oblation,—even so they spread for these two (viz. Indra and Agni) a common offering, viz. the sacrificial cake on twelve potsherds sacred to Indra and Agni'. ÇB. 1. 6. 4. 3.

Cf. the similar resumption of a genitive after a *yathā*-clause below § 45, Ex. 2, and cf. § 9, Ex. 18 and **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads** § 11, Ex. 1 A.

§ 42. In the instances in which the Dative is accompanied by a Participle it always fully retains its conjunct character; thus ÇB. 1. 6. 4. 12 *vṛtraṁ hy asmā [indrāya] etaj jaghnuṣa āpyāyanam akurvan*, 'For they prepared an invigorating (drink) for this (Indra) when he had slain Vṛtra'; TB. 2. 3. 8. 3 *tasmai [prajāpataye] manuṣyānt sasṛjānāya divā devatrā 'bhavat*, 'For this (Prajāpati) when he had created men there was day among the gods'; MS. 4. 2. 1 (p. 21, 6) *tasmai [prajāpataye] pitṝnt sasṛjānāya divā 'bhavat*, 'For this (Prajāpati) when he had created the Fathers there was day'; ÇB. 11. 1. 6. 7; 11 *tasmai [prajāpataye] devānt* (7 omits *devānt*) *sasṛjānāya dive 'vā 'sa*, 'For this (Prajāpati) when he had created the gods there was, so to speak, day'.

For the hypostasis of *divā* in the last three examples cf. below § 59, Ex. 8 Rem.

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5. The Disjunct Ablative.

I. The Proleptic Ablative.

§ 43. Only one example of a Proleptic Ablative has been noted; it consists of a series of simple nouns which are immediately resumed by a demonstrative Pronoun.

1. *antarikṣād divaḥ pṛthivyā ahorātrābhyāṁ tebhya enān sarvebhyo nirbhajati*, 'From the atmosphere, from the sky, from the earth, from day and night,—from all these he excludes them (viz. his rivals)'. K. 34. 4 (p. 38, 12).

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The parallel PB. 9. 4. 18 has without prolepsis *asyā amuṣyā adyaçvān mithunād ahorātrābhyām eva 'nān nirbhajati*, 'From this (earth), from yonder (sky), from to-day and to-morrow, from (procreative) union, from day and night he excludes them'.

§ 44. There are numerous examples in which a conjunct ablative is accompanied by a participle and where it would be possible to render the two by a hypotactical clause; but in all these passages there is neither a formal nor a semantic indication to show that, in the mind of the speaker, the Ablative with its participle had assumed an independent character.

Thus, a) ÇB. 5. 2. 1. 18 *bṛhaspater ha vā abhiṣiṣicānāt pṛthivī bibhayāṁ cakāra*, 'Of Bṛhaspati, after he had been consecrated, the earth was afraid'; b) AB. 1. 13. 24 *bibhyati vai somād rājña āyato yajamānasya gṛhāḥ*, 'The house of the sacrificer stands in fear of king Soma when he approaches'; c) ÇB. 6. 4. 4. 16 *etad dhai 'tasmād [agneḥ] āyata oṣadhayo bibhyati*, 'Now the plants are afraid of this (Agni) when he approaches'; d) MS. 1. 6. 3 (p. 89, 15—90, 1) *agner vā iyam [vediḥ] sṛṣṭād abibhed*, 'Of Agni when he had been created this (altar) was afraid'; e) TS. 2. 4. 13. 1; K. 11. 4 (p. 148, 6) *devā vai rājanyāj jāyamānād abibhayuḥ*, 'The gods were afraid of the Rājanya as he was born'; f) ÇB. 5. 5. 2. 2 *sa udyatād vajrād vṛtro bibhayāṁ cakāra*; TS. 6. 5. 1. 1 *sa vṛtro vajrād udyatād abibhet*, 'This Vṛtra was afraid of the thunderbolt when it was raised'; g) MS. 3. 9. 3 (p. 116, 2) *vajro vai yūpas, tasmād vā ime lokā niryamāṇād bibhyati*, 'The sacrificial post is (identical with) the thunderbolt; of it, as it is caused to move forward, these worlds are afraid'; h) TS. 6. 3. 3. 3 *ime vai lokā yūpāt prayato bibhyati*, 'These worlds are afraid of the sacrificial stake as it moves forward', < on Weber's proposed change of *prayato* to *prapato* see below § 59, Ex. 231 Rem. >; i) ÇB. 3. 6. 4. 13 *vajrāt pracyavamānād ime lokāḥ saṁrejante*, 'These worlds tremble at the thunderbolt when it moves forward'; j) ÇB. 3. 9. 4. 18 *ime ha vai dyāvāpṛthivī etasmād vajrād udyatāt saṁrejete*, 'These two, heaven and earth, tremble at this thunderbolt when it is raised'; k) K. 31. 3 (p. 4, 19) *ime vai lokā haviṣo gṛhītād udavepanta*; MS. 4. 1. 5 (p. 7, 6) *haviṣo gṛhītād ime lokā udavepanta*, 'These worlds trembled at the oblation when it had been taken',

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<Note that the parallel passage TB. 3. 2. 4. 7 has here the Locative Absolute: *dyāvāpṛthivī haviṣi gṛhīta udavepetām* (cf. below § 60, Ex. 60)>; l) ÇB. 2. 4. 1. 14 *etad dha vai gṛhapateḥ proṣuṣa āgatād gṛhāḥ samuttrastā iva bhavanti*, 'Now the house violently trembles, so to speak, at the master of the house, when he, having been away from home on a journey, has returned'; m) ÇB. 5. 4. 3. 2 *varuṇād dha vā abhiṣiṣicānād indriyaṁ vīryam apacakrāma*; 5. 4. 5. 1 *varuṇād dha vā abhiṣiṣicānād bhargo 'pacakrāma*, 'From Varuṇa after he had been consecrated strength (and) vigour [lustre] departed'; n) TS. 6. 4. 8. 2 *apa mat krūraṁ cakruṣaḥ paçavaḥ kramiṣyanti*, 'From me who have done a cruel (deed) cattle will depart'; o) TS. 6. 1. 4. 7 *apa vai dīkṣitāt suṣupuṣa indriyaṁ devatāḥ krāmanti*, 'Strength (and) the divinities depart from one who, having been consecrated, has gone to sleep'; p) K. 23. 3 (p. 76, 16) *tasmāt [yajñāt] punar upāvartamānād ṛksāme apākrāmatām*, 'From this (sacrifice) when it had returned (to the gods) the Ṛc and the Sāman departed'; q) K. 27. 2 (p. 140, 20) *tasmāt puruṣāt suptāt prāṇāpānau nā 'pakrāmataḥ*, 'Therefore in-breathing and outbreathing do not depart from a man when he has gone to sleep'; r) ÇB. 12. 4. 1. 10 *açraddadhānebhyo hai 'bhyo gaur apakrāmati*, 'From them, since they do not believe, the cow departs'; s) ÇB. 7. 4. 1, 16 *prajāpater visrastād ramyā tanūr madhyata udakrāmat*, 'From Prajāpati, when he had become disjointed[1], the pleasing form departed from the middle'; ÇB. 7. 5. 1. 16 *prajāpater visrastāt prāṇo madhyata udacikramiṣat*, 'From Prajāpati when he had become disjointed breath desired to depart from the middle'; ÇB. 6. 1. 2. 12; 7. 1. 2. 1 *tasmād [prajāpateḥ] visrastāt prāṇo madhyata udakrāmat*, 'From this (Prajāpati) when he had become disjointed breath departed from the middle'; ÇB. 8. 2. 2. 5 *prajāpater visrastāt sarvāḥ prajā madhyata udakrāmann etasyā 'dhi yoneḥ*, 'From Prajāpati when he had become disjointed all creatures departed from the middle, away from their womb'; ÇB. 8. 1. 1. 3; 8. 2. 3. 9; 9. 1. 1. 6; 9. 4. 1. 2 *prajāpater visrastāt prāṇā* (8. 2. 3. 9 *visrastāt paçava*; 9. 1. 1. 6 *visrastād devatā*; 9. 4. 1. 2 *visrastān mithunāny*) *udakrāman*, 'From Prajāpati when he had become disjointed

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[1] For the collapse of Prajāpati cf. Oldenberg, Nach. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. 1917, p. 3.

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the breaths [the cattle; the divinities; the (procreative) unions] departed'; ÇB. 9. 4. 2. 13; 16 *prajāpater visrastād rug* (16. *vīryam*) *udakrāmat*, 'From Prajāpati when he had become disjointed brilliancy [vigour] departed; t) ÇB. 11. 4. 3. 1 *tasmāc chrāntāt tepānāc chrīr udakrāmat*, 'From him having toiled (and) practiced austerities Fortune departed; u) ÇB. 7. 5. 2. 8 *etebhyaḥ paçubhyaḥ saṁjñapyamānebhya eva prāṇā utkrāmanti*, 'From these victims as they are being quieted (= slaughtered) the breaths depart; v) AB. 2. 8. 1—5 *puruṣaṁ vai devāḥ paçum ālabhanta, tasmād ālabdhān medha udakrāmat* . . . ‖ *te 'çvam ālabhanta, so 'çvād ālabdhād udakrāmat* . . . ‖ *te gām ālabhanta, so gor ālabdhād udakrāmat* . . . ‖ *te 'vim ālabhanta, so 'ver ālabdhād udakrāmat* . . . ‖ *te 'jam ālabhanta, so 'jād ālabdhād udakrāmat* . . ., 'The gods took man as victim (for slaughter); from him being taken (for slaughter) the sacrificial essence departed . . .; they took the horse [the ox; the ram; the goat] (for slaughter); from it having been taken (for slaughter) this (sacrificial essence) departed'; w) GB. 1. 1. 11. *tābhyaḥ çrāntābhyas taptābhyaḥ saṁtaptābhyaḥ çam ity ūrdhvam akṣaram udakrāmat*, 'From these being toiled over, being heated, being thoroughly heated, the syllable "Çam" rose upward'; GB. 1. 1. 5 *tasmāc chrāntāt taptāt saṁtaptād om iti mana evo'rdhvam akṣaram udakrāmat*, 'From this (Atharvaveda) being toiled over, being heated, being thorougly heated the syllable "Om", (viz.) the mind, rose upward'; x) ÇB. 8. 3. 3. 9 *prajāpater visrastāt sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarvā diço 'nu vyudakrāman*, 'From Prajāpati when he had become disjointed all beings departed in various directions toward the quarters'; y) AB. 8. 7. 10 *athai'tāni ha vai kṣatriyād ījānād vyutkrāntāni bhavanti : brahmakṣatre ūrg annādyam* . . ., "Now from the Kṣatriya after he had sacrificed, all these (viz.) the Brahman, the Kṣatra, vitality, food-eating . . . are departed in various directions'; z) AB. 8. 8. 7 *etāni ha vai yāny asmād ījānād vyutkrāntāni bhavanti tāny evā 'smiṅs tad dadhāti*, '(All) these (things) which are departed from him in various directions after he has sacrificed, —these he places (back) into him < for the Proleptic Accusative cf. § 31, Ex. 17 >; aa) TS. 2. 1. 7. 1 *prajāpater visrastād retaḥ parāpatat*, 'From Prajāpati when he had become disjointed the seed fell away'; bb) JB. 1. 357. 4—6 (Transactions of the Con-

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necticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 155) *tān [lokān prajāpatiḥ] samatapat, tebhyas saṁtaptebhyas trīṇi çukrāṇy udāyann: agniḥ pṛthivyā vāyur antarikṣād ādityo divaḥ || sa etāni çukrāṇi punar abhy evā 'tapat, tebhyas saṁtaptebhyas trīṇy eva çukrāṇy udāyann: ṛgveda evā 'gner yajurvedo vāyos sāmaveda ādityāt || sa etāni çukrāṇi punar abhy evā 'tapat, tebhyas saṁtaptebhyas trīṇy eva çukrāṇy udāyan: bhūr ity eva ṛgvedād bhuva iti yajurvedāt svar iti sāmavedāt*, 'He (Prajāpati) thoroughly heated these (worlds); from them being thoroughly heated these three luminous (bodies) went up: Agni from the earth, Vāyu from the atmosphere, Āditya from the sky; he again heated these luminous (bodies); from them being thoroughly heated three luminous (bodies) went up: the Rigveda from Agni, the Yajurveda from Vāyu, the Sāmaveda from Āditya; he again heated these luminous (bodies); from them being thoroughly heated three luminous (bodies) went up: "Bhūs" from the Rigvada, "Bhuvas" from the Yajurveda, "Svar" from the Sāmaveda'; cc) TS. 2. 5. 2. 4 *tasmāj [vṛtrāt] jañjabhyamānād agnīṣomau nirakrāmatām*, 'From this (Vṛtra) as he opened his mouth Agni and Soma went forth'; dd) TS. 6. 3. 8. 3 *parāñ āvartate 'dhvaryuḥ paçoḥ saṁjñapyamānāt*, 'The Adhvaryu-priest turns away from the victim as it is being quieted (= killed); ee) PB. 8. 5. 4 *tasmāt samānāyā nāsikāyāḥ satyā nānā prāṇāv uccarataḥ*, 'Therefore from the nose though it is one two breaths emanate separately; ff) ÇB. 11. 5. 8. 1 *tasmāc chrāntāt tepānāt trayo lokā asṛjyanta*, 'From him having toiled (and) practiced austerities these worlds were created; ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 1 *tasmāc chrāntāt tepānād āpo 'sṛjyanta*, 'From him having toiled (and) practiced austerities the waters were created; gg) AB. 5. 32. 1—2 *tebhyo [lokebhyaḥ] 'bhitaptebhyas trīṇi jyotīṅṣy ajāyanta, . . ., tebhyo [jyotirbhyaḥ] 'bhitaptebhyas trayo vedā ajāyanta, . . ., tebhyo [vedebhyaḥ] 'bhitaptebhyas trīṇi çukrāṇy ajāyanta, . . . || tebhyo [çukrebhyaḥ] 'bhitaptebhyas trayo varṇā ajāyanta*, 'From these (worlds) when they had been heated three lights were born; . . .; from these (lights) when they had been heated the three Vedas were born; . . .; from these (Vedas) when they had been heated three luminous (bodies) were born; . . .; from these (luminous bodies) when they had been heated the three elements (of the syllable "Om", viz. *a*, *u*, *m*) were born'; ÇB. 11. 5.

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8. 2—4 *tebhyas [lokebhyaḥ] taptebhyas trīṇi jyotīṅṣy ajāyanta . . .* || *tebhyas [jyotirbhyaḥ] taptebhyas trayo vedā ajāyanta . . .* || *tebhyas [vedebhyaḥ] trīṇi çukrāṇy ajāyanta,* 'From these (worlds) when they had been heated three lights were born, . . .; from these (lights) when they had been heated the three Vedas were born, . . .; from these (Vedas) when they had been heated three luminous (bodies) were born'; hh) ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 1 *tasmāt puruṣāt taptād āpo jāyante* 'From this Person when he is heated the waters are born[1]'; ii) KB. 6. 1 *tasmāt [prajāpateḥ] taptāt pañcā 'jayantā: 'gnir vāyur ādityaç candramā uṣāḥ pañcamī,* 'From this (Prajāpati) when he was heated five (divinities) were born: Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Candramas, (and) Uṣas as the fifth'; jj) ÇB. 12. 5. 2. 5 *tasyai ha [vṛkalāyai] vidagdhāyai sṛgālaḥ saṁbhavati,* 'From this (intestine) when it has been burnt, a jackal arises'; kk) MS. 3. 2. 8 (p. 28, 4) *tasmād retasaḥ siktād eṣa paçuḥ saṁbhavati,* 'Therefore from the seed when it has been cast this animal comes into existence'; ll) ÇB. 14. 6. 9. 31 (= BĀU. 3. 9. 31 Mādhy. = 28 Kāṇv.) *tasmāt tat ātunnāt* (Kāṇv. *ātṛṇṇāt*) *praiti raso vṛkṣād ivā 'hatāt* (Çloka), 'From this (man) when he is bruised the sap (= the blood) cometh forth as (does the sap) from a tree when it is hewn'; mm) ÇB. 7. 1. 2. 1 *tasmāt [prajāpateḥ] pannād annam asravat,* 'From this (Prajāpati) when he had fallen food flowed forth'; nn) K. 34. 3 (p. 37, 18) *atha yo grīvābhyaḥ pravṛḍhābhyo rasas samasravat . . .,* 'Now the sap which flowed from the neck when it had been cut . . .; oo) TS. 5. 1. 10. 2 *agner eva tena [sāmnā] jātād rakṣāṅsy apahanti,* 'By means of this (Sāman) he drives away the Rakṣases from Agni when he is born'; pp) PB. 16. 1. 3 *yathā vā idam agner jātād agnayo vihriyante . . .,* 'Just as here from the fire when it has been born the (other sacrificial) fires are separately taken . . .'; qq) ÇB. 3. 8. 1. 11; 4. 2. 5. 3 *stīrṇāyai veder dve tṛṇe adhvaryur ādatte,* 'From the altar after it has been bestrewn the Adhvaryu-priest takes two grass blades'; rr) ÇB. 1. 5. 1. 3 *vede(ḥ) stīrṇāyai barhir abhipadya . . .,* 'Taking the Barhis from the altar after it has been bestrewn . . .'.

Such instances might be multiplied (cf. e. g. JUB. 3. 15. 6—8; Chānd. Up. 2. 23. 3—4); but though there is plenty of material

[1] Cf. Chānd. Up. 6. 2. 3.

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out of which a real Absolute Ablative might have been developed such has not been the case. The Locative Absolute *haviṣi gṛhīte* parallel to the Ablative *haviṣo gṛhītād*, above, Ex. k), is not sufficient to establish the absolute character of the ablatival construction.

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6. The Disjunct Genitive.

I. The Proleptic Genitive Resumed by a Demonstrative Pronoun.

§ 45. A. **The Simple Proleptic Genitive (without accompanying infinite Verb-form).**

In Ex. 1 the Proleptic Genitive consists of a series of simple nouns, in Ex. 2 it consists of a single noun which is resumed by a Demonstrative Pronoun after a *yathā*-clause.

1. *ānītā vā anyeṣāṁ devānāṁ smo 'nānītā anyeṣāṁ, saṁsparçenā 'nyeṣāṁ jīvāmas sakāçenā 'nyeṣāṁ, pṛthivyā vātasyā 'pāṁ teṣām ānītās smas teṣāṁ saṁsparçena jīvāmo, 'gnes sūryasya divas teṣāṁ anānītās smas teṣāṁ sakāçena jīvāmaḥ*, 'By some of the gods we are led on, by others (we are) not led on; through contact with some we live, through the presence of others; by the Earth, the Wind, the Waters,—by them we are led on, through contact with them we live; by the Fire, the Sun, the Sky,—by them we are not led on, through their presence we live'. K. 8. 11 (p. 95, 3).

2. *tasya ha vā etasya bhagavato 'tharvaṇa ṛṣer yathai 'va brahmaṇo lomāni yathā 'ñgāni yathā prāṇa evam evā 'sya sarva ātmā samabhavat*, 'Of this same reverend sage Atharvan,—as the hair of Brahman, as (his) limbs, as (his) breath,—even so the whole body of this (sage) came into being'. GB. 1. 1. 4.

For the resumptive pronoun after a *yathā*-clause cf. above § 41, Ex. 2 Remark.

§ 46. B. **The Proleptic Genitive is accompanied by a Participle (which, in turn, is qualified by an Accusative).**

1. *prajāpater vai prajās sisṛkṣamāṇasya*[1] *tasye 'ndrāgnī prajā apāgūhatāṁ, so 'bravīd : indrāgnī vai me prajā apāghukṣatām iti*; . . .,

[1] So with ms. D.; Schroeder's text *-manasya*.

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indrāgnī etasya prajām apagūhato yo 'laṁ prajāyai san prajāṁ na vindate, 'Of Prajāpati desiring to create offspring,—of him Indra and Agni hid away offspring; he said: "Indra and Agni have hidden away my offspring"; . . .; Indra and Agni hide away the offspring of him who, being capable of offspring, (yet) does not find offspring'. K. 9. 17 (p. 120, 11).

The parallel MS. 2. 1. 1 (p. 1, 5) omits both the participle and the resumptive pronoun: *prajāpater vā indrāgnī prajām apāgūhatām*; . . .; *indrāgnī khalu vā etasya prajām apagūhato yo 'laṁ prajāyai san prajāṁ na vindate.*

2. *devānāṁ vai svargaṁ lokaṁ yatāṁ teṣāṁ diçaḥ samavlīyanta*, 'Of the gods going to the heavenly world,—of them the quarters collapsed'. K. 20. 11 (p. 31, 2).

The passage is discussed above § 3, 1, c (toward the end) and § 55, Ex. 3 in connection with the parallels TS. 5. 3. 2. 2; 5. 2. 3. 4; PB. 8. 8. 13.

II. The Absolute Genitive.

1. The Germs of the Absolute Genitive.

§ 47. Under this heading are grouped together a large number of examples in which a conjunct genitive accompanied by a participle may be rendered in English by a hypotactical clause. Such genitives to which the presence of a participle gives, in a greater or less degree, a certain syntactical independence (above § 3, 1, c and § 5) are the germs out of which the true Absolute Genitives have developed.

Cf. Gaedicke, Accusativ, p. 47—48, note; Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 217, p. 389—390; Vergl. Syntax, II, § 164, p. 494; for the classical Sanskrit, de Saussure, De l'emploi du génitif absolu en Sanscrit, p. 33—41; Speijer, Sanscrit Syntax, § 370, p. 289.

The examples are arranged according to the relation in which the Genitive stands to other parts of the sentence.

A. The Genitive is a Possessive Genitive.

For reasons which will be discussed under the general heading "The Genitive with Verbs of Separation" the examples are grouped under two subdivisions, the first comprising the examples in which the governing verb is not a verb of separation, the second comprising those in which the governing verb is a verb of separation.

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§ 48. a) **The Governing Verb is not a Verb of Separation.** In Ex. 1—36 the genitive stands at the head of the clause, in Ex. 37—46 A it is imbedded in the sentence.

1. *prajāpater ha vai prajāḥ sasṛjānasya parvāṇi visasraṅsuḥ*, 'Of Prajāpati after he had created creatures the joints relaxed'. ÇB. 1. 6. 3. 35; 4. 6. 4. 1.

2. *idaṁ vai paçoḥ saṁjñapyamānasya prāṇo vātam apipadyate*, 'Of the victim as it is being quieted (= slaughtered) here the breath passes on to the wind'. ÇB. 3. 7. 4. 9.

3. *paçor ha vā ālabhyamānasya hṛdayaṁ çuk samabhyavaiti*, 'Into the heart of the victim as it is being taken (for slaughter) anguish enters'. ÇB. 3. 8. 5. 8.

4. *etad vai paçoḥ saṁjñapyamānasya hṛdayaṁ çuk samavaiti*, 'Into the heart of the victim as it is thus being quieted (= slaughtered) anguish enters'. ÇB. 11. 7. 4. 3.

5. *paçor vā ālabdhasya hṛdayaṁ çug ṛchati*, 'Anguish reaches the heart of the victim when it is taken (for slaughter)'. TS. 6. 4. 1. 4.

6. *paçor vai māryamāṇasya prāṇāñ çug ṛchati*, 'Anguish reaches the breaths of the victim as it is being put to death'. MS. 3. 10. 1 (p. 128, 11).

7. *paçoḥ khalu vā ālabdhasya hṛdayam ātmā 'bhisameti*, 'The Self enters the heart of the victim as it is taken (for slaughter)'. TS. 6. 3. 10. 2.

8. *paçor vai māraṇāyā* (Schroeder's emend. for *māraṇāyā*) *'nīyamānasyā 'havanīyaṁ medhyo* (Schroeder's emend. for *madhyo* and *medhyā*) *'bhyupakrāmati*, 'The sacrificial essence of the victim as it is being led to be put to death enters the Āhavanīya-fire'. MS. 3. 9. 7 (p. 126, 5).

Medhyaḥ is evidently the equivalent of *medhaḥ*; an emendation of the former to the latter is hardly necessary, cf. the frequent redundancy or omission of *y* (not only after consonant plus sibilant, Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 271, § 235, a) in parallel Mantras; thus

suvīraḥ VS. 8. 22; TS. 1. 4. 44. 3; 6. 6. 2. 2; MS. 1. 3. 38 (p. 44, 17); K. 4. 12 (p. 37, 12); ÇB. 4. 4. 4. 14	*suvīryaḥ* AV. 7. 97. 6
suvīram MS. 4. 11. 1 (p. 161, 5); K. 4. 16 (p. 43, 15)	*suvīryam* RV. 6. 8. 6; TS. 1. 5. 11. 2

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suvīram VSK. 29. 2. 22; TS. 4. 1. 8. 3	*suvīryam* VS. 27. 20; MS. 2. 12. 6 (p. 150, 6)
suvīram MÇ. 1. 3. 2. 21 (bis)	*suvīryam* TB. 3. 7. 5. 13; ĀpÇ. 2. 20. 5
suvīrām TS. 5. 7. 2. 1	*suvīryām* PG. 3. 2. 2
nirvīram TS. 7. 3. 11. 1	*nirvīryam* KAçv. 3. 1 (p. 157, 19)
martāsaḥ TB. 3. 7. 11. 5; ĀpÇ. 3. 12. 1	*martyāsaḥ* RV. 10. 2. 5; KB. 26. 6 (p. 122, 14)
marteṣu RV. 7. 4. 4; 10. 45. 7; TS. 4. 2. 2. 2; ĀpMB. 2. 11. 25	*martyeṣu* VS. 12. 24; MS. 2. 7. 9 (p. 86, 13; with the exception of one Saṁhitā ms. which reads *marteṣu*)
bhañgena VS. 7. 3; ÇB. 4. 1. 1. 26	*bhañgyena* ĀpÇ. 12. 11. 10
bhañgaçravaḥ K. 38. 12 (p. 113, 9—10); MÇ. 6. 1. 2 (bis)	*bhañgyaçravaḥ* TĀ. 6. 5. 2; ĀpÇ. 16. 6. 4 (bis)
grahaḥ TS. 1. 2. 6. 1; 6. 1. 9. 3; MS. 1. 2. 5 (p. 14, 3); K. 2. 6 (p. 11, 12); 24. 5 (p. 94, 3); MÇ. 2. 1. 4. 2	*grahyaḥ* VS. 4. 24; ÇB. 3. 3. 2. 7
supatham TS. 4. 7. 2. 2; MS. 2. 11. 3 (p. 141, 7 where one ms. reads *supātham*); K. 18. 8 (p. 271, 12)	*supathyam* VS. 18, 11; and according to Schroeder's note to MS. 2. 11. 3 (p. 141, 7) also Kap. S. 28. 8
antaḥpārçvena TS. 1. 4. 36. 1; TĀ. 3. 21. 1	*antaḥpārçvyena* VS. 39. 8
sadhamādeṣu AV. 6. 62. 2; RVKhil. 9. 86. 2; VS. 19. 44	*sadhamādyeṣu* MS. 3. 11. 11 (p. 156, 6, where however the Pp.-mss. omit the *y*); K. 38. 2 (p. 102, 15, where the mss. read *sadamādyeṣu*)
purīṣavāhanaḥ VS. 11. 44; TS. 4. 1. 4. 2; K. 16. 4 (p. 224, 12); ÇB. 6. 4. 4. 3	*purīṣyavāhanaḥ* MS. 2. 7. 4 (p. 79, 2)
viçiçnānām MS. 1. 11. 4 (p. 165, 16)	*viçiçnyānām* K. 14. 3 (p. 102, 18); cf. Wackernagel, KZ. 46, p. 271
kāmāyai MG. 2. 13. 6	*kāmyāyai* MS. 4. 2. 1 (p. 22, 10); MÇ. 9. 5. 1; 3
parṇāya VS. 16. 46; MS. 2. 9. 8 (p. 127, 1); K. 17. 15 (p. 258, 10)	*parṇyāya* TS. 4. 5. 9. 2
parṇaçădāya VS. MS.; K. as under *parṇāya*	*parṇaçădyāya* TS. as under *parṇyāya*
pratisarāya MS. 2. 9. 6 (p. 125, 5)	*pratisaryāya* VS. 16. 33; TS. 4. 5. 6. 1; K. 17. 4 (257, 7)
upalapāya MS. 2. 9. 8 (p. 126, 13, where however one ms. reads *upalapyāya*)	*upalapyāya* VS. 16. 45; TS. 4. 5. 9. 1; K. 17. 15 (p. 258, 9)
svapnād KÇ. 25. 11. 20	*svapnyād* AV. 7. 100. 1
audbhidam RVKh. 10. 128. 2; VS. 34. 50; HG. 1. 10. 6	*audbhidyam* ĀpMB. 2. 8. 1
daivam MÇ. 1. 5. 2. 4	*daivyam* TB. 1. 2. 1. 15; ĀpÇ. 5. 8. 1
ūrvam RV. 1. 72. 8	*ūrvyam* TB. 2. 5. 8

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MS. 3. 4. 4 (p. 48, 16) *divyo* and MS. 4. 11. 2 (p. 166, 5) *araṇyāṇi* are patent errors for *divo* and *araṇāni* respectively, as is the var. lect. *saṁdhe* twice for *saṁdhye* at KB. 2. 2 (p. 8, 2 and 4).

At Kṭh. Up. 1. 2. 13 *dharmyam* appears to be an old error for *dharmam* as the edition with Rāghavendra's Commentary reads (cf. Böhtlingk's note to the passage in Berichte d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. W., 1890, p. 143).

At Chānd. Up. 8. 9. 1; 2; 8. 10. 2; 8. 11. 1; 2 all mss. collated by Böhtlingk read *nā 'ham atra bhogyaṁ paçyāmi* which is perhaps unnecessarily emended by Böhtlingk to *bhogam*.

JB. 3. 261 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 288) has *aupadraṣṭrāya* but JB. 3. 94 (JAOS. 18, p. 21) *aupadraṣṭryāya*,

ÇB. 10. 6. 5. 1 (= BĀU. 1. 2. 1) has in the Mādhyandina recension twice *arkyasyā 'rkatvam* (so Weber's text and the Berlin ms. collated by Böhtlingk), while the Kāṇva text of the Ānandāçrama (Poona) edition reads *arkasyā 'rkatvam* (but a little less than half of the mss. collated read *arkyasya*).

ÇB. 14. 9. 1. 7 (= BĀU. 6. 1. 7 Mādhy. = 6. 2. 4 Kāṇv.) reads *athā 'smā arghaṁ cakāra* in the Mādhy. recension, while the Kāṇva text of the Poona edition reads *arghyam* (with the var. lect. *argham*) in both text and Commentary.

AB. 7. 18. 2 *Udantya* is identified by Caland (Auswahl, p. 80) with JB. 1. 197 *Udanta*.

ÇĀ. 5. 1 (= Kauṣ. Up. 3. 1) *nīlaṁ veti* is an old error for *vyeti* (cf. Çaṅkarānanda's Comm. *na veti na vyeti nā 'pagacchati*, and Keith's note who compare. TS. 3. 1. 1. 2 *nā 'sya nīlaṁ na haro vyeti*).

JUB. 2. 12. 1 *alokatāyai* corresponds to ÇB. 14. 4. 1. 33 (= BĀU. 1. 3. 33 Mādhy. = 28 Kāṇv.) *alokyatāyai*.

9. *tasyā 'bhiṣiktasya keçān prathamān prāpnoti*, 'Of him when he has been consecrated (the water) reaches the hair first'. ÇB. 5. 5. 3. 1; 6.

10. *tasya tapas tepānasyai 'bhyo lomagartebhya ūrdhvāni jyotīṅṣy āyan*, 'From these hair-pores of him who had practised austerities lights went upward'. ÇB. 10. 4. 4. 2.

11. *yathā dundubher hanyamānasya* (also *vīṇāyai vādyamānāyai* and *çaṅkhasya dhmāyamānasya*) *na bāhyāñ chabdāñ chaknuyād grahaṇāya* . . ., 'As of drum when it is being beaten [of a lute when it is being played; of a shell when it is being blown] one would not be able to seize the external sounds . . .' ÇB. 14. 5. 4. 7—9 (= BĀU. 2. 4. 7—9); 14. 7. 3. 8—10 (= BAU. 4. 5. 8—10).

12. *yatrā 'sya puruṣasya mṛtasyā 'gniṁ vāg apyeti* . . ., 'When of this man after he has died speech enters the fire . . .' ÇB. 14. 6. 2. 13 (= BĀU. 3. 2. 13).

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13. *tasyā* [*indrasya*] *'dravataḥ çvasathāt* [*rakṣaḥ*] *prāvlīyata*, 'At the snorting of this (Indra) as he ran up he (the Rakṣas) collapsed'. JB. 3. 266 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 290).

Cf. without participle AB. 3. 20. 1 *tasya* [*vṛtrasya*] *çvasathād īṣamāṇā viçve devā adravan*; ÇB. 1. 1. 4. 14 *tasya ha sma çvasathād ravathād asurarakṣasāṇi mṛdyamānāni yanti.*

14. *chandasāṁ vai* (GB. *chandasām u ha*) *ṣaṣṭhenā 'hnā 'ptānāṁ raso 'tyanedat*, 'Of the metres which had been obtained by means of the sixth day (-rite) the sap flowed over'. AB. 6. 32. 1; GB. 2. 6. 11 (where *'ktānām* of the Bibl. Ind. should be emended to *'ptānām*).

15. *prajāpater visrastasyā 'graṁ raso 'gacchat*, 'Of Prajāpati when he had become disjointed the sap went upward'. ÇB. 10. 1. 1. 1.

16. *agner vai sṛṣṭasya paçavo 'kṣyā avakçyāya prāpatan*, 'The animals, having looked at the two eyes of Agni after he had been created, fled away'. MS. 1. 6. 7 (p. 97, 16).

17. *sa* [*prajāpatiḥ*] *tapo 'tapyata, tasya tepānasya saptā 'tmano devatā udakrāman*, 'He (Prajāpati) practised austerities; from the body of him after he had practised austerities seven divinities went upward'. TB. 3. 8. 10. 1.

18. *tasya çrāntasya taptasya saptadhā 'tmano devatā apākrāman*, 'From the body of him when he had toiled (and) practised austerities the divinities departed in seven directions'. ÇB. 13. 1. 7. 1.

19. *tasyā 'nnasya jagdhasyai 'ṣa pāpmā sīdati*, 'Of this food when it has been eaten this evil settles down'. ÇB. 6. 6. 4. 1; 2.

20. *tayor* [*lokayoḥ*] *viyator yo 'ntareṇā 'kāça āsīt tad antarikṣam abhavat*, 'What intermediate space there was of these two (worlds) as they were parting asunder that became the atmosphere'. ÇB. 7. 1. 2. 23.

21. *tasya vai saṁbhaviṣyataḥ prāṇā agre praviçanty atha retas sicyate*, 'Of him who is about to come into existence the breaths enter first, then the seed is cast'. JB. 1. 17. 4 (JAOS. 19, p. 115; Windisch, Berichte d. kgl. sächsischen Ges. d. Wiss., 59, p. 115, cf. below, § 51, Ex. 5, Rem.).

22. *ete asṛgram indava* (SV. 2. 180) *iti bahūnāṁ saṁyajamānānāṁ pratipadaṁ kuryād, eta ity evai 'nāñ jyaiṣṭhyāya çraiṣṭhyāyā 'bhivadati*, 'In the case of many sacrificers sacrificing together he should use SV. 2. 180 as introductory stanza; with (the word) "These"

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he addresses them for (the attainment of) excellence (and) supremacy'. JB. 1. 94.

The parallel PB. 6. 9. 13—14. omitting the participle, uses the dative: *ete asṛgram indava iti bahubhyaḥ pratipadaṁ kuryāt* || *eta iti sarvān evai 'nān ṛddhyai bhūtyā abhivadati.*

23. *tasyo 'pādīptasya dhūma eva çarīraṁ dhūnoti*, 'Of this (dead sacrificer) after he is burnt up (by the fire) the smoke shakes the body'. JB. 1. 49. 7 (JAOS. 19, p. 111).

Dhūnoti, with short *u*, occurs also at JB. 1. 1 *upari tṛṇāni dhūnoti*; at JB. 1. 252 the mss. vary between *dhūnute* and *dhūnute*.

24. *aṅgirasāṁ vai sattram āsīnānāṁ çarkarā akṣiṣv ajāyanta*, 'Dust got into the eyes of the Aṅgirases as they were performing a sacrificial session'. JB. 1. 168.

Cf. Ex. 25 and 26; and above § 3, 1, c (toward the end).

In this chapter occurs a Mantra: *yena hy ājim ajayan nṛcakṣā yena çyenaṁ çakunaṁ suparṇam* | *yad āhuç cakṣur aditāv anantaṁ somo nṛcakṣā mayi tad dadhātu* (closely resembling PB. 1. 5. 19) which should be added in Bloomfield's Concordance.

25. *sādhyānāṁ vai devānāṁ sattram āsīnānāṁ çarkarā akṣasu jajñire*, 'Sand got into the eyes of the Sādhya gods as they were performing a sacrificial session'. ṢB. 1. 7. 2.

Cf. immediately following, without participle: *kathaṁ nu teṣāṁ* (= *asmākam*, Commentary) *çarkarā akṣasu jāyeran.*

Cf. Ex. 24 and 26, and above § 3, 1, c (toward the end).

26. *tasya* [*brahmaṇaḥ*] *çrāntasya taptasya saṁtaptasya lalāṭe sneho yad ārdryam ājāyata*, 'On the forehead of this (Brahman) when it had toiled, when it was heated, when it was thoroughly heated, sweat, viz. moisture, was generated'. GB. 1. 1. 1.

Cf. Ex. 24 and 25, and above § 3, 1, c (toward the end).

27. *tasmād anāḍhyānām api satāṁ pañcālānām abhy evā 'nye jīvitaṁ dhyāyanti*, 'Therefore other (people) envy the life of the Pañcālas even though they be not well off'. JB. 3. 311.

Cf. immediately preceding, without participle: *tavai 'va prajāyā anye jīvitam abhidhyātāro na tava prajā*, 'Other (people) will envy the life of thy offspring, (but) thy offspring (will) not (envy theirs)'.

28. *indrasya vṛtraṁ jaghnuṣa indriyaṁ vīryaṁ pṛthivīm anuvyārchat*, 'Of Indra when he had slain Vṛtra the power (and) strength entered the earth'. TS. 2. 5. 3. 2.

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29. *vṛtraṁ me jaghnuṣa indriyaṁ vīryaṁ pṛthivīm anuvyārat*, 'Of me having slain Vṛtra the power (and) strength hath entered the earth'. TS. 2. 5. 3. 3.

30. *gaupāyanānāṁ vai sattram āsīnānāṁ kirātakulyāv asuramāye antaḥparidhy asūn prākiratām*, 'Two Kirāta clansmen[1], illusions of the Asuras, scattered the life-breaths of the Gaupāyanas, as they were performing a sacrificial session, inside of the Paridhi-sticks'. PB. 13. 12. 5.

With *kirātakulyau* the PW. compares ÇB. 1. 1. 4. 14 *kilātākulī*. And cf. for the story and for *kirātākulī . . . asuramāyau* JB. 3. 167 = Çaṭy. Br. (JAOS. 18, p. 42).

The dual *asuramāye* occurs also at MS. 4. 8. 1 (p. 107, 6).

31. *agner vai sṛṣṭasya vikaṅkataṁ bhā ārchat*, 'Of Agni when he had been created the light reached the Vikaṅkata tree'. K. 21. 9 (p. 49, 10).

32. *agneḥ sṛṣṭasya yato vikaṅkataṁ bhā ārchat*, 'Of Agni when he had been created (and) was going (forth) the light reached the Vikaṅkata tree'. TB. 1. 1. 3. 12.

33. *agner vai sṛṣṭasya tejā udadīpyata*, 'Of Agni when he had been created the splendour blazed up'. MS. 1. 6. 5 (p. 95, 5).

34. *tasyā [manoḥ] 'vanenijānasya matsyaḥ pāṇī āpede*, 'A fish came into the hands of this (Manu) as he was engaged in washing himself'. ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 1.

35. *tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt*, 'Therefore he should give a name to the son when he is born'. ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 9.

Gaedicke, Accusativ, p. 47, note, cites this example as an instance of a rudimentary Genitive Absolute; but the genitive *putrasya jātasya* here as well as the genitives *tasya [agneḥ] citasya* and *ajātasya garbhasya* in Ex. 36 and 37, must be conjunctly construed with *nāma kuryāt* (*nāma karoti, nāma kurvanti*), cf. ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 10—17 *yad asya tan nāmā 'karot . . .*, 'Inasmuch as he gave him a name'; KB. 6. 2—9 *nāma me kuru*, 'Give me a name'; ÇB. 14. 9. 4. 25 (= BĀU. 6. 4. 25 Mādhy. = 26 Kāṇv.) *athā 'sya nāmadheyaṁ* (Kāṇv. *nāma*[2]) *karoti*, 'Then he performs the baptismal rite for him (gives him a name). Cf. above § 3, 1, c (toward the end).

36. *tasya [agneḥ] citasya nāma karoti*, 'To this (fire-altar) after it has been piled he gives a name'. ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 20.

Cf. Ex. 35, Remark.

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[1] So according to the Commentary: *kirātā mlecchās tatkulyarūpe asuramāye.*

[2] Cf. below § 49, Ex. 29, Remark.

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37. *na vā ajātasya garbhasya nāma kurvanti*, 'They do not give a name to an embryo before it is born'. KB. 7. 2.

Cf. Ex. 35, Remark.

38. *sā jagatī prathamo 'dapatat, . . ., tasyai paretāyai somapālās trīṇy akṣarāṇy avindanta, sai 'kākṣarā punar āgacchat, . . ., atha triṣṭub udapatat, tasyai paretāyai somapālā ekam akṣaram avindanta, sā tryakṣarā punar āgacchat*, 'First the Jagatī flew up; . . .; of her when she had come the Soma-keepers obtained three syllables; she returned with one syllable; . . .; then the Triṣṭubh flew up; of her when she had come the Soma-keepers obtained one syllable; she returned with three syllables'. JB. 1. 287 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 114).

⌈ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

38 A. *ta ime satyāḥ kāmā anṛtāpidhānās, teṣāṁ satyānāṁ satām anṛtam apidhānam*, 'These same true desires have untruth as (their) covering; of them being (themselves) true untruth is the covering'. Chānd. Up. 8. 3. 1.

38 B. *na vai saçarīrasya sataḥ priyāpriyayor apahatir asti*, 'There is no (possibility of) warding off pleasant and unpleasant (sensations) for one who is possessed of a body'. Chānd. Up. 8. 12. 1.

38 C. *asya somya*[1] *puruṣasya prayato vāṅ manasi saṁpadyate*, 'Of this man, my dear, when he departs (= dies) the voice enters into the mind'. Chānd. Up. 6. 8. 6. ⌋

39. *çocantī 'va hy etasya [agneḥ] keçāḥ samiddhasya*, 'The hair of this (Agni) when he has been kindled flames, so to speak'. ÇB. 1. 4. 1. 38.

40. *yad dhy asya cinvata eṣa prāṇa ālubhyet tata evai 'so 'gnir na cīyeta*, 'For if the breath of this (sacrificer) as he piles (the fire-altar) should be impaired, then this fire-altar would not be (properly)[2] piled'. ÇB. 10. 3. 1. 7; 8.

41. *jīryanti ha vai juhvato yajamānasyā 'gnayaḥ*, 'The fires of the sacrificer as he offers (oblations) grow weary'. ÇB. 11. 7. 1. 1.

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[1] Böhtlingk emends to *saumya*; but cf. Lüders, SB. d. preuß. Ak. d. W., 1922, p. 229.

[2] Similarly ÇB. 8. 7. 2. 10 *acita* 'not (properly) built'. And cf. § 49, Ex. 22.

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42. *mānsīyanti ha vai juhvato yajamānasyā 'gnayaḥ*, 'The fires of the sacrificer as he offers (oblations) long for meat'. ÇB. 11. 7. 1. 2.

43. *ayāsyo vā āṅgirasa ādityānāṁ dīkṣitānām annam āçnāt*, 'The Aṅgirasa Ayāsya ate the food of the Ādityas after they had been consecrated'. PB. 14. 3. 22.

44. *yāvacho vai retasaḥ siktasya* ‖ *tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi vikaroti tāvacho vai tat prajāyate, . . ., retasa eva siktasya bahuço rūpāṇi vikaroti*, 'In as many ways as Tvaṣṭṛ fashions the shapes of the seed when it has been cast in so many ways that (seed) is born forth; . . .; in many ways he fashions the shapes of the seed when it has been cast'. TS. 1. 5. 9. 1—2.

45. *atha yā etā apaḥ patny upapravartayati yā eva tatra vaster bhidyamānasyā 'po yanti tā eva tāḥ*, 'Further, the waters which the (sacrificer's) wife pours out these same are (identical with) the waters of the broken bladder (?) which flow there'. JB. 1. 297 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 122).

Caland notes: '*vasti* hier offenbar nicht vesica, sondern uterus'. Or does *yā eva tatra . . . yanti* refer to the discharge of the male semen, cf. K. 26. 1 (p. 122, 3—4) *yad vai patnī yajñe karoti tan mithunaṁ, yat patny apa upapravartayati mithuna eva retaḥ prasiñcati*; MS. 4. 5. 4 (p. 67, 18) *yat tarhy apa upapravartayati tasminn eva mithune reto dadhāti?*

46. *vyākhyāsyāmi te, vācaṁ tu me vyācakṣāṇasya nididhyāsasva*, 'I will explain (it) to thee, but give attention to my speech as I explain (it)'. ÇB. 14. 7. 3. 5 (= BĀU. 4. 5. 5 Mādhy.).

The Kāṇva recension reads here: *etad vyākhyāsyāmi te, vyācakṣāṇasya tu me nididhyāsasva*, omitting *vācam*, and this abbreviated expression is used by both recensions in the parallel passage ÇB. 14. 5. 4. 4 (= BĀU. 2. 4. 4): *vyākhyāsyāmi te, vyācakṣāṇasya tu me nididhyāsasva.*

Cf. for similar abbreviations TS. 2. 5. 1. 1 *devebhyo bhāgam avadat*, 'He promised a share to the gods', but, without *bhāgam*, JB. 2. 153. 3 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 180) *devebhyo vadati.* AB. 6. 33. 4 *yo me vācam avadhīḥ* 'Who hast stopped my speech', but, without *vācam*, AB. 7. 28. 1; JB. 2. 134 (JAOS. 19, p. 121) *bṛhaspateḥ pratyavadhīt* 'He hath contradicted Bṛhaspati', which the Commentary to AB. glosses by *tathā svaguror bṛhaspater vākyaṁ svakīyena vākyena pratyavadhīt, so 'yaṁ pratighāto na yuktaḥ, tathā cā 'pastambaḥ smarati* (ĀpDhS. 2. 2. 5. 11—12): *vākyena vākyasya pratighātam ācāryasya varjayec chreyasām ce 'ti.* ÇB. 3. 8. 1. 15 *apigṛhya . . . mukham*; AB. 6. 33. 3 *mukham apyagṛhṇāt*; KB. 30. 5 *mukham apijagrāha* 'to cover one's mouth', but, without *mukham*, TS. 6. 1. 3. 8 *apigṛhya smayate*, 'He smiles covering his mouth'. ÇB. 1. 4. 1. 2; 4. 2. 2. 11 *apigṛhya nāsike* 'holding one's nose', but,

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without *nāsike*, ÇB. 4. 1. 3. 8 *tasmāt kuṇagandhān nā 'pigṛhṇīta*, 'Therefore he should not close his nose against the foul odour'; K. 27. 3 (p. 142, 6) *tasmān [gandhāt] nā 'pigṛhyam*, 'One should not close one's nose against this (odour). ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 6; 1. 9. 3. 23; TS. 1. 7. 6. 6; KB. 2. 4 (p. 5, 18) *vrataṁ visṛjate*, 'He ends his vow', but, without *vratam*, ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 3; 6 *visṛjate*, and cf. below § 60, Ex. 22, Rem., and § 49, Ex. 34, Rem.

⌜ Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

46 A. *eṣa evā 'dityas trivṛc catuṣpād: raçmayo maṇḍalaṁ puruṣo, raçmaya eva hiṅkāras, tasmāt te prathamata evo 'dyatas tāyante*, 'This sun is threefold, four-footed: rays, disk, (and) person; the Hiṅkāra is (identical with) the rays, therefore they are extended first when the sun rises'. JUB. 1. 33. 9.

Literally: 'They of the sun when it rises are extended first.' ⌟

§ 49. b) The Governing Verb is a Verb of Separation.

< √ *i* + *vi* — *ava* >

1. *indriyaṁ vā etad vīryam abhiṣicyamānasya vyavaiti*, 'The strength (and) vigour of one who is being consecrated depart'. MS. 4. 4. 5 (p. 55, 8).

< √ *kram* + *apa* >

2. *tasyā 'labdhasya medho 'pacakrāma*, 'Of this (man) when he had been taken (for slaughter) the sacrificial essence departed'. ÇB. 1. 2. 3. 6.

3. *paçor vā ālabdhasya mano 'pakrāmati*, 'Of the victim when it has been taken (for slaughter) the mind departs'. TS. 6. 3. 10. 3.

4. *tasya bhītasya svo mahimā 'pacakrāma*, 'Of this (Prajāpati) being frightened (his) own greatness departed'. ÇB. 2. 2. 4. 4.

Cf. immediately following without participle: *vāg vā asya svo mahimā, vāg asyā 'pacakrāma*, 'Speech is his own greatness; his speech departed', and ÇB. 13. 1. 1. 4 *tasya [prajāpateḥ] mahimā 'pākrāmat*, 'The greatness of this (Prajāpati) departed'.

5. *tad asya bhītasye 'ndriyaṁ vīryam apacakrāma*, 'Of this (Indra) being thus frightened strength (and) vigour departed'. ÇB. 5. 2. 3. 8.

6. *varuṇasya vā abhiṣicyamānasye 'ndriyaṁ vīryam apākrāmat*, 'Of Varuṇa as he was being consecrated strength (and) vigour departed'. MS. 4. 3. 9 (p. 49, 4).

7. *varuṇasya vai suṣuvānasya bhargo 'pākrāmat*, 'Of Varuṇa when he had been consecrated the splendour departed'. PB. 18. 9. 1.

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8. *indrasya vai vṛtraṁ jaghnuṣa indriyaṁ vīryam apākrāmat*, 'Of Indra after he had slain Vṛtra strength (and) vigour departed'. K. 36. 1 (p. 68, 5).

9. *agner vai sṛṣṭasya bhā apākrāmat*, 'Of Agni when he had been created the light departed'. MS. 3. 1. 9 (p. 12, 8).

10. *atra vā etasya jāyamānasye 'ndriyaṁ vīryam apākrāmat*, 'Of him as he was being born there the strength (and) vigour departed'. MS. 2. 5. 5 (p. 53, 20).

11. *devānāṁ vā antaṁ jagmuṣām indriyaṁ vīryam apākrāmat*, 'Of the gods when they had reached the end strength (and) vigour departed'. TS. 7. 5. 8. 1; JB. 2. 396.

The JB. passage runs as follows: *te prāñco 'bhikramya cātvālam avekṣamāṇāḥ kroçena stuvate, devānāṁ vā . . . apākrāmat, tat kroçenai 'vā 'varundhatā, 'ntam ivai 'te gachanti ye saṁvatsarasyo 'dṛcam açnuvate, tad yat kroçena stuvata indriyasya vīryasyā 'varuddhyai*, 'Proceeding toward the east (and) facing the pit (cf. PB. 6. 7. 24) they praise with the Kroça(-Sāman); of the gods . . . departed; by means of the Kroça(-Sāman) they recovered it; those who attain the goal of the year(ly sacrifice) reach the end, so to speak; when they praise with the Kroça (-Sāman) (they do so) in order to attain strength (and) vigour'.

Cf. without participle MS. 2. 3. 7 (p. 34, 13) *teṣāṁ [devānām] vā indriyāṇi vīryāṇy apākrāmann: agne rathantaram indrasya bṛhad viçveṣāṁ devānāṁ vairūpaṁ savitur vairājaṁ tvaṣṭū revatī marutāṁ çakvarī;* K. 12. 5 (p. 166, 18) *teṣāṁ [devānām] vīryāṇy apākrāmann: agne rathantaram indrād bṛhad viçvebhyo devebhyo vairūpaṁ savitur vairājaṁ marutāṁ çakvarī tvaṣṭū revatī;* MS. 3. 10. 6 (p. 137, 2) *teṣāṁ devānāṁ vā indriyāṇi vīryāṇy apākrāmann, ṛksāme vā ebhyas tad apākrāmatām.*

The variation between the genitive and ablative in the last two passages is discussed under the heading "The Genitive with Verbs of Separation." And cf. below Ex. 27.

12. *tasmād uta jīvata eva cakṣur apakrāmati, . . ., tasmād uta jīvata eva çrotram apakrāmati, . . ., tasmād uta jīvata eva vāg apakrāmaty, apā 'nye prāṇāḥ krāmanti, na prānaḥ*, 'Therefore of one who is (still) alive sight departs; . . .; therefore of one who is (still) alive hearing departs; . . .; therefore of one who is (still) alive speech departs, (in short, all) the other breaths (= senses) depart (while a person is still alive), but the (vital) breath (does) not (depart)'. JB. 1. 268.

The case of *jīvataḥ* is ambiguous; it may be ablative.
For *uta* cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 260, 1, p. 528.

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13. *tasya yamasyā 'çvaṁ pratijagṛhuṣo 'rdham indriyasyā 'pākrāmat, . . ., tasyā 'gner hiraṇyaṁ pratijagṛhuṣas tṛtīyam indriyasyā 'pākrāmat, . . ., tasya rudrasya gāṁ pratijagṛhuṣaç caturtham indriyasyā 'pākrāmat, . . ., tasya bṛhaspater vāsaḥ pratijagṛhuṣaḥ pañcamam indriyasyā 'pākrāmat. . . ., tasyo 'ttānasyā 'ñgirasasyā 'prāṇat pratijagṛhuṣaḥ ṣaṣṭham indriyasyā 'pākrāmat, . . ., tasya prajāpateḥ puruṣaṁ pratijagṛhuṣas saptamam indriyasyā 'pākrāmat,* 'Of this Yama when he had accepted a horse one half of the strength departed; . . .; of this Agni when he had accepted gold one third of the strength departed; . . .; of this Rudra when he had accepted a cow one fourth of the strength departed; . . .; of this Bṛhaspati when he had accepted a garment one fifth of the strength departed; . . .; of this Uttāna Āñgirasa when he had accepted something lifeless one sixth of the strength departed; . . .; of this Prajāpati when he had accepted a man one seventh of the strength departed'. K. 9. 12 (p. 113, 13).

Cf. Ex. 14. The parallel passage MS. 1. 9. 4 (p. 133, 12) omits the participle: *tasyā 'rdham* (also *tasya tṛtīyam*; *caturtham*; *pañcamam*; *ṣaṣṭham*) *indriyasyā 'pākrāmat.*

14. *tasya vā agner hiraṇyaṁ pratijagrahuṣo 'rdham indriyasyā 'pākrāmat, . . ., tasya vai somasya vāsaḥ pratijagrahuṣas tṛtīyam indriyasyā 'pākrāmat.* ‖ . . ., *tasya vai rudrasya gāṁ pratijagrahuṣaç caturtham indriyasyā 'pākrāmat,* . . . ‖ . . . *tasya vai varuṇasyā 'çvaṁ pratijagrahuṣaḥ pañcamam indriyasyā 'pākrāmat,* . . . ‖ . . . *tasya vai prajāpateḥ puruṣaṁ pratijagrahuṣaḥ ṣaṣṭham indriyasyā 'pākrāmat,* ‖ *tasya vai manos talpaṁ pratijagrahuṣaḥ saptamam indriyasyā 'pākrāmat, . . ., tasya vā uttānasyā 'ñgirasasyā 'prāṇat pratijagrahuṣo 'ṣṭamam indriyasyā 'pākrāmat,* 'Of this Agni when he had accepted gold one half of the strength departed; . . .: of this Soma when he had accepted a garment one third of the strength departed; . . .; of this Rudra when he had accepted a cow one fourth of the strength departed; . . .; of this Varuṇa when he had accepted a horse one fifth of the strength departed; . . .; of this Prajāpati when he had accepted a man one sixth of the strength departed; . . .; of this Manu when he had accepted a couch one seventh of strength departed; . . .; of this Uttāna Āñgirasa when he had accepted something lifeless one eighth of the strength departed'. TB. 2. 3. 4. 1—4.

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Cf. Ex. 13.

It would be easy to emend the reading of TB. *pratijagrahuṣaḥ* to the normal *pratijagṛhuṣaḥ* which the K. parallel (Ex. 13) has, especially as the confusion of *ra* and *ṛ* is by no means uncommon (cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 71, § 63, a, b; the author, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 172—173). Thus for *hradayyāya* TS. 4. 5. 9. 1 and *hradavyāya* K. 17. 5 (p. 258, 7) the parallel texts VS. 16. 44 and MS. 2. 9. 8 (p. 126, 12) read *hṛdayyāya* and *hṛdyāya* respectively, the *ṛ*-form there being a patent blunder. Instead of MS. 1. 5. 4 (p. 71, 5); 1. 5. 11 (p. 79, 19); K. 7. 2 (p. 64, 7); 7. 9 (p. 71, 10); MÇ. 1. 6. 2. 12 *nimradaḥ* (Whitney, Gr. § 1148, 1, c) the parallel text ĀpÇ. 6. 18. 2 reads *nimṛdaḥ* (Whitney, Gr. § 1148, 3, a). Instead of TS. 5. 5. 13. 1 *cakravākaḥ* the ms. Ch of the parallel passage KAçv. 7. 3 (p. 180, 2) reads *cakṛvākaḥ*. Instead of TB. 3. 6. 13. 1 *pṛṇak* (Whitney, Gr. § 693) the parallel text MS. 4. 13. 8 (p. 209, 12) reads in one ms. *praṇak* which Schroeder accepts in his text, while the Pp.-ms. has *praṇan* and three mss. have the normal *pṛṇak*; in the same Mantra the ms. Ch of K. 19. 13 reads *prāṇak* which Schroeder emends to *prăṇak*. In two formulas the name of an otherwise unknown metre is given as *bhrajaḥ* VS. 15. 5; TS. 4. 3. 12. 2; K. 17. 6 (p. 249, 19 and ms. D p. 249, 22); Kap. S.; ÇB. 8. 5. 2. 4 (bis), while it appears as *bhṛjaḥ* at MS. 2. 8. 7 (p. 111, 15 and 112, 1 in which latter place the Pp.-ms. reads *bhūjaḥ*) and as *bhrājaḥ* at VS. 15. 4; K. 17. 6 (p. 249, 22 ms. Ch); cf. the adjective *bhṛjvān* in one of the formulas at TS. 4. 3. 12. 3. The name of a certain Apsaras appears, in the same formula, at VS. 15. 15; ÇB. 8. 6. 1. 16 as *kratusthalā*, but at MS. 2. 8. 10 (p. 114, 14); K. 17. 9 (p. 251, 22) as *kṛtasthalā* (cf. pw. s. *kṛtasthalī* and PW. s. *ṛtusthalā*).

A similar confusion of *krtam* and *kratum* is found at KÇ. 25. 12. 5 where *kratum* is read instead of *kṛtam* of the parallel texts K. 35. 5 (p. 54, 8); TB. 3. 7. 8. 3; ĀpÇ. 14. 30. 3.

Instead of RV. 8. 98. 12; AV. 20. 108. 3 *çatakrato* the SV. 2. 521 reads *sahaskṛta*. The name of the Hotṛ-priest's assistant varies between *hotṛka* and *hotraka*, cf. PW., and contrast ĀpÇ. 12. 23. 4 *hotrakāṇām* with MÇ. 2. 4. 1. 21 *hotṛkāṇam* in the same formula. The name of a certain tree appears at ÇB. 6. 6. 2. 11 and K. 19. 10 (p. 11, 7 and 8) as *kṛmuka* (cf. Kauç. 28. 2 *kṛmukaçakalu*), but in Kap. S. (see Schroeder's note to K.) as *kramuka*, and so in the later literature, while MS. 3. 1. 9 (p. 12, 4 and 5); TB. 1. 4. 7. 3 and ĀpÇ. 14. 24. 5; 16. 9. 6 have *krumuka*. Instead of the obscure *prathasnuḥ* TB. 3. 7. 5. 3; ĀpÇ. 2. 10. 6 (for which the pw. suggests the rather violent emendation to *ghṛtasnuḥ*) the var. lect. at MÇ. 1. 2. 6. 20 has *pṛthusnuḥ*. KB. 4. 3 (p. 15, 3) has the var. lect. *abhyu(d)draṣṭā* for *abhyuddṛṣṭā*. At KB. 13. 1 (p. 57, 22) the Ānand. ed. reads *prasṛpsyan* for *prasrapsyan*.

In a number of instances it is well nigh impossible to decide whether *ra* for *ṛ* is a mere blunder, or whether it has its origin in the phonetic character of the *ṛ*-vowel (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 28, p. 31), or whether the *ra*-form really represents the strong ablaut-stage to a weak *ṛ*-form.

For *āpo jāgṛta* MS. 1. 1. 3 (p. 2, 11), K. 1. 3 (p. 2, 8); 31. 2 (p. 3, 19) and *āpo*

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haviḥṣu jāgṛta ĀpÇ. 1. 14. 3 the parallel HG. 2. 4. 5 has *āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata* (add the *ra*-form to Whitney, § 1011); and the same *ra*-form in the 2d. plur. imperat. is read at Kṭh. Up. 1. 3. 14 (where, according to Böhtlingk, one ms. reads the normal *jāgṛta*). As 2d plur. indicat. only *jāgratha* is quotable (Whitney, § 1007 a) in the Mantra *yathā deveṣu jāgratha* ĀpÇ. 1. 14. 3; PG. 1. 16. 22; HG. 2. 4. 5.

Anomalous strong stem-forms instead of the regular weak ones are not unheard of in the perfect tense, cf. Whitney, Gr. § 793, h, and add to the examples given there *pasparçuḥ* which the Atharva version of the Kena Up. reads instead of *paspṛçuḥ* of the Jaiminīya recension, JUB. 4. 12. 2.

A similar confusion of the strong form *grabh* and the weak form *gṛbh* is seen in the reduplicated aorist MS. 1. 1. 13 (p. 8, 18); 3. 3. 8 (p. 41, 10) *ajīgrabhat,* K. 1. 12 (p. 7, 6) *ajīgrabham* contrasted with K. 18. 3 (p. 267, 21); 21. 8 (p. 48, 7) *ajīgṛbham.*

The abnormal quantity of the reduplicating vowel (Whitney, Gr. § 858, b) is paralleled by TĀ. 6. 1. 4 *vijīhvaraḥ* for the regular *vijīhvaraḥ* of the parallel texts RV. 10. 16. 8; AV. 18. 3. 53; AG. 4. 3. 25, and by TS. 1. 2. 13. 2 *jīhvaratam* for the regular *jīhvaratam* of the parallel texts VS. 5. 17; ÇB. 3. 5. 3. 17.

Cf. similarly, in nominal derivation, RV. 1. 100. 9 (Oldenberg, RV. Noten, I, p. 96) *saṁgṛbhītā* for *saṁgrabhītā.*

15. *tāni [indriyāṇi] ha vā asyai 'tāni brahmacaryam upetasyā 'pakrāmanti : mṛgān asya brahmavarcasaṁ gacchaty ācāryaṁ yaço 'jagaraṁ svapno varāhaṁ krodho 'paḥ çlāghā kumārīṁ rūpam oṣadhi-vanaspatīn puṇyo gandhaḥ,* 'These same (powers) of one who has undertaken the Brahmaṇical vow depart : his theological lustre goes to the deer, his glory to the teacher, his sleep to the Boa, his wrath to the boar, his pride to the waters, his shape to the maiden, his sweet odour to the plants and trees'. GB. 1. 2. 2 (p. 33, 5).

⌈ Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

15 A. *tasya siṣmiyānasya tejo 'pākrāmat,* 'Of him when he had smiled the splendour departed'. TA. 5. 1. 3. ⌋

< √*kram* + *ud* >

16. *açvasya vā ālabdhasya reta udakrāmat,* 'Of the horse when it was taken (for slaughter) the seed departed'. ÇB. 13. 1. 1. 3; TB. 3. 8. 2. 4.

ÇB. 13. 1. 1. 3 and 14. 3. 1. 2 (below, Ex. 20) are cited by Gaedicke, Accusativ, p. 47, note, as examples of the Absolute Genitive; but cf. above § 3, 1, c.

17. *açvasya vā ālabdhasya medha udakrāmat,* 'Of the horse when it was taken (for slaughter) the sacrificial essence departed.' ÇB. 13. 3. 6. 1; TB. 3. 9. 21. 1.

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18. *açvasya vā ālabdhasya mahimo 'dakrāmat*, 'Of the horse when it was taken (for slaughter) the greatness departed'. TB. 3. 8. 2. 4.

19. *tasya çrāntasya taptasya yaço vīryam udakrāmat*, 'Of him when he had toiled (and) practised austerities glory (and) vigour departed'. ÇB. 10. 6. 5. 6 (= BĀU. 1. 2. 6).

20. *yajñasya çīrṣachinnasya çug udakrāmat*, 'Of the sacrifice when its head had been cut off the fervour departed[1] ÇB. 14. 1. 2. 13; 14. 3. 1. 2.

ÇB. 14. 3. 1. 2 and 13. 1. 1. 3 (above, Ex. 16) are cited by Gaedicke, Accusativ, p. 47, note, as examples of the Absolute Genitive; but cf. above § 3, 1, c.

21. *somasya vā abhiṣūyamāṇasya priyā tanūr udakrāmat*, 'Of Soma while he was being pressed the dear form departed'. TB. 1. 4. 7. 4.

22. *yad dhy asya cinvataḥ prāṇa* (3 *cakṣur*; 4 *vāg*; 5 *mana*; 6 *çrotram*) *utkrāmet tata evai 'ṣo 'gnir na cīyeta*, 'For if of this sacrificer as he piles (the fire-altar) the breath [sight; speech; the mind; hearing] were to depart then this fire-altar would not be (properly[2]) piled'. ÇB. 10. 3. 1. 2—6.

< √ *kṣar* + *ati* >

23. *yo vai sa eṣāṁ lokānām apsu praviddhānāṁ parāñ raso 'tyakṣarat sa eṣa kūrmaḥ*, 'What sap (= essence) of these worlds after they had been plunged into the waters flowed forward (and) beyond that is this tortoise'. ÇB. 7. 5. 1. 1.

< √ *kṣar* + *vi* >

24. *prajāpater visrastasya sarvā diço raso 'nu vyakṣarat*, 'Of Prajāpati when he had become disjointed the sap (= essence) flowed in all directions toward all the quarters'. ÇB. 7. 3. 1. 16.

25. *yajñasya çīrṣachinnasya raso vyakṣarat*, 'Of the sacrifice when its head had been cut off the sap (= essence) flowed in all directions[3]'. ÇB, 14. 1. 2. 9; 19; 14. 1. 3. 11; 15; 24; 31; 14. 2. 2. 11; 14; 35; 53.

26. *tad asya [viṣṇoḥ] parigṛhītasya raso vyakṣarat*, 'Of this (Viṣṇu) after he had been thus encompassed, the sap (= essence) flowed in all directions'. ÇB. 14. 1. 2. 12.

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[1] Cf. below Ex. 25. — [2] Cf. above § 48, Ex. 40. — [3] Cf. above Ex. 20.

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< √ *car* + *vi* — *nis* >

27. *sa yathā 'rdraidhāgner abhyāhitasya pṛthag dhūmā viniçcaranti* . . ., 'As of a fire when it is piled with damp fuel smoke clouds proceed in all directions . . .' ÇB. 14. 5. 4. 10 (= BĀU. 2. 4. 10, where, however, the Kāṇva recension reads the ablative *abhyāhitāt*; cf. above Ex. 11, Rem.); 14. 7. 3. 11 (= BĀU. 4. 5. 11).

< √ *chid* >

28. *yajñasya vai sṛṣṭasya çiro 'chidyata*, 'Of the sacrifice when it had been created the head was cut off'. MS. 4. 6. 2 (p. 79, 19).

29. *tāsāṁ* [*nadīnām*] *samudram abhipadyamānānāṁ chidyate nāmadheyaṁ samudra ity ācakṣate*, . . ., *teṣāṁ* [*vedānām*] *yajñam abhipadyamānānāṁ chidyate nāmadheyaṁ yajña ity ācakṣate*, 'Of these (rivers) as they enter into the ocean the (individual) appellation is cut off, they (simply) call them "Ocean"; . . .; of these (Vedas) as they enter into the sacrifice the (individual) appellation is cut off, they (simply) call them "Sacrifice"'. GB. 1. 2. 10 (p. 44, 1).

For the thought cf. Muṇḍaka Up. 3. 2. 8; Praçna Up. 6. 5; (Chānd. Up. 6. 10. 1); and, in Buddhistic literature, Cullavagga 9. 1. 4 (p. 239, 14).

nāmadheyam is practically equivalent to *nāma*, cf. ÇB. 14. 9. 4. 25 = BĀU. 6. 4. 25 Mādhy. *nāmadheyam* = 26 Kāṇva *nāma*; and AV. 2. 26. 1 *rūpadheya* with Whitney's note. Both Çaṅkara (Bibl. Ind. p. 385, 10) and Raṅga Rāmānuja (Ānandāçr. ed. p. 470, 29) in their gloss on Chānd. Up. 6. 1. 3 interpret *-dheya* in *nāmadheya* as having the value of a mere suffix without affecting the meaning of *nāma*. Cf. Katy. Vārtt. 2 and 3 to Pāṇ. 5. 4. 36.

30. *sa kutsa aurava upagoḥ sauçravasyo 'dgāyata audumbaryā çiro 'chinat*, 'This Kutsa Aurava with an Udumbara branch cut off the head of Upagu Sauçrava as he was singing the Udgītha'. PB. 14. 6. 8.

< √ *chid* + *ā* >

31. *tasya* [*agneḥ*] *tāntasya hṛdayam āchindan*, 'Of this (Agni) when he had fainted they cut out the heart'. TB. 1. 1. 3. 12.

The parallel K. 8. 2 (p. 85, 8) omits the participle: *tasya marutas stanayitnunā hṛdayam āchindan.*

< √ *chid* + *pra* >

32. *tad asyā āharantyā apād astā 'bhyāyatya parṇaṁ pracicheda gāyatryai vā somasya vā rājñaḥ*, 'Of her as she was thus carrying off (the Soma) a footless archer taking aim cut off a feather—

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either (a feather) of the Gāyatrī or (a leaf) of king Soma'. ÇB. 1. 7. 1. 1; 3. 3. 4. 10.

Apād astā is, as Eggeling notes to ÇB. 1. 7. 1. 1, 'a doubtful reading and perhaps an old corruption'. The Commentary to ÇB. 1. 7. 1. 1 (ed. Bibl. Ind.) reads *apādhastā* (with the var. lect. *apādastā* and *apāvastā*) which he glosses by *adhastātpradeçe*. At RV. 4. 27. 3 the archer Kṛçānu (*kṛçā́nur ástā*) shoots at the eagle (*çyena*).

The author, playing upon the double meaning of *parṇa* = 'feather' and 'leaf', combines the cutting off of a leaf or sprig of the Soma < cf. ÇB. 11. 7. 2. 8; TS. 3. 5. 7. 1; TB. 1. 1. 3. 10; 3. 2. 1. 1; K. 30. 10 (p. 192, 6); MS. 4. 1. 1 (p. 1, 4); TB. 1. 2. 1. 5—6 (Mantra); ÇB. 4. 5. 10. 3 > and the cutting off of a feather of the Gāyatrī < cf. RV. 4. 27. 4, where a feather of the Soma-carrying eagle is cut off, and AB. 3. 26. 3; K. 34. 3 (p. 37, 15) where the talon of the Gāyatrī is cut off >. The same combination occurs at PB. 9. 5. 4 *gāyatrī somam aharat, tasyā anuvisrjya somarakṣiḥ parṇam achinat, tasya yo 'ṅçuḥ parāpatat sa pūtīko 'bhavat.*

For the alternative *gāyatryai vā somasya vā rājñaḥ* cf. the similar alternatives ÇB. 1. 7. 4. 1 *prajāpatir ha vai svāṁ duhitaram abhidadhyau divaṁ vo 'ṣasaṁ vā*; 4. 1. 5. 1 *yatra vai bhṛgavo vā 'ñgiraso vā svargaṁ lokaṁ samāçnuvata tac cyavano vā bhārgavaç cyavano vā 'ñgirasas tad eva . . . jahe*; and cf. ÇB. 13. 2. 2. 14 *bṛhaduktho ha vai vāmadevyo 'çvo vā sāmudrir açvasyā 'prīr dadarça.*

Gaedicke, Accusativ, p. 47—48, note, regards ÇB. 1. 7. 1. 1 = 3. 3. 4. 10 as a clear example of the Absolute Genitive, but a conjunct construction of *asyā āharantyai . . . gāyatryai* is not impossible. Cf. above § 3, 1, c.

< √ *dā* + *ā* >

33. *prajāpater visrastasyā 'gnis teja ādāya dakṣiṇā 'kṣarat*, 'Of Prajāpati when he had become disjointed Agni took the splendour and carried it off to the south'. ÇB. 7. 4. 1. 39.

34. *na vai striyaṁ ghnanty, uta tvā asyā jīvantyā evā 'dadate*, 'For they (viz. robbers) do not kill a woman, rather of her while she is alive do they take away (the valuables)'. ÇB. 11. 4. 3. 2.

The object of *ādadate* is omitted as at TS. 3. 5. 4. 2—3 *yajñahano vai devā yajñamuṣaḥ*[1] || *santi, ta eṣu lokeṣv āsata ādadānā vimathnānā yo dadāti yo yajate tasya*, 'The gods are sacrifice-slaying, sacrifice-stealing; in these worlds they continually take away (and) destroy (the gifts and sacrifices) of him who gives and who sacrifices'; K. 10. 4 (p. 128, 15) *varuṇagṛhīto vā eṣa yo 'nyasyā 'dadāna upaharamāṇaç carati*, 'Seized by Varuṇa is he who continually takes away and appropriates (the property) of another'; cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 153, p. 247, 10, and above § 48, Ex. 46 Rem.

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[1] For these epithets cf. Arbman, Rudra (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1922), p. 150.

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35. *tasya ha dīkṣamāṇasye 'ndra eve 'ndriyam ādatte triṣṭub vīryaṁ pañcadaçaḥ stoma āyuḥ somo rājyaṁ pitaro yaças kīrtim*, 'Of him while he is being initiated Indra takes away the vigour, the Triṣṭubh the strength, the fifteenfold Stoma life, Soma sovereignty, the Fathers glory (and) fame'. AB. 7. 23. 1.

For the Sandhi *yaças kīrtim* cf. Aufrecht, AB., p. 428, 8; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 340, § 286, c, α.

36. *tasya ho 'davasyato 'gnir eva teja ādatte gāyatrī vīryaṁ trivṛt stoma āyur brāhmaṇā brahma yāças kīrtim*, 'Of him as he concludes (the ceremony) Agni takes away the splendour, the Gāyatrī the strength, the threefold Stoma life, the Brāhmaṇas (take away) the Brahman, glory, (and) fame'. AB. 7. 24. 1.

37. *teṣām* [*devānām*] *u svapatāṁ pramattānām asurās teja indriyaṁ vīryam ādāyā 'psv anvabhyavānayan* (the ms. *anvabhyavāmayan*), 'The Asuras taking away the splendour, strength, (and) vigour of these (gods) while they were asleep (and) unconscious poured them successively into the waters'. JB. 3. 353.

Cf. JB. 3. 168, below Ex. 66.

The √ *nī* + *anu-abhi-ava* is not registered in pw.

38. *yaudhājayena vai devā asurān saṁvicya* (var. lect. *saṁsicya*) *rauraveṇai 'ṣāṁ ravamāṇānāṁ svam ādadata, yaudhājayenai 'va dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ saṁvicya* (without var. lect.) *rauraveṇā 'sya ravamāṇasya svam ādatte ya evaṁ veda*, 'The gods having thoroughly shaken the Asuras by means of the Yaudhājaya-Sāman took away the property of them while they were roaring by means of the Raurava-Sāman; he who knows thus, having thoroughly shaken (his) hateful rival takes away the property of him while he is roaring by means of the Raurava-Sāman'. JB. 1. 123.

The √ *vic* + *sam* is not registered in pw., but cf. the opposite √ *vic* + *vi* 'to shake apart' e. g. at RV. 1. 39. 5 *pra vepayanti* [*marutaḥ*] *parvatān vi viñcanti vanaspatīn*. The √ *vic* + *sam* occurs again at JB. 1. 135 *rathantareṇa vai devā asurān saṁvicya bṛhatā jālene 'vā 'bhinyaubjan, rathantareṇai 'va dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ saṁvicya bṛhatā jālene 'vā 'bhinyubjati ya evaṁ veda*, 'The gods having thoroughly shaken the Asuras by means of the Rathantara-Sāman held them down with the Bṛhat-Sāman as with a net; he who knows thus, having thoroughly shaken (his) hateful rival with the Rathantara-Sāman holds him down with the Bṛhat-Sāman as with a net'.

< √ *naç* + *vi* >

39. *tasya ha pratirāddhasya tredhā sādhukṛtyā vinaçyati*, 'Of him,

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when he has been arrested the good works disappear in three directions'. JB. 1. 46.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

< √ *ned + pra* >

39 A. *tasyā* [*vācaḥ*] *abhipīḻitāyai rasaḥ prāṇedat, teṣām* [*lokānām*] *abhipīḻitānāṁ rasaḥ prāṇedat, tāsāṁ* [*devatānām*] *abhipīḻitānāṁ rasaḥ prāṇedat, tasyā* [*vidyāyai*] *abhipīḻitāyai rasaḥ prāṇedat, tāsām* [*vyāhṛtīnām*] *abhipīḻitānāṁ rasaḥ prāṇedat, tasyā* [*akṣarasya*] *'bhipīḻitasya rasaḥ prāṇedat,* 'Of this (speech; [of these (worlds); of these (divinities); of this (knowledge); of these (sacred utterances); of this (syllable)] when it [they] had been pressed the sap (= essence) flowed forth'. JUB. 1. 23. 3. ⌋

< √ *pat* >

40. *tad udīcaḥ kṛṣyamāṇasya* [*paçoḥ*] *'vāñ medhaḥ papāta,* 'Of (the victim) as it was being drawn upward the sacrificial essence fell downward'. ÇB. 3. 8. 2. 17.

41. *tasya* [*ādityasya*] *saptadaçena* [*stomena*] *hriyamāṇasya tejo haro 'patat,* 'Of this (Āditya) as he was being seized with the seventeenfold (Stoma) the splendour (and) energy fell off'. TB. 1. 5. 10. 3.

For the ambiguous *tasyā* [*gāyatryai*] *āharantyai* in ÇB. 1. 7. 3. 19 *tasyā* [*gāyatryai*] *āharantyai somasyā 'ṅçur apatat* cf. below § 54, Ex. 2.

< √ *pat + parā* >

42. *yatīnām adyamānānāṁ çīrṣāṇi parāpatan,* 'Of the Yatis as they were being devoured the heads fell off'. TS. 2. 4. 9. 2.

The parallel K. 11. 10 (p. 157, 5) omits the participle: *teṣāṁ çīrṣāṇi parāpatan.* The parallel passages JB. 1. 185 and K. 8. 5 (p. 88, 20) have the partitive genitive, see below § 50, Ex. 13 and 14.

43. *indrasya suṣuvāṇasya daçadhe 'ndriyaṁ vīryaṁ parāpatat,* 'Of Indra when he had been consecrated vigour (and) strength fell away in ten places'. TS. 5. 6. 3. 4; TB. 1. 8. 5. 1.

44. *indrasya suṣuvāṇasya tredhe 'ndriyaṁ vīryaṁ parāpatat,* 'Of Indra when he had been consecrated vigour (and) strength fell away in three places'. TB. 1. 8. 2. 5.

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45. *varuṇasya suṣuvāṇasya daçadhe 'ndriyaṁ vīryaṁ parāpatat*, 'Of Varuṇa when he had been consecrated vigour (and) strength fell away in ten places'. TB. 1. 8. 1. 1.

46. *tasya* [*somasya*] *ye hriyamāṇasyā 'ṅçavaḥ parāpataṅs te pūtikā abhavan*, 'The sprigs of this (Soma) as he was being seized which fell off become Pūtīka-plants'[1]. PB. 8. 4. 1.

47. *gāyatryā vai patantyā yatra parṇaṁ parāpatat tatra parṇo 'jāyata*, 'Where of the Gāyatrī as she was flying the feather fell off there the Parṇa-tree grew'. MS. 3. 9. 3 (p. 116, 10).

48. *svadhiter vṛkṣasya bibhyataḥ prathamena çakalena saha tejaḥ parāpatati*, 'Of the tree as it fears the axe the splendour falls away together with the first chip'. TS. 6. 3. 3. 2.

49. *tasya* [*prajāpateḥ*] *viddhasya retaḥ parāpatat*, 'Of this (Prajāpati) when he was pierced (by the arrow) the seed fell away'. JB. 3. 262 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 288).

50. *yo vā etasyā 'bhihatasyā 'gre çakalaḥ parāpatati tam asya tejo 'nvapakrāmati*, 'What chip of this tree when it has been struck (with the axe) falls off first, along with that (chip) its splendour departs'. MS. 3. 9. 3 (p. 115, 19).

< √ *pru* + *vi* >

51. *sa* [*agniḥ*] *etā vipruṣo 'janayata yā imāḥ skūyamānasya* [*agneḥ*] *vipravante*, 'He (Agni) generated these sparks, viz. those (sparks) of (the fire) when it is being stirred which fly off in all directions'. MS. 2. 1. 11 (p. 12, 19).

The example is cited by Delbrück, Altind. Synt., p. 390, 1—2 as an instance of a quasi absolute genitive: 'Der ursprünglich possessive Genitiv mit seinem Participium ist bereits zu einem relativ selbständigen, unseren Nebensätzen in der Funktion ähnlichem Satzteil geworden'.

< √ *bhid* + *sam* >

52. *prajānāṁ sṛṣṭānāṁ tau* [*prāṇāpānau*] *samabhidyetām*, 'Of the creatures when they had been created these two (viz. in-breathing and out-breathing) were cut off'. K. 27. 3 (p. 141, 12).

< √ *muṣ* + *pari* >

53. *tasyā* [*gāyatryai*] *āharantyai gandharvo viçvāvasuḥ* [*somam*] *paryamuṣṇāt*, 'Of this (Gāyatrī) as she was fetching (it) the Gandharva Viçvāvasu stole away (the Soma). ÇB. 3. 2. 4. 2.

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[1] Cf. without participle PB. 9. 5. 4 *tasya yo 'ṅçuḥ parāpatat sa pūtīko 'bhavat*.

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The parallel passages MS. 3. 7. 3. (p. 77, 14); 3. 7. 8 (p. 87, 1); K. 24. 1 (p. 90, 4); PB. 6. 9. 22; TS. 6. 1. 11. 5 have nothing syntactically comparable.

The case of *tasyā āharantyai* is ambiguous. It may be ablative, cf. √ *muṣ* + *nis*, K. 37. 14 (p. 94, 7) *tasye* [*çuṣṇasya*] *'ndraç çyeno bhūtvā 'syād amṛtaṁ niramuṣṇāt* (Schroeder-Caland's emendation for *niramathnāt*), but cf. the genitive with √*muṣ* + *pari*, GB. 1. 3. 19 (p. 89, 12) *yataro vīryavattaro bhavati sa parasya yajñaṁ parimuṣṇāti*; with √ *muṣ* + *pra*, ÇB. 14. 1. 3. 16 *nen me 'yaṁ taptaḥ çuçucānaç cakṣuḥ pramuṣṇāt*; MS. 3. 6. 9 (p. 72, 9) *āpo me dīkṣāṁ net pramuṣṇān*; with √ *muṣ* + *ava*, K. 23. 5 (p. 80, 15) *āpo me ned dīkṣām avamuṣṇān.* With √ *muṣ* + *ā* the case is ambiguous at AB. 7. 28. 1 *tvaṣṭur āmuṣya somam.*

< √ 2 *yu* 'separate' >

54. *somaç ca vā etasya pūṣā ca jāyamānasye 'ndriyaṁ vīryam ayuvetām*, 'Of him as he was being born Soma and Pūṣan snatched away vigour and strength', MS. 2. 5. 5 (p. 54, 1).

< √ *vraçc* + *pra* >

55. *tasyā 'rciṣaḥ pragṛhītasyā 'surā agraṁ prāvṛçcan*, 'Of this flame when it was held forward the Asuras cut off the point'. ÇB. 6. 6. 2. 11.

< √ 1 *çī* 'fall', passive to √ *çad* >

56. *prajāpater visrastasya yāni lomāny açīyanta tā imā oṣadhayo 'bhavan*, 'Of Prajāpati when he had become disjointed the hair which fell out that became these plants'. ÇB. 7. 4. 2. 11.

57. *yathā vai haviṣo 'hutasya skanded evam etat paço(ḥ) skandati yasya niktasya lomāni çīyante*, 'Just as (part) of an oblation which has not (yet) been offered may be spilled, even so (part) of a victim of which, after it has been wetted, the hair falls out is spilled'. ÇB. 13. 2. 6. 8.

58. *yathā vai haviṣo gṛhītasya skandaty evaṁ vā etad açvasya skandati yad asyo 'pākṛtasya lomāni çīyante*, 'Just as (part) of an oblation after it has been taken is spilled, even so (part) of the horse is spilled when the hair of this (horse) after it has been prepared (for the sacrifice) falls out'. TB. 3. 9. 4. 4.

< √ 1. *çī* 'fall' + *ava* >

59. *etasya* [*agneḥ*] *vai mathyamānasya bhasmā 'vaçīyate*, 'Of this (fire) as it is being churned the ashes fall down'. JB. 1. 1.

< √ *sad* + *vi* — *ud* >

60. *tasya* [*somasya*] *krītasya manuṣyān abhy upāvartamānasya diço vīryāṇī 'ndriyāṇi vyudasīdan*, 'Of this (Soma) when it had

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been purchased (and) was turning toward men the vigour (and) strength departed in all directions toward the quarters'. AB. 1. 12. 3.

< √ *skand* >

61. *tām* [*chāyām*] *asye* [*brahmaṇaḥ*] *'kṣamānasya svayaṁ reto skandat*, 'Of this (Brahman) as it was contemplating this (shadow) the seed dropped off of its own accord'. GB. 1. 1. 3 (p. 2, 14).

< √ *han* + *apa* >

62. *etena ha vā asya saṁcaramāṇasya gārhapatyāhavanīyau pāpmānam apahataḥ*, 'Of this (sacrificer) as he moves along in this manner (viz. as he walks between the Gārhapatya and Āhavanīya fires) the Gārhapatya and Āhavanīya fires smite away the evil'. AB. 7. 12. 7.

63. *tāv asyā 'havanīyaç ca gārhapatyaç cā 'ntareṇā 'tiyataḥ pāpmānam apahataḥ*, 'These two, viz. the Āhavanīya and the Gārhapatya fire smite away the evil of this (sacrificer) as he passes between (them)'. ÇB. 2. 3. 3. 12.

< √ *han* + *nis* >

64. *varuṇasya vā abhiṣicyamānasyā 'pa indriyaṁ vīryaṁ niraghnan*, 'Of Varuṇa as he was being consecrated the waters smote off strength (and) vigour'. MS. 4. 4. 4 (p. 54, 15); TB. 1. 8. 9. 1.

65. *nai 'tasyā 'bhiṣiṣicānasyā 'çāntā āpo vīryaṁ nirhanan*, 'May not the waters unappeased smite off the strength of this one after he has been consecrated'. AB. 8. 6. 11.

< √ *hṛ* + *ā* >

66. *tau* [*asuramāyau*] *paretya subandhor gaupāyanasya svapataḥ pramattasyā 'sum āhṛtyā 'ntaḥparidhi nyadhattām*, 'These two (Asura-illusions), going away, snatching the vital spirit of Subandhu Gaupāyana as he was asleep (and) unconscious, deposited it within the enclosure-sticks'. JB. 3. 168 (JAOS. 18, p. 42).

The fragment from the Çāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa quoted by Sāyaṇa to RV. 10. 57. 1 is identical with the JB. passage.

Cf. JB. 3. 353, above Ex. 37.

§ 50. B. The Genitive is a Partitive Genitive.

1. *teṣāṁ* [*devānām*] *cetayamānānāṁ prajāpatir imāṁ* [*pṛthivīm*] *prathamāṁ svayamātṛṇṇāṁ citim apaçyat*, ÇB. 6. 2. 3. 1; *teṣāṁ*

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[*devānām*] *cetayamānānām indrāgnī ca viçvakarmā cā 'ntarikṣaṁ dvitīyāṁ svayamātṛṇṇāṁ citim apaçyat*, ÇB. 6. 2. 3. 3; *teṣāṁ* [*devānām*] *cetayamānānāṁ parameṣṭhī divaṁ tṛtīyāṁ svayamātṛṇṇāṁ citim apaçyat*, ÇB. 6. 2. 3. 5, 'Of these (gods) while they were meditating Prajāpati [Indra, Agni, and Viçvakarman; Parameṣṭhin] saw this earth [the atmosphere; the sky] as the first [second; third] self-perforated layer'.

2. *teṣāṁ* [*devānāṁ ca ṛṣīṇāṁ ca*] *cetayamānānāṁ devā dvitīyāṁ citim apaçyann ṛṣayaç caturthīm*, 'Of these (gods and sages) while they were meditating the gods saw the second, the sages the fourth layer'. ÇB. 6. 2. 3. 7.

3. *teṣāṁ* [*devānām*] *cetayamānānāṁ savitai 'tāni sāvitrāṇy apaçyat*, 'Of these (gods) while they were meditating Savitṛ saw the Sāvitra-formulas'. ÇB. 6. 3. 1. 1.

4. *teṣāṁ* [*devānām*] *viçatāṁ prajāpatir uttamo 'viçat*, ÇB. 8. 6. 2. 5; *etad vai devānāṁ viçatāṁ prajāpatir uttamo 'viçat*, ÇB. 8. 6. 2. 19, 'Of these gods as they were entering (the heavenly world) Prajāpati entered last'.

5. *athe 'to yatām* [*paçūnām*] *açvaḥ prathama eti*, . . ., *tad yad ito yatām açvaḥ prathama eti* . . ., 'Of these (animals) when they go away from this (fire) the horse goes first; . . .; because of these (animals) when they go away from this (fire) the horse goes first . . .' ÇB. 6. 4. 4. 12.

6. *nai 've 'to yatāṁ* [*paçūnām*] *nā 'muto rāsabhaḥ prathama eti*, 'Of these (animals) neither when they go from here nor from there does the ass go first'. ÇB. 6. 4. 4. 13.

7. *devānām u ha sma dīkṣitānāṁ yaḥ samiddhāro vā svādhyāyaṁ vā visṛjate taṁ ha sma . . . asurarakṣasāṇi jighāṅsanti*, 'When anyone of the gods after they had been consecrated (was) fetching fuel or interrupted (his) Veda-study the Asuras and Rakṣases . . . endeavoured to slay him'. ÇB. 3. 4. 3. 6.

Visṛjate is the reading of Weber's text and of the Commentator (Bibl. Ind. p. 248, 17). The text of the Bibl. Ind. edition reads *visṛjyate* (noting *visṛjate* as var. lect.). Weber, Verzeichnis der Sanskrithandschriften II (1886) p. 69, line 14 corrects the *visṛjate* of his edition (as a misprint) to *visṛjyate* without noting that it was the reading of the Commentator's text.

If *visṛjate* is read, *svādhyāyaṁ visṛjate* must here mean: 'He ends his Veda-

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lesson', cf. *vrataṁ visṛjate*, 'He ends his vow', ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 6; 1. 9. 3. 23; TS. 1. 7. 6. 6; KB. 2. 4 (p. 5, 18).

The Commentary, however, glosses *visṛjate* by *uccārayati*, and *yaḥ svādhyāyaṁ visṛjate* by *ṛtvijaṁ mantrotsraṣṭāram*, and Eggeling, following him, renders: 'Or uttered his appropriate text'.

If the passive *visṛjyate* is read our passage closely resembles ÇB. 4. 6. 9. 6 *teṣām [ṛtvijām] ekaika eva vācaṁyama aste, . . ., athe 'tare visṛjyante samiddhārā vā svādhyāyaṁ vā*, 'The other (priests) are sent off either as fuel-carriers or for their Veda-lesson'.

Is it possible that on account of the outward similarity of the two passages the passive *visṛjyate* was imported into ÇB. 3. 4. 3. 6 from ÇB. 4. 6. 9. 6? The time when the gods ended (or interrupted) their Veda-lesson would certainly be a very appropriate time for an attack on the part of the Asuras.

8. *tasmāt samāvat paçūnāṁ prajāyamānānām āraṇyāḥ paçavaḥ kanīyāṅsaḥ*, 'Therefore of the animals which are born of equal size (= although animals are born of equal size) the wild animals are smaller (when grown up)'. TS. 5. 1. 4. 3; 5. 2. 9. 5; TĀ. 5. 2. 11—12.

9. *tāsāṁ [prajānām] parigṛhītānām açvataro 'tyapravata*, 'Of these (creatures) when they had been grasped the he-mule escaped'. TS. 7. 1. 1. 2; JB. 1. 67. 3 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 178, where the mss. are divided between *'tyapravata* and *'tyaplavata*).

The parallel PB. 6. 1. 4 has *tāsāṁ parigṛhītānām açvatary atyakrāmat.*

10. *bahūnāṁ samānam ahar yajamānānāṁ yo vai devatāḥ pūrvedyur gṛhṇāti tasya çvo bhūte yajñam āgacchanti*, 'Of many who perform the sacrifice on the same day,—he who seizes the divinities on the preceding day, his sacrifice they approach on the next day'. K. 31. 15 (p. 17, 6).

Cf. Ex. 11 and 12.

11. *bahūnāṁ samānam ahar yajamānānāṁ yaḥ pūrvedyur agniṁ gṛhṇāti sa çvo bhūte devatā abhiyajate*, 'Of many who perform the sacrifice on the same day,—he who seizes Agni on the preceding day he (really) sacrifices to the divinities on the next day (= his sacrifice to the divinities on the next day really counts)'. MS. 1. 4. 5 (p. 52, 10).

Cf. Ex. 10 and 12.

12. *bahūnāṁ yajamānānāṁ yo vai devatāḥ pūrvaḥ parigṛhṇāti sa enāḥ çvo bhūte yajate*, 'Of many who perform the sacrifice (on the

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same day),—he who first appropriates the divinities he sacrifices to them on the next day (= his sacrifice to them on the next day really counts)'. TS. 1. 6. 7. 1.

Cf. Ex. 10 and 11.

13. *teṣām [yatīnām] adyamānānāṁ syūmaraçmir ṛṣir açvaṁ prāviçat*, 'Of these (Yatis) as they were being devoured the sage Syūmaraçmi entered the horse'. K. 8. 5 (p. 88, 20).

The translation assumes that Syūmaraçmi Bhārgava, the reputed author of RV. 10. 77 and 78, and the hero of an obscure legend RV. 1. 112. 16, was one of the Yatis.

Cf. Ex. 14.

14. *teṣām [yatīnām] adyamānānāṁ trayaḥ kumārāḥ paryaçisyanta*, 'Of these (Yatis) as they were being devoured three boys were left'. JB. 1. 185 (JAOS. 19, p. 123).

The parallel TS. 2. 4. 9. 2 (above § 49, Ex. 42) has the possessive genitive.

Cf. Ex. 13.

15. *indrāgnī vā akāmayetāṁ*[1]: *sadṛçānām eva satāṁ devānāṁ çreṣṭhatāṁ gaccheva samānena yajñena samānīm ṛddhim ṛdhnuyāve 'ti, tāv etaṁ yajñam apaçyatāṁ tam āharetāṁ tenā 'yajetāṁ, tato vai tau sadṛçānām eva satāṁ devānāṁ çreṣṭhatām agacchatāṁ samānena yajñena samānīm ṛddhim ārdhnutām, . . ., yau brāhmaṇaç ca rājanyaç ca kāmayeyātāṁ : sadṛçānām eva satāṁ svānāṁ çreṣṭhatāṁ gaccheva samānena yajñena samānīm ṛddhim ṛdhnuyāve 'ti tāv etena yajeyātāṁ sadṛçānām eva satāṁ svānāṁ çreṣṭhatāṁ gacchatas samānena yajñena samānīm ṛddhim ṛdhnutaḥ*, 'Indra and Agni desired: "Among the gods who are (all) alike let us two attain preeminence, through the same sacrifice let us both achieve the same prosperity"; they saw this sacrifice, they seized it, they sacrificed with it; thereupon these two attained preeminence among the gods who are (all) alike; . . .; if a Brāhmaṇa and a Rājanya should desire: "Among (the members of) our own (class) who are (all) alike let us attain preeminence, through the same sacrifice let us achieve the same prosperity", they should sacrifice with this (sacrifice); they attain preeminence among (the members of) their own (class) who are (all) alike, they achieve the same prosperity through the same sacrifice'. JB. 2. 132.

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[1] The mss. *atanumayetāṁ*.

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Cf. without participle TS. 2. 5. 6. 6 *tasmāt sadṛçīnāṁ rātrīṇām amāvasyāyāṁ ca paurṇamāsyāṁ ca devā ijyante* 'Therefore of (all) the nights which are all alike it is only on the night of the new moon and on the night of the full moon that the gods are sacrificed to'.

For the general thought cf. JB. 2. 139 *indro vā akāmayata : sarveṣāṁ devānāṁ çreṣṭhatāṁ gaccheyam iti, . . ., tato vai sarveṣāṁ devānāṁ çreṣṭhatām agacchat*, 'Indra desired: "May I attain preeminence among all the gods"; . . .; thereupon he attained preeminence among all the gods'.

16. *teṣāṁ svargaṁ lokaṁ yatāṁ so [çvitraḥ] 'hīyatā 'nṛtaṁ hy abravīt*, 'Of these going to the heavenly world this (Çvitra) was left behind, for he spoke untruth'. JB. 3. 77 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 237).

17. *sa yo hai 'vaṁ vidvān saṁgrāmayoḥ saṁnihitayor brūyād: akṣareṇa tvā saṁnidadhāmī 'ti paraṁ grāmam sa hai 'va taṁ grāmaṁ jayati*, 'He who knowing thus should say to the other (= the hostile) host of two armies which are engaged in battle: "With the syllable I bring thee in conflict", he conquers that (hostile) host'. JB. 1. 107 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 23).

With *saṁnihitayoḥ* cf. ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 18 *devā ha vai saṁgrāmaṁ saṁnidhāsyantaḥ . .*, 'The gods being about to engage in battle . . .'.

18. *te [çyāvaparṇāḥ] ho 'tthāpyamānā ruruvire : . . . kaḥ svit so 'smākā 'sti vīro ya imaṁ somapītham abhijeṣyatī 'ti ‖ ayam aham asmi vo vīra iti ho 'vāca rāmo mārgaveyaḥ ‖ rāma hā 'sa mārgaveyo 'nūcānaḥ çyāparṇīyas, teṣāṁ ho 'ttiṣṭhatām uvācā: 'pi nu rājann itthaṁvidaṁ veder utthāpayantī 'ti*, 'These (Çyāvaparṇas) while they were being turned out (of the sacrificial enclosure) shouted: ". . . What hero is there among us who will win this Soma-draught?"— "I am that hero among you", said Rāma Mārgaveya; this Rāma Mārgaveya namely was a learned member of the Çyāparṇa clan; of them while they were rising he said (= amongst them while they were rising it was he who spoke up): "O king, do they (= will they dare to) turn out from the sacrificial enclosure even one who knows thus?"' AB. 7. 27. 2—4.

For *asmākā 'sti* instead of *asmākam asti*[1] cf. Whitney, Gr. § 213, h; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 333, § 283; Geldner, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1911, col.

[1] Cf. K. 15. 7 (p. 214, 7—10) *chandasā 'vatu* for TS. 1. 8. 13. 1; MS. 2. 6. 10 (p. 69, 13—70, 1) *chandasām avatu*; MS. 2. 12. 6 (p. 150, 12) *jihvā 'bhi* for VS. 27. 18; TS. 4. 1. 8. 2 *jihvām abhi* < the Pp. ms. of MS. has *jihvāṁ abhi*; the parallels AV. 5. 27. 9; K. 18. 17 (p. 277, 21) and Kap. S. 29. 5 read *jihvayā 'bhi* >.

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405; Oldenberg, Rigveda Noten II, p. 69. Böhtlingk's emendation (Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., 52, p. 419) *asmāko 'sti* is not necessary.

Liebich, (BB. 11, p. 299) regards *teṣām uttiṣṭhatām* as 'ein sicheres beispiel für g[enitivus absolutus], und zwar, wie der zusammenhang lehrt, in deutlich konzessivem sinne', i. e. conform to Pāṇini's rule (2. 3. 38) *ṣaṣṭhī cā 'nādare*, 'The absolute genitive is permissible when disregard is expressed'. Delbrück (Vgl. Syntax, II, p. 494, § 164) agrees with Liebich: 'Mag der Genitiv in diesem Satze einem possessiven, oder, was wahrscheinlicher ist, einem partitiven nachgebildet sein, soviel ist klar, daß er einen kasuellen Anschluß an den Satz nicht mehr hat, und deshalb die Konstruktion als eine absolute bezeichnet werden muß'. Both Eggeling (SBE., 43, p. 435, note 3 to ÇB. 10. 4. 1. 10, 'When they rose to leave he said') and Keith ('When they were rising up he said') render the genitive by a hypotactical clause, as is indeed most natural in English, but the latter, at any rate, appears to construe *teṣām uttiṣṭhatām* as a conjunct genitive for he remarks (Harvard Oriental Series, 25, p. 83, § 7, no. 8): 'The locative absolute is found [in AB and KB.] but not the genitive absolute'.

The sense is doubtless that, while the other Çyāvaparṇas rose up to leave the sacred enclosure Rāma Mārgaveya stood his ground and made his challenge. But I can see neither internal nor formal reasons (cf. § 3, 1, c) which would prevent the syntactical connection of *teṣām uttiṣṭhatām* with the rest of the sentence: 'Of (= amongst) these Çyāvaparṇas who were rising up to leave the sacred enclosure he, Rāma Mārgaveya, alone standing his ground, said'.

19. *etām eva pratipadaṁ kurvīran yeṣāṁ dīkṣitānāṁ pramīyetā, 'pūtā iva vā ete 'medhyā manyante yeṣāṁ dīkṣitānāṁ pramīyate, 'gninai 'vai 'nān pavamānena pūtān medhyān karoti,* 'If one of those who have been consecrated should die (literally, 'Of whom, when they have been consecrated, one should die') they should use this introductory stanza; for if one of those who have been consecrated dies they consider themselves unclean (and) impure; by means of Agni as the Cleanser it makes them clean (and) pure'. JB. 1. 92.

The stanza referred to is SV. 2. 814 = RV. 9. 66. 19.
Cf. the partitive genitive *yadi dīkṣitānāṁ pramīyeta* JB. 1. 345.

20. *tad yad evā 'tra yajñasya hatasya vyathate tad evā 'syai 'tad dakṣiṇābhir dakṣayati,* 'What (part) of the sacrifice after it has been slain wavers that (part) of it he thus steadies by means of the sacrificial gifts (to the priests)'. ÇB. 4. 3. 4. 2.

21. *yad vai yajñasya kriyamāṇasyā 'ntaryanti pūyati vā asya tat,* 'What (part) of the sacrifice as it is being performed they pass over (= omit) that (part) of it becomes putried'. TS. 5. 3. 1. 1.

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22. *askannaṁ hi tad yad yajñasya saṁsthitasya skandati*, 'For what (part) of the sacrifice after it has been completed is spilled that (part of it) is (regarded as) unspilled'. TB. 3. 8. 6. 5.

Cf., with omission of the noun *haviṣaḥ*, ÇB. 13. 1. 3. 1; 4; 5 *askannaṁ hi tad yad dhutasya [haviṣaḥ] skandati.*

23. *yathā vai haviṣo 'hutasya skanded evam etat paço(ḥ) skandati*, 'Even as (part) of an oblation when it has not (yet) been offered may be spilled, so (part) of the victim is thus spilled'. ÇB. 13. 1. 3. 1; 5; 13. 2. 6. 8.

24. *yathā vai haviṣo gṛhītasya skandaty evaṁ vā etad açvasya skandati*, 'Even as (part) of an oblation when it has been taken is spilled, so (part) of the horse is thus spilled'. TB. 3. 8. 6. 1; 3. 8. 8. 1; 3. 9. 4. 4.

25. *bahu vā etasya pūrvedyur āhriyamāṇasya* (MS. *āhriyamāṇasye 'ha ce 'ha ca*) *skandati*, 'Much of this (sacrificial strew) when it has been collected on the previous day is spilled [here and there].' K. 31. 1 (p. 2, 9); MS. 4. 1. 2 (p. 4, 5).

26. *bahu vā etasya duhyamānasya skandati*, 'Much of this (milk) while it is being milked is spilled'. K. 31. 2 (p. 3, 6).

27. *suvargaṁ vā ete lokaṁ yanti ya upasada upayanti, teṣāṁ ya unnayate hīyata eva sa, no 'daneṣī 'ti sūnnīyam iva, yo vai svārthetāṁ yatāṁ çrānto hīyata uta sa niṣṭyāya saha vasati, tasmāt sakṛd unnīya nā 'param unnayeta*, 'Those who enter upon the (performance of the) Upasads go to the heavenly world; of these he who takes out (food) is left behind; (with the words): "I have not taken out (food)", (food) is taken out carefully so to speak; of people who proceed bent on their own (affairs) he who is left behind exhausted . . . (?); therefore, having taken out (food) once he should not take out again'. TS. 6. 2. 4. 1.

While it is clear that *svārthetāṁ yatām* is to be construed as partitive genitive: 'Amongst a crowd of travellers all bent on their own business one who fails to keep pace is left behind and the devil takes the hindmost', the exact meaning of the passage is far from clear; cf. Keith's note, who renders: 'He who is left behind wearied among those who go on their own mission sticks behind and lives (at home)', disregarding the *saha* before *vasati*. But for the presence of this *saha* one might be tempted to construe *vasati* as auxiliary verb with the gerund *niṣṭyāya* 'he keeps sticking'; cf. ÇB. 11. 3. 3. 1 *tasmād yāṁ rātriṁ brahmacārī samidhaṁ nā 'haraty āyuṣa eva tām avadāya vasati*, 'There-

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fore a Brahmacārin keeps cutting off that night from his lifetime during which he does not fetch fuel' (Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 260, 27 'raubt seinem Leben jede Nacht, in der er nicht Brennholz herbeibringt'; this rendering is preferable to his translation p. 335, 1 'Darum bringt der Brahmanenschüler die Nacht, in welcher er kein Brennholz herbeibringt, unter Verlust eines Teiles seines Lebens zu'; see Eggeling's note), aud *ned āyuṣo 'vadāya vasāni* 'Lest I keep cutting off from my lifetime'; AB. 5. 10. 4 *tad eva* [*saptamam ahaḥ*] *saptamena padenā 'bhyārabhya vasanti* (where the PW. s. √ *vas*, col. 828, 14 renders √ *vas* by 'innehalten'), 'They keep taking hold of this (seventh day) by means of the seventh Pada'; KB. 22. 2 (p. 98, 5); 30. 11 (p. 125, 2, where Lindner's text erroneously reads *parame vai tad*) *param evai 'nad* (30. 11 *'tad*) *ahar abhyārabhya vasanti*. This use of √ *vas* as auxiliary with the gerund should be added to Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 407, 24—35.

But the presence of *saha* makes such a construction impossible, and inasmuch as *niṣṭyāya* (or *niḥṣṭyāya*, so Weber, cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 342, § 287, b) as gerund of √ *styā* + *ni* or *nis* does not yield a very satisfactory sense a corruption of the text might possibly be suspected. Does *niṣṭyāya* perhaps contain a corrupted instrumental dependent on *saha*? As a sojourn among strangers is considered a calamity at JB. 2. 135 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 168) *eṣa ha vai padbhyāṁ pāpaṁ karoti yo janam eti*, and ÇB. 14. 4. 1. 11 *na janam iyāt* an emendation of *niṣṭyāya* to *niṣṭyaiḥ* 'with strangers' might tentatively be suggested, the sense being: He is left behind and, unable to get back home, he is even forced to live among strangers. For √ *vas* with the instrumental (but without *saha*) cf. AB. 3. 23. 8 *sa vā asmiṅç ca loke 'muṣmiṅç ca prajayā ca paçubhiç ca gṛheṣu vasati ya evaṁ veda*, 'He who knows thus lives both in this and in yonder world at home together with progeny and cattle'.

Elsewhere in the Brāhmaṇa prose √ *vas* takes the locative, PB. 16. 6 7 *niṣādeṣu*; 8 *jane* = JB. 2. 183 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 178); 9 *samānajane*; JB. 2. 183 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 178) *sajane*; ÇB. 14. 6. 7. 1 *madreṣu*; and so always *brahmacaryaṁ vasati* with the locative of the teacher.

An emendation of *niṣṭyāya* to *niṣṭyayā* 'with a strange woman' would not seem to fit the context so well, besides √ *vas* 'cohabit' governs the locative in the older prose, cf. MS. 2. 2. 7 (p. 21, 5); K. 11. 3 (p. 147, 2; 4; 5; 7; 8); ÇB. 11. 5. 1. 2.

For *uta* introducing the apodosis I am unable to give a parallel.

28. *anaddhā vai saṁkrāntayor yadī 'taro ve 'taram abhibhavatī 'taro ve 'taram*, 'It is uncertain whether of two (persons) who have joined (in combat) the first will prevail over the second or the second over the first'. ÇB. 1. 6. 3. 33.

The case of *saṁkrāntayoḥ* is ambiguous; it may possibly be locative, cf. below § 59, Ex. 67.

29. ÇB. 13. 5. 2. 3 see below § 61, Ex. 38.

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§ 51. C. The Genitive is to be construed with the Verb.

< √ *ṛdh* + *vi* >

1. *agninā vā anīkene 'ndro vṛtram ahaṅs, tasya samāsṛptasya bhītasya yatra vyārdhyata tato dhūmo* (so Roth's emendation, MS. vol. IV, p. 311) *'sṛjyata, tasmād dhūmavatī* (so Roth's emendation) *nā 'nūcyā, vyṛddhā ha sā,* 'With Agni as edged weapon Indra slew Vṛtra; where he when he had crawled up and was frightened suffered a loss thence smoke arose; therefore (a verse) containing (the word) "Smoke" should not be recited, for such (means) failure'. MS. 3. 9. 5 (p. 121, 14).

The parallel passage K. 26. 8 (p. 131, 18) reads: *na dhūmavatīm anubrūyād, indro vai vṛtram ahaṅs* (Caland-Schroeder's emendation for *yatram ahaṅs*), *tasya yatra-yatra vyṛddham* (Schroeder's emendation for *vyaddham*) *āsīt tato dhūma udāyata, vyṛddhād* (Schroeder's emendation for *vṛddhād*) *vā eṣa jātaḥ.*

Reference is apparently made to Indra's loss of strength after his fight with Vṛtra, cf. e.g. TS. 2. 5. 3. 1 = TB. 1. 6. 1. 7 *indro vṛtraṁ hatvā devatābhiç ce 'ndriyeṇa ca vyārdhyata.* In MS. and K. this lost strength turns into smoke as at TS. 2. 5. 3. 2 it enters the earth and turns into plants and herbs (*indrasya vṛtraṁ jaghnuṣa indriyaṁ vīryaṁ pṛthivīm anuvyārchat, tad oṣadhayo vīrudho 'bhavan*).

As MS. *tasya . . . yatra vyārdhyata* is synonymous with K. *tasya yatra-yatra vyṛddham āsīt,* 'where there was a failure (loss) of him', the translation above construes the genitives *tasya samāsṛptasya bhītasya* as dependent on the verb *vyārdhyata* and *vyārdhyata* itself as an impersonal third person singular.

Cf. for such constructions Delbrück, Altind. Syntax § 2, p. 5, 39—41 and p. 6, 7—11. But *asya* at ÇB. 6. 4. 4. 20, *tad yad evā 'syā 'tro 'panaddhasya saṁçucyati,* may be partitive genitive depending on *yad,* as Eggeling takes it: 'Whatever part of his (body) pains him (Agni) when tied up, that pain he now puts outside of him'. Add to Delbrück's examples ÇB. 10. 6. 1. 1 *teṣāṁ ha vai vaiçvānare na samiyāya,* 'Iis de Vaiçvānaro non convenit' (PW. s. √ *i* + *sam,* no 3; and cf. Lüders, Sitzungsberichte d. preuß. Akad. d. Wiss., 1922, p. 242). Also the impersonal *mīyate* with the genitive (or ablative?) *ātmanaḥ* at K. 31. 1 (p. 1, 13—14) and MS. 4. 1. 2 (p. 3, 11—12) *yāvad-yāvad vā avidvān adhvaryur barhiṣo* (MS. *yāvad-yāvad evam avidvān adhvaryur barhir*) *dāti tāvad asyā 'tmano mīyate, nā 'syā 'tmano mīyate ya evaṁ veda*; TB. 3. 2. 2. 5 *nā 'syā 'tmano mīyate ya evaṁ veda.*

But I cannot quote an exact parallel for the impersonal *vyṛdhyate* with genitive from the Brāhmaṇa prose. At K. 8. 15 (p. 98, 16) *yady ādhāya manyeta: vyṛdhyate 'syā* (so Schroeder's text, with avagraha and the note: 'so Ch.; D. *syā*') *iti punar ādadhīta* the avagraha before *syā* should be deleted. The pronoun is the nominative *sya* (Caland, ZDMG. 72, 13), here equivalent to the pronoun of

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the first person *(aham)* as appears from the parallel MS. 1. 7. 2 (p. 110, 7) *yady ādadhāno manyeta: vi syā ṛdhyatā iti.*

For *sya = aham* cf. e. g. MS. 2. 4. 3 (p. 41, 5) = 4. 6. 5 (p. 85, 5) *asti vā idaṁ tyasminn antar vīryam* with TS. 2. 4. 12. 4—5 = 6. 5. 1. 1 *asti vā idaṁ mayi vīryam* and K. 12. 3 (p. 164, 16) = 27. 10 (p. 150, 6) *vīryaṁ vā idaṁ mayy asti.*

For the Sandhi K. *syā iti* and MS. *syā ṛdhyatā iti* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 267, a, γ, note, p. 315, 1 and Schroeder's note to MS. 1. 5. 4. (p. 71, 11).

A close parallel to K. 26. 8 (p. 131, 18) *tasya yatra-yatra vyṛddham āsīt* seems to occcur at ÇB. 1. 2. 2. 9 *taṁ na satrā pṛthuṁ kuryāt | mānuṣaṁ ha kuryād yat pṛthuṁ kuryād, vyṛddhaṁ vai yajñasya yan mānuṣam: ned vyṛddhaṁ yajñe karavāṇī 'ti, tasmān na satrā pṛthuṁ kuryāt,* 'Let him not make it too broad, for he would make it a human (profane, common cake) if he were to make it (too) broad. Unlucky for (or excluded from) the sacrifice indeed is that one, viz. the common (cake). "That I may not do anything that is unlucky at the sacrifice", (thus he thinks and) therefore he should not make (the cake) too broad' (Eggeling). Here ÇB. *vyṛddhaṁ yajñasya* seems to mean: 'For what is human (= profane) entails a loss (a failure, a miscarriage) in regard to the sacrifice', just as K. *tasya yatra-yatra vyṛddham āsīt* literally means: 'Where a loss was sustained in regard to him'.

< √*jan* >

For the competing constructions of √*jan* with the genitive and ablative see the details under **"Genitive"**. The genitive with √*jan* is hardly to be explained by the assumption of on ellipsis of *gṛhe* as Delbrück suggests, Altind. Synt. p. 9, 32—36.

2. *apāṁ taptānāṁ pheno jāyate,* '(Out) of the waters when they are heated foam is generated'. ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 2.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

2 A. *tasyā* [1. 3 *ṛgvedasya*; 2. 2 *yajurvedasya*; 3. 2 *sāmavedasya*; 4. 2 *itihāsapurāṇasya*; 5. 2 *brahmaṇaḥ*] *'bhitaptasya yaças teja indriyaṁ vīryam annādyaṁ raso 'jāyata,* 'Of this (Rigveda; Yajurveda; Sāmaveda; Itihāsapurāṇa; Brahman) when it was heated glory (and) splendour, power (and) strength, food-eating (and) sap was generated'. Chānd. Up. 3. 1. 3; 3. 2. 2; 3. 3. 2; 3. 4. 2; 3. 5. 2. ⌋

3. *tasyā 'rcata āpo 'jāyanta,* 'Of him while he was worshipping the waters were born'. ÇB. 10. 6. 5. 1.

4. *teṣāṁ* [*devānām*] *tapyamānānāṁ raso 'jāyata: pṛthivy antarikṣaṁ dyaur iti, . . ., teṣāṁ tapyamānānāṁ raso 'jāyata: ṛgvedaḥ pṛthivyā yajurvedo 'ntarikṣāt sāmavedo 'muṣmāt, . . ., teṣāṁ tapyamānānaṁ*

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raso 'jāyata: ṛgvedād gārhapatyo yajurvedād dakṣiṇāgniḥ sāmavedād āhavanīyaḥ, . . ., teṣāṁ tapyamānānāṁ puruṣo 'jāyata, 'Out of these (gods) as they were practising austerities the sap (essence) was born, viz. the earth, the atmosphere, (and) the sky; . . .; out of these as they were being heated the sap was born: the Rigveda from the earth, the Yajurveda from the atmosphere, the Sāmaveda from yonder (sky); . . .; out of these as they were being heated the sap was born: from the Rigveda the Gārhapatya-fire, from the Yajurveda the southern fire, (and) from the Sāmaveda the Āhavanīya-fire; . . .; out of these as they were being heated man was born'. ṢB. 4. 1. 2.

5. *tasmād u samānasyai 'va retaso sato yādṛça eva bhavati tādṛço jāyate*, 'And therefore out of the seed, though that is (always) the same, he (= the future being) is born such as he is (= with his individual characteristics)'. JB. 1. 17. 4 (JAOS. 19, p. 115).

The whole passage which runs as follows: 2. *sa yā manuṣyayonir manuṣyaloka eva sa, tat* (the mss. *tataṁ* and *taṁ*) *striyai prajananam, ato 'dhi prajāḥ prajāyante*. 3. *tasmād u kalyāṇīṁ jāyām iccheta : kalyāno* (the mss. *kalyāṇe*) *ma ātmā saṁbhavād iti, tasmād u jāyāṁ jugupsen : nen mama yonau mama loke 'nyas saṁbhavād iti*. 4. *tasya vai saṁbhaviṣyataḥ prāṇā agre* (the mss. *prāṇā'gre*) *praviçanty, atha retas sicyate, sa imān prāṇān ākāçān* (so all the mss. without variant) *abhinivartate, tasmād u samānasyai 'va . . . tādṛço jāyate*. is discussed by Windisch, Berichte d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., 59, p. 115—116. Up to the second half of the fourth paragraph the text is fairly clear: 'The human world is identical with) the human womb; that (viz. the human womb) is the private parts of the female, from that offspring is born; therefore one should seek an excellent wife, (thinking): "May an excellent (second) self of me come into existence"; and therefore one should guard one's wife, (thinking): "Lest in my womb, in my world, another self come into existence"; now the breaths of him who is about to come into existence enter (the womb) first, then the seed is cast'.

In § 3 the reading of the mss. *kalyāṇe* should probably be retained: "May my (second) self come into existence in an excellent (place)".

The active voice of the desiderative of √ *gup* should be added in Whitney's Roots etc., p. 37. The middle voice of the desiderative of the √ *gup* has in the older language the sense of 'to avoid'.

In the next clause *sa imān prāṇān ākāçān abhinivartate* Windisch proposes an emendation of *ākāçān*: 'In *ākāçān* muß ein Fehler stecken. Ein Wort wie *prakāçayann* würde in den Sinn passen, den dieser Schlußsatz zu haben scheint, daß nämlich die Beschaffenheit des neu Entstehenden von den *prāṇāḥ* abhängt und nicht vom Samen, der überall derselbe ist', and he translates: 'Er kehrt

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wieder, indem er diese Hauche zum Vorschein bringt'. There can be no doubt that Windisch has correctly interpreted the general sense of the clause, but his emendation of *ākāçān* against the concurrent testimony of the mss. does not appear to me convincing. If the mss.-reading is retained *ākāçān* must be taken in apposition to *prāṇān* and the passage would mean: 'He (viz. he who is about to come into existence) turns toward these breaths (which, in the macrocosm, are identical with) the ethereal spaces'; that is to say: When a human being is about to come into existence (*tasya saṁbhaviṣyataḥ*) the *prāṇāḥ* of the future being enter the mother's womb first (*prāṇā agre praviçanti*) and before the seed is emitted into it (*atha retas sicyate*); it is toward these *prāṇāḥ*, which in the macrocosm correspond to the ethereal spaces (*ākāçāḥ*) that the future being turns (*sa [saṁbhaviṣyan] imān prāṇān ākāçān abhinivartate*), and thus it comes to pass that the character and nature of the future being do not depend on the seed,—for the seed is uniform in character for all beings,—but on the character and nature of the *prāṇāḥ* which have entered the mother's womb before the seed is cast and with which the *saṁbhavisyant* has united (*tasmād u samānasyai 'va retasas sato yādṛça eva bhavati tādṛço jāyate*).

The identification of the microcosmic *prāṇāḥ* with the macrocosmic *ākāçāḥ* corresponds to the identification of the microcosmic *manuṣyayoni* with the macrocosmic *manuṣyaloka* in the second paragraph.

For the connection of *prāṇa* with *ākāça* cf. the following passages: Kauṣ. Up. 2. 14 *te [prāṇāḥ] vāyupraviṣṭā* (the other recension reads *vāyupratiṣṭhā*) *ākāçātmānaḥ svar īyuḥ*; Chānd. Up. 4. 10. 5 (The fires explain the Brahman to Upakosala Kāmalāyana:) *prāṇo brahma, kaṁ brahma, khaṁ brahme 'ti, . . ., yad vāva kaṁ tad eva khaṁ, yad eva khaṁ tad eva kam iti, prāṇaṁ ca hā 'smai tad ākāçam ho 'cuḥ*; JB. 2. 18 *reto vā etad agre praviçati yad gāyatraṁ, tato 'nyāny aṅgāni vikriyante, prāṇo vā eṣa praviçati yad gāyatraṁ, tam anyāny aṅgāny upasīdanti, sa imān prāṇān ākāçān abhi nirmanthati* (the mss. *nirmanthanti*). 'The seed, viz. the Gāyatrī metre, enters first, from it the other members (of the body) are respectively fashioned; this breath indeed, viz. the Gāyatrī metre, enters, the other members (of the body) cluster round it; this (primary) breath churns out (= generates) these (other) breaths (= sense organs) with reference to (?) the ethereal spaces'. At ÇB. 10. 6. 3. 2 the supreme *ātman* is described as *manomayaḥ* and *prāṇaçarīraḥ* from the point of view of the human microcosm, and as *bhārūpaḥ* and *ākāçātmā* from the point of view of the macrocosm, cf. ÇB. 14. 7. 2. 6 (= BĀU. 4. 4. 6 Mādy. = 5 Kāṇv.) where the supreme *ātman* is described as *manomayaḥ*, *vāṅmayaḥ* *prāṇamayaḥ*, *cakṣurmayaḥ*, and *çrotramayaḥ* from the point of view of the human microcosm, and as *ākāçamayaḥ*, *vāyumayaḥ*, *tejomayaḥ*, *āpomayaḥ*, and *pṛthivīmayaḥ* from the point of view of the macrocosm.

With regard to the genitive *samānasyai 'va retasas sataḥ* of the last clause Windisch notes: 'Die Worte *samānasyai 'va retasaḥ sato* sind Gen. absol. in der bekannten Bedeutung', and he renders: 'Deshalb wird er bei (überall) gleichem

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Samen mit der Beschaffenheit geboren, die ihm eigen ist'. But there seems to be no cogent reason why the genitive *retasaḥ* should not be conjunctly construed with the verb *jāyate*: 'Therefore out of the seed which is (always) the same he is born such as he is', i. e. 'although all men are born from identical seed yet they are not all alike but each one shows after birth an individual character, because the character of each individual does not depend on the seed from which it is produced but on the nature of the *prāṇāḥ* with which the future individual has united in his prenatal state and before the seed has entered the womb at all'. A very close parallel (but with ablatival construction) is K. 20. 4 (p. 22, 14) *tasmāt samānād yoner nānārūpāḥ prajāyante*, 'Therefore out of the same womb (offspring) of varied shape is born'; cf. further ÇB. 1. 8. 3. 6 *samānād eva puruṣād attā cā 'dyaç ca jāyate*, 'Out of the same man he who eats (= the husband) and he who is eaten (= the wife) is born'.

For the genitival construction cf. e. g. AB. 3. 37. 7 *pumāṅso 'sya putrā jāyante*; K. 25. 5 (p. 108, 11) *pumān asya putro jāyeta*; 22. 8 (p. 64, 11 and 14) *nā 'syā 'parūpaṁ jāyate* and *nā 'syā 'rūpaṁ jāyate*; 27. 8 (p. 148, 11) *saparvā 'sya sūpakāço jāyate*; TS. 1. 5. 8. 5; 1. 7. 6. 5 *tejasvy evā 'sya brahmavarcasī putro jāyate*; TS. 2. 5. 5. 3 *pragalbho 'sya jāyate*; TS. 2. 6. 5. 5; 6. 6. 4. 3 (bis) *stry asya jāyeta* and *pumān evā 'sya jāyeta;* TS. 1. 5. 8. 5 (bis); 1. 7. 6. 5; 6 *yasya putro 'jātaḥ* (and *jātaḥ*) *syāt*; AB. 7. 14. 2 *tasya ha putro jajñe.*

< √ *jan* + *pra* >

6. *tasya ha vai tapyamānasya* [*prajāpateḥ*] *manaḥ prājāyata*, 'From this (Prajāpati) as he was practising austerities mind was born forth'. ṢB. 4. 1. 1.

For √*jan* + *pra* with the genitive cf. PB. 23. 13. 5 *anākṛtam eṣāṁ prajāyate ya etā* [*rātrīḥ*] *upayanti* (Comment. *asyā* [*mṛgasattrasya*] *'nuṣṭhātṝṇām api putrapaçvādikam aprayatnenai 'vo 'tpadyate*) 'Without effort is (offspring) born of those who undertake (the performance of) these (night-rites)'.

< √ *bhū* + *sam* >

7. *eṣa vā agnir vaiçvānaro ya eṣa tapati, tasya rātris samid ahar jyotī raçmayo dhūmo nakṣatrāṇi viṣphuliṅgāç candramā aṅgārās, tasminn etasminn agnau vaiçvānare 'har-ahar devā amṛtam apo juhvati, tasyā āhuter hutāyai somo rājā saṁbhavati; stanayitnur evā 'gnir vaiçvānaras, tasya dyaus samid vidyuj jyotir abhrāṇi dhūmo hlādunayo* (the mss. *hlādanayo*) *viṣphuliṅgā açanir aṅgārās, tasminn etasminn agnau vaiçvānare 'har-ahar devās somaṁ rājānaṁ juhvati, tasyā āhuter hutāyai vṛṣṭis saṁbhavati; pṛthivy evā 'gnir vaiçvānaras, tasyā 'ntarikṣaṁ samid agnir jyotir vāyur dhūmo marīcayo viṣphuliṅgā diço 'ṅgārās, tasminn etasminn agnau vaiçvānare 'har-ahar devā vṛṣṭiṁ juhvati, tasyā āhuter hutāyā annaṁ saṁbhavati; puruṣa evā*

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'gnir vaiçvānaras, tasya vāk samic cakṣur jyotiḥ prāṇo dhūmo mano viṣphuliñgāç çrotram añgārās, tasminn etasminn agnau vaiçvānare 'har-ahar devā annaṁ juhvati, tasyā āhuter hutāyai retas saṁbhavati; stry evā 'gnir (the mss. *striyo vā 'gnir* and *striyo vā agnir*) *vaiçvānaras, tasyo 'pasthaṁ samid yonir jyotir iṣyā* (so all mss.) *dhūmo 'bhinando viṣphuliñgās saṁsparço 'ñgārās, tasminn etasminn agnau vaiçvānare 'har-ahar devā reto juhvati, tasyā āhuter hutāyai puruṣas saṁbhavati, so 'tra pañcamyāṁ visṛṣṭyāṁ puruṣo devebhyo jāyate pañcamyāṁ visṛṣṭyāṁ divā āpaḥ puruṣavāco vadanti yathā* (the mss. *vadanty atha yathā*) *'muṁ lokam apyeti* ‖ *tasyā 'gnir evā 'gnir vaiçvānaras, tasyau 'ṣadhayaç ca vanaspatayaç ca samid jyotir eva jyotir dhūma eva dhūmo viṣphuliñgā eva viṣphuliñgā añgārā evā 'ñgārās, tasminn etasminn agnau vaiçvānare 'har-ahar devāḥ puruṣaṁ juhvati, tasyā āhuter hutāyai puruṣo 'muṁ lokaṁ sambhavati,* 'This Agni Vaiçvānara is (identical with) him who burns here (= the sun) [with the thunder; with the earth; with man; with woman]; its kindling wood is (identical with) the night [with the sky; with the atmosphere; with speech; with the female private parts]; its light is (identical with) the day [with lightning; with the fire; with sight; with the womb]; its smoke is (identical with) the (sun's) rays [with the thunderclouds; with the wind; with breath; with sexual passion]; its sparks are (identical with) the constellations [with the hail stones; with the sun-motes; with the mind; with erotic pleasure]; its coals are (identical with) the moon [with the thunderbolt; with the quarters; with hearing; with sexual embrace]; in this same Agni Vaiçvānara the gods day by day offer immortality, the waters [King Soma; rain; food; seed]; from this oblation when it has been offered King Soma [rain; food; seed; man] comes into existence; there in this fifth creation man is born from the gods; at the fifth creation the divine waters endowed with human speech say how he proceeds to yonder world. Agni Vaiçvānara is (identical with) his (= man's) (sacrificial) fire; its kindling wood is the plants and trees, its light is just the (ordinary) light (of the fire), its smoke is just the (ordinary) smoke (of the fire), its sparks are just the (ordinary) sparks (of the fire), its coals are just the (ordinary) coals (of the fire); in this same Agni Vaiçvānara the gods day by day offer

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man; from this oblation when it has been offered man comes into existence (for union with) yonder world'. JB. 1. 45—46.

Hlāduni with *l* for *r* (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 215, § 191) is used by Çaṅkara as gloss to *hrāduni* BĀU. 6. 2. 10 (p. 1047, Bibl. Ind.).

Iṣyā is rather nomin. plur. masc. *īṣyāḥ* than fem. sing. The word does not appear to occur elsewhere in the literature, but in Uṇ. 1. 144 *īṣmaḥ* is given as meaning both *kāma* and *vasanta* and Hemacandra has *iṣmaḥ* and *iṣyaḥ* in the latter sense.

The accusative *amuṁ lokam* in the last clause is odd, either a locative would be expected as at JB. 1. 17. 6 (JAOS. 19, p. 115) *so 'syā 'tmā 'muṣminn āditye saṁbhavati*, 'This self of his comes into existence in yonder sun'; ÇB. 8. 7. 3. 3 *evaṁ ha so 'muṣmiṅl loke saṁbhavati*, 'Thus he comes into existence in yonder world'; K. 14. 6 (p. 205, 17) *vājapeyayājī tvā amuṣmiṅl loke saṁbhavati*, 'He who sacrifices with the Vājapeya comes into existence in yonder world' [1], or the preposition *abhi* should be supplied: *amuṁ lokam abhi saṁbhavati* 'He comes into existence for yonder world', cf. ÇB. 6. 2. 2. 27 *taṁ kṛtaṁ lokam abhi jāyate*, 'He is born into this (previously) prepared world'. It is barely possible that *saṁbhavati* is here used in the double sense of 'to come into existence' and 'to unite with', cf. for the latter meaning ÇB. 4. 2. 5. 4 [*prajāpatiḥ*] *idam sarvaṁ saṁbhavati, . . ., nai 'naṁ* [*adhvaryum*] *saṁbhavati*.

The JB. passage is given in extenso because it forms an interesting parallel to the *pañcāgnividyā* Chānd. Up. 5. 3—5. 10; ÇB. 14. 9. 1 (= BĀU. 6. 1 Mādhy = 6. 2 Kāṇv.). The following table gives a synopsis of the four versions:

	ÇB. = BĀU. Mādhy.	BĀU. Kāṇv.	Chānd. Up.	JB.
I. Fire:	*asau lokaḥ*	*asau lokaḥ*	*asau lokaḥ*	*ya eṣa tapati*
Fuel:	*ādityaḥ*	*ādityaḥ*	*ādityaḥ*	*rātriḥ*
Smoke:	*raçmayaḥ*	*raçmayaḥ*	*raçmayaḥ*	*raçmayaḥ*
Flame:	*ahaḥ*	*ahaḥ*	*ahaḥ*	*ahaḥ*
Coals:	*candramāḥ*	*diçaḥ*	*candramāḥ*	*candramāḥ*
Sparks:	*nakṣatrāṇi*	*avāntara-diçaḥ*	*nakṣatrāṇi*	*nakṣatrāṇi*
In this fire the gods offer:	*çraddhā*	*çraddhā*	*çraddhā*	*amṛtam āpaḥ*
Out of this oblation arises:	*somo rājā*	*somo rājā*	*somo rājā*	*somo rājā*

[1] Differently TB. 1. 3. 3. 4 *vājapeyayājy amuṣmiṅ loke striyaṁ saṁbhavati*.

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	ÇB. = BĀU. Mādhy.	BĀU. Kāṇv.	Chānd. Up.	JB.
II. Fire:	*parjanyaḥ*	*parjanyaḥ*	*parjanyaḥ*	*stanayitnuḥ*
Fuel:	*saṁvatsaraḥ*	*saṁvatsaraḥ*	*vāyuḥ*	*dyauḥ*
Smoke:	*abhrāṇi*	*abhrāṇi*	*abhram*	*abhrāṇi*
Flame:	*vidyut*	*vidyut*	*vidyut*	*vidyut*
Coals:	*açaniḥ*	*açaniḥ*	*açaniḥ*	*açaniḥ*
Sparks:	*hrādunayaḥ*	*hrādunayaḥ*	*hrādunayaḥ*	*hlādunayaḥ*
In this fire the gods offer:	*somaḥ*	*somo rājā*	*somo rājā*	*somo rājā*
Out of this oblation arises:	*vṛṣṭiḥ*	*vṛṣṭiḥ*	*varṣam*	*vṛṣṭiḥ*
III. Fire:	*ayaṁ lokaḥ*	*ayaṁ lokaḥ*	*pṛthivī*	*pṛthivī*
Fuel:	*pṛthivī*	*pṛthivī*	*saṁvatsaraḥ*	*antarikṣam*
Smoke:	*vāyuḥ*	*agniḥ*	*ākāçaḥ*	*vāyuḥ*
Flame:	*rātriḥ*	*rātriḥ*	*rātriḥ*	*agniḥ*
Coals:	*diçaḥ*	*candramāḥ*	*diçaḥ*	*diçaḥ*
Sparks:	*avāntara-diçaḥ*	*nakṣatrāṇi*	*avāntara-diçaḥ*	*marīcayaḥ*
In this fire the gods offer:	*vṛṣṭiḥ*	*vṛṣṭiḥ*	*varṣam*	*vṛṣṭiḥ*
Out of this oblation arises:	*annam*	*annam*	*annam*	*annam*
IV. Fire:	*puruṣaḥ*	*puruṣaḥ*	*puruṣaḥ*	*puruṣaḥ*
Fuel:	*vyāttam*	*vyāttam*	*vāk*	*vāk*
Smoke:	*prāṇaḥ*	*prāṇaḥ*	*prāṇaḥ*	*prāṇaḥ*
Flame:	*vāk*	*vāk*	*jihvā*	*cakṣuḥ*
Coals:	*cakṣuḥ*	*cakṣuḥ*	*cakṣuḥ*	*çrotram*
Sparks:	*çrotram*	*çrotram*	*çrotram*	*manaḥ*
In this fire the gods offer:	*annam*	*annam*	*annam*	*annam*
Out of this oblation arises:	*retaḥ*	*retaḥ*	*retaḥ*	*retaḥ*

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	ÇB. = BĀU. Mādhy.	BĀU. Kāṇv.	Chānd. Up.	JB.
V. Fire:	*yoṣā*	*yoṣā*	*yoṣā*	*strī*
Fuel:	*upasthaḥ*	*upasthaḥ*	*upasthaḥ*	*upastham*
Smoke:	*lomāni*	*lomāni*	*yad upa-mantrayate*	*iṣyāḥ*
Flame:	*yoniḥ*	*yoniḥ*	*yoniḥ*	*yoniḥ*
Coals:	*yad antaḥ karoti*	*yad antaḥ karoti*	*yad antaḥ karoti*	*saṁsparçaḥ*
Sparks:	*abhinandāḥ*	*abhinandāḥ*	*abhinandāḥ*	*abhinandāḥ*
In this fire the gods offer:	*retaḥ*	*retaḥ*	*retaḥ*	*retaḥ*
Out of this oblation arises:	*puruṣaḥ*	*puruṣaḥ*	*garbhaḥ*	*puruṣaḥ*

8. *çaçvad dha vai retasaḥ siktasya cakṣuṣī eva prathame saṁbhavataḥ*, 'From the seed when it has been cast the eyes (of the embryo) undoubtedly come into existence first'. ÇB. 4. 2. 1. 28.

The Kāṇva recension inserts *saṁbhavataç* after *siktasya*.

< √ *das* + *upa* >

For the genitive with √ *das* + *upa* cf. K. 27. 9 (p. 149, 20) *yad vai putrasyo 'padasyati pitaraṁ sa upadhāvati*, 'When a son is in want of anything he has recourse to (his) father', and the Mantras *kurvato me mo 'padasat*, TS. 1. 6. 3. 3 etc. *dadato me mo 'padasat* MS. 1. 4. 12 (p. 62, 6) etc.

9. *kāṇvāyanānāṁ sattram āsīnānāṁ paçava upādasyan*, 'The Kāṇvāyanas while they were performing a sacrificial session were in need of cattle'. JB. 3. 220.

10. *ṛṣīṇāṁ vai sattram āsīnānāṁ paçava upādasyan* (the ms. *pupādasyan*), 'The sages while they were performing a sacrificial session were in need of cattle'. JB. 3. 225.

< √ 1 *pṛ* 'fill' >

For the genitive with √ *pṛ* 'fill' cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 133, 20—33, § 90; the details are given under "Genitive".

11. *eṣa hai 'nāḥ [āhutīḥ] saṁtarpayati, tāsāṁ saṁtṛptānāṁ devā hiraṇmayāñç camaṣān pūrayante*, 'He gratifies these (oblations); with these (oblations) after they have been gratified the gods fill gold cups'. ÇB. 11. 4. 2. 16; 17.

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< √ *çru* + *upa* >

12. *teṣāṁ ha jyog eva yajamānānāṁ no 'paçuçruvur bahūny eva varṣāṇi, teṣāṁ u ho 'paçuçruvur: āçrāvayati vai vaṣaṭkaroti vā iti,* 'They (= the sages) did not hear these (Atharvans) when they were sacrificing for a long time, even many years; but they (= the Atharvans) heard them (= the sages): "He gives the order for the Çrauṣat-call; he utters the Vaṣaṭ-call".' JB. 3. 269 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 291).

Similar constructions are frequent: a) ÇB. 11. 8. 3. 8 *tasmād etasya [vāyoḥ] lelayata ivai 'vo 'paçṛṇvanti na tv enam paçyanti,* 'Therefore (people) hear this (wind) as it shakes so to speak, but they do not see it'; b) MS. 4. 8. 1 (p. 106, 11), K. 30. 1 (p. 181, 11) *tasya [ṛṣabhasya] ruvato yāvanto 'surā upāçṛṇvan, . .,* 'As many Asuras as heard this (bull) when he roared . . .'; c) MS. 4. 8. 1 (p. 106, 6) *teṣāṁ [pātrāṇām] samāhanyamānānāṁ yāvanto 'surā upāçṛṇvan . . .,* 'As many Asuras as heard these (vessels) while they were being beaten together . . .'; d) MS. 4. 8. 1 (p. 107, 3), K. 30. 1 (p. 181, 15) *tasyā [manāyyai] vadantyā yāvanto 'surā upāçṛṇvan . . .,* 'As many Asuras as heard this (wife of Manu) when she spoke . . .' < cf., with simple √ *çru*, ÇB. 1. 1. 4. 16 *tasyai ha sma yatra vadantyai çṛṇvanti* >; e) MS. 4. 1. 6 (p. 8, 11) *tasyā [vācaḥ] vadantyā yāvanto 'surā upāçṛṇvan . . .,* 'As many Asuras as heard this (voice) when it spoke . . .'; f) TB. 3. 2. 5. 9 *te 'surā yāvanto yajñāyudhānām udvadatām upāçṛṇvan . . ., yāvanto 'sya bhrātṛvyā yajñāyudhānām udvadatām upaçṛṇvanti . . .,* 'As many of these Asuras as heard the sacrificial implements when they raised their voice . . .; as many of his rivals as hear the sacrificial implements when they raise their voice . . .', < The parallel passages K. 31. 4 (p. 5, 14 and 16) and MS. 4. 1. 6 (p. 8, 13) omit the participle >; g) PB. 8. 2. 2 *sa vṛṣadaṁçasyā 's iti kṣuvata upāçṛṇot,* 'He heard a cat as it sneezed (making the sound) "Āṣ"'; h) ÇB. 8. 1. 4. 9 *sphoṭator hai 'kaḥ pakṣayor upaçuçrāvai 'tenā 'bhimṛṣṭasya,* 'One heard the wings of (this altar) when it was touched with this (formula) as they cracked'.

< √ *han* + *upa* 'to make the sacrificial cuttings' >

13. *sa etasya sarvasyā 'nnādyasya saṁbhṛtasya sruveṇo 'paghātaṁ vājaprasavīyāni juhoti,* 'Making cuttings of all this food, after it has been brought together, with the Sruva-spoon he offers the Vājaprasavīya-oblations'. ÇB. 5. 2. 2. 4.

§ 52. D. The Genitive depends on an Adjective.

1. *teṣāṁ ha devānāṁ prabubudhānānām apriyam āsīt, tān viṣṇur abravīn: mā vo 'priyaṁ bhūd* (the ms. *'priyam abhūd*) . . . *iti,* 'To these gods when they had waked up this was unpleasant; Viṣṇu said to them: "May this not be unpleasant to you . . .".' JB. 3. 353.

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§ 53. E. The Genitive depends on an Adverb.

1. *tasya kriyamāṇasya tejanīm uttarato dhārayanti*, 'To the north of this (mound) while it is being made they hold a reed bundle'. ÇB. 13. 8. 3. 12.

2. *yataḥ khalu vai yajñasya vitatasya na kriyate tad anu yajñaṁ rakṣāṅsy avacaranti*, 'Where (= at what point) of the sacrifice when it has been undertaken anything (necessary in the ritual) is not performed, along that (point) the Rakṣases descend upon the sacrifice'. TS. 6. 4. 2. 6.

3. *ahar vā açvasya jāyamānasya mahimā purastāj jāyate*, 'Day, as the Mahiman-cup, is born before the horse while it is being born'. TS. 7. 2. 25. 2.

Such is patently the obvious rendering of the TS. passage if taken by itself. A difficulty is caused by the parallel passage ÇB. 10. 6. 4. 1 (= BĀU. 1. 1. 2 Kāṇv.). The two versions run as follows:

TS. *ahar vā açvasya jāyamānasya mahimā purastāj jāyate; rātrir enaṁ mahimā paçcād anujāyate; etau vai mahimānāv açvam abhitaḥ saṁbabhūvatuḥ.*

ÇB. *ahar vā açvaṁ purastān mahimā 'nvajāyata, tasya pūrve samudre yoniḥ; rātrir enaṁ paçcān mahimā 'nvajāyata, tasyā 'pare samudre yoniḥ; etau vā açvaṁ mahimānāv abhitaḥ saṁbabhūvatuḥ.*

Eggeling, disregarding the *anu-* in the first *anvajāyata* of the ÇB. version, makes *açvam* in the first clause to depend on *purastād*, and similarly, as it would appear, he construes *enam* in the second clause with *paçcāt*: 'The day, indeed, was produced as the Mahiman (cup) before the horse and its birth place is in the eastern sea. The night was produced as the Mahiman (cup) behind (or after) it and its birth place was in the western sea; these two Mahiman (cups), indeed, come to be on both sides of the horse'. For *purastāt* with dependent accusative the Brāhmaṇa prose appears to furnish only the following two instances: ÇB. 3. 8. 1. 14 *yatrai 'naṁ viçasanti tat purastāt tṛṇam upāsyanti*, 'In front of that (place) where they cut up this (victim) he throws down a blade of grass' (Eggeling) and ÇB. 8. 3. 1. 11 *tā u evā 'mūḥ purastād darbhastambaṁ ca logeṣṭakāç co 'padadhāti*, 'But prior to these (bricks) he deposits the bunch of grass and the clod-bricks' (Eggeling); while for *paçcāt* with dependent accusative the only example in the Brāhmaṇa prose appears to be ÇB. 3. 8. 1. 15 *tasya na kūṭena*[1] *praghnanti, mānuṣaṁ hi tan, no eva paçcāt karṇam*, 'They do not strike it on the forehead,—for that is human practice,—nor yet behind the ear' (Eggeling). At ÇB. 14. 5. 1. 11 (= BĀU. 2. 1. 11 Mādhy. = 10 Kāṇv.) *ya evā 'yaṁ yantaṁ paçcāc chabdo anūdeti* (Boehtlingk's text misprints *anūdaiti*) the accusative *yantam*

[1] Cf. JAOS, 19, p. 114, note to JB. 1. 49. 2.

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depends on the *anu-* of *anūdeti*, and *paçcāt* is adverb: 'What that sound is which rises up in the rear after one going', cf. Boehtlingk's rendering: 'Den Laut, der nach einem gehenden hinterher sich erhebt' and Çaṅkara's gloss: *yantaṁ gacchantaṁ ya evā 'yaṁ çabdaḥ paçcāt pṛṣṭhato 'nūdeti.* To this last passage the second clause of ÇB. 10. 6. 4. 1 *rātrir enaṁ [açvam] paçcān mahimā 'nvajāyata* forms an exact parallel: *paçcāt* is adverb and *enam* is governed by the *anu-* of *anvajāyata*, 'Night was born after this (horse) as the Mahiman-cup behind'; cf. Boehtlingk's and Deussen's translation: 'Der dahinterstehende Bechervoll entstand nach dem Rosse als die Nacht', and 'Die Nacht ist für es entstanden als die Opferschale, die hinter ihm steht'. The parallel first clause of ÇB. 10. 6. 4. 1 *ahar vā açvaṁ purastān mahimā 'nvajāyata* must then be rendered: 'Day, verily, was born after the horse (German: 'ward dem Rosse nachgeboren') as the Mahiman-cup in front', cf. Boehtlingk's and Deussen's translation: 'Der voranstehende Bechervoll (beim Roßopfer) entstand nach dem Rosse als der Tag', and 'Der Tag fürwahr ist entstanden für das Roß als die Opferschale, die vor ihm steht', and cf. further Çaṅkara's gloss: *sauvarṇarājatau mahimākhyau grahāv açvasyā 'grataḥ pṛṣṭhataç ca sthāpyete.*

The ÇB. version would thus appear to differ from the TS. version in that according to TS. the first Mahiman-cup is born before the horse being born, the second Mahiman-cup after the horse, while according to ÇB. both Mahiman-cups are born after the horse.

An interpretation of the TS. passage which would permit both *purastāt* and *paçcāt* to be taken as adverbs qualifying *mahimā*, and thus reconcile TS. with ÇB. may be tentatively suggested.

If one compares the use of the genitive in passages like AB. 7. 14. 4 *dantā nv asya [putrasya] jāyantām*; 5 *tasya ha dantā jajñire; . . . ajñata vā asya dantāḥ*; 6. *dantā nv asya punar jāyantām*; 7 *tasya ha dantāḥ punar jajñire; . . . ajñata vā asya dantāḥ*; AB. 7. 15. 1 *tasya [hariçcandrasya] ho 'daraṁ jajñe*; K. 33. 1 (p. 27, 1); AB. 4. 17. 2; TS. 7. 5. 1. 1; 7. 5. 2. 1; PB. 4. 1. 1 *tāsāṁ [gāvām] çṛṅgāṇy ajāyanta*; <parallel with this in K.; AB.; PB. and in TS. 7. 5. 2. 1 *tāsāṁ çṛṅgāṇi prāvartanta* and this latter phrase alone in JB. 2. 372>; TS. 7. 5. 1. 1 *yāsāṁ [gāvāṁ çṛṅgāṇi] nā 'jāyanta; . . . yāsāṁ cā 'jāyanta yāsāṁ ca na*; TS. 7. 5. 1. 1 *çṛṅgāṇi no* (= 'to us cows') *jāyantai*; PB. 4. 1. 1 *opatā no* (= 'to us cows') *'jnata*; ÇB. 3. 2. 1. 27 *yad vai me 'to mahad evā 'bhvam nā 'nuprajāyeta*; JB. 3. 165 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 260) *so [agnir vaiçvānaraḥ] 'kāmayata: çnuṣṭayo me jāyerann arcaya iti, sa etat [çnauṣṭam] sāmā 'paçyat, tenā 'stuta, tato vai tasya çnuṣṭayo 'rcayo 'jāyanta*; TĀ. 5. 2. 1 *tasyā 'nvāgatasya svayād dhanur ajāyata dakṣiṇād iṣavaḥ*, it may perhaps appear possible to construe *açvasya jāyamānasya* in TS. with the verb *jāyate* as datival genitive of interest or concern: 'To the horse while it is being born the Mahiman-cup in front is born' (German: 'Dem Rosse, wenn es geboren wird, wird der vordere Mahimanbecher geboren').

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§ 54. 2. The Case Form is Ambiguous.

To the instances of ambiguous case forms noted above, viz. JB. 1. 268 (§ 49, Ex. 12); ÇB. 3. 2. 4. 2 (§ 49, Ex. 53); ÇB. 1. 6. 3. 33 (§ 50, Ex. 28), and ÇB. 13. 5. 2. 3 (§ 50, Ex. 29) must be added

1. *antayor vāva saṁskriyamāṇayor madhyaṁ saṁskriyate*, 'While the two ends are being fashioned the middle is fashioned', ÇB. 7. 1. 2. 23, where *antayoḥ saṁskriyamāṇayoḥ* though it might formally be regarded as a genitive is more probably an absolute locative, cf. below § 62, Ex. 11.

2. *tasyā [gāyatryai] āharantyai somasyā 'ṅçur apatat*, 'From this (Gāyatrī) as she was fetching (the Soma) a sprig of the Soma fell down'. ÇB. 1. 7. 3. 19.

Here *tasyā āharantyai* may possibly be Genitive, cf. the examples above § 49, Ex. 40 and 41; for the ablative cf. ÇB. 1. 7 3. 19 *sa rathāt papāta*, 'He fell from the car'; TB. 3. 2. 9. 5 *te 'manyata: divaṁ vā ayam itaḥ patiṣyatī 'ti*, 'They considered: "This (Asura Araru) will fall from here (= from this earth) toward heaven".'

Cf. for variations between the genitival and ablatival construction § 49, Ex. 11 in fine, and Ex. 27.

§ 55. 3. The True Genitive Absolute.

Eliminating then the examples where the case form is ambiguous (above § 54) and those in which a conjunct construction is possible and the assumption of an Absolute Genitive is not necessary (above § 47—53) notably such passages as JB. 1. 17. 4 (§ 48, Ex. 21); ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 9; 20; KB. 7. 2 (§ 48, Ex. 35—37); ÇB. 13. 1. 1. 3 = TB. 3. 8. 2. 4 (§ 49, Ex. 16); ÇB. 14. 1. 2. 13 = 14. 3. 1. 2 (§ 49, Ex. 20); ÇB. 1. 7. 1. 1 = 3. 3. 4. 10 (§ 49, Ex. 32); MS. 2. 1. 1 (p. 12, 19; § 49, Ex. 51); AB. 7. 27. 4 (§ 50, Ex. 18); ÇB. 6. 1. 3. 2 (§ 51, Ex. 2); and JB. 1. 17. 4 (§ 51, Ex. 5), there remain the following examples:

1—2. 1. *tasyā 'labdhasya sā vāg apacakrāma*, 'When he (viz. Manu's bull) had been taken (for slaughter) this (Asura-killing) voice (which had entered him) departed'. ÇB. 1. 1. 4. 15.

2. *tasyā ālabdhāyai sā vāg apacakrāma*, 'When she (viz. Manu's wife) had been taken (for slaughter) this (Asura-killing) voice (which had entered her) departed'. ÇB. 1. 1. 4. 16.

As Gaedicke (Accusativ, p. 47—48, note) rightly points out the two genitives *tasyā 'labdhasya* and *tasyā ālabdhāyai* cannot logically

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be construed as possessive genitives with *vāk* because it is not the (natural) voice of Manu's bull and of Manu's wife which departs, but a foreign Asura-killing voice which had entered bull and wife. It should, however, be remarked,

a) According to strict logic the Asura-killing voice which entered Manu's bull and his wife is, to be sure, not their own natural voice; but, in as much as bull and wife for the time being speak with it, it may, somewhat loosely, be well enough considered their voice, and so the passage ÇB. 1. 1. 4. 15 is actually taken by Delbrück (Vergl. Syntax, II, § 164, p. 494): 'So wird z. B. . . . erzählt, daß Manu einen Stier opferte und dann fortgefahren: *tasyā 'labdhasya sā vāg apacakrāma*; das heißt wörtlich: "dieses geopferten Stimme entwich", aber wir übersetzen: "als er geopfert war, entwich seine Stimme".'

b) The genitives *tasyā 'labdhasya* and *tasyā ālabdhāyai* may be construed, as genitivi separationis (cf. the details under "**Genitive with Verbs of Separation**") with *apacakrāma*: 'This voice departed from them when they had been taken (for slaughter)'; cf. TB. 2. 1. 2. 1 *prajāpatir agnim asṛjata, taṁ prajā anvasṛjyanta, . . ., so 'sya prajābhir apākrāmat* (Comment. *prajābhiḥ saha tasmāt prajāpater apākrāmat*), 'Prajāpati created Agni; after him the creatures were created; . . .; he (Agni) went away from this (Prajāpati) together with the creatures'.

So rather, with the Commentary, than 'He (Agni) went away together with the creatures of this (Prajāpati)'.

3—4 A. 3. *devānāṁ vai* (TS. 5. 2. 3. 4 *teṣāṁ*) *suvargaṁ* (PB. *svargaṁ*) *lokaṁ yatāṁ diçaḥ samavlīyanta* (PB. *diço 'vlīyanta*), 'When the gods were going to the heavenly world the quarters collapsed'. TS. 5. 2. 3. 4; 5. 3. 2. 2; PB. 8. 8. 13.

4. *tasya* [*indrasya*] *vṛtraṁ jaghnuṣa ṛtavo 'muhyan*, 'When this (Indra) had slain Vṛtra the seasons were confused'. TS. 6. 5. 5. 1.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

4 A. *te* [*devāḥ*] *'bhyatapyanta, teṣāṁ tapyamānānām āpyāyata vedaḥ*, 'These (gods) practised austerities; while they were practising austerities the Veda was filled up'. JUB. 1. 8. 12. ⌋

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All three passages (Ex. 3; 4; and 4 A) appear at first sight clear instances of the true Absolute Genitive, and they are so rendered in the above translations. Moreover the Comment. to PB. 8. 8. 13 (Ex. 3) expressly states that the genitive *devānām . . . yatām* here takes the place of an (absolute) locative: *svargaṁ gacchatāṁ devānāṁ saptamyarthe ṣaṣṭhī deveṣu svargaṁ yatsu satsu.*

The parallel MS. 3. 2. 9 (p. 29, 17) expresses the thought in short paratactical clauses: *devā vai svargaṁ lokam āyaṅs, te diçā ākramanta, tā avlīyanta*, 'The gods went to the heavenly world; they bestrode the quarters; these (quarters) collapsed'.

There would be no question about the interpretation of *devānām . . . yatām* in Ex. 3 if it were not for the parallel passage K. 20. 11 (p. 31, 2) *devānāṁ vai svargaṁ lokaṁ yatāṁ teṣāṁ diças samavlīyanta* (above § 46, Ex. 2) in which the proleptic genitive *devānām . . . yatām* is resumed by the demonstrative pronoun *teṣām.* In this K. passage the interpretation of *devānām . . . yatām* as absolute genitive is impossible inasmuch as *teṣām* connects the proleptic genitive *devānām . . . yatām* with *diçaḥ*: 'Of the gods when they were going to the heavenly world,—their quarters collapsed'. The genitive in this connection expresses not so much possession as interest and concern and is functionally equivalent to a dative of interest, cf. the dative *tasmai* at ÇB. 8. 7. 1. 11 *yo vai mriyata ṛtavo ha tasmai vyuhyante,* 'The seasons are deranged for him who dies'.

This ÇB. passage again makes it possible to construe the genitive *tasya vṛtraṁ jaghnuṣaḥ* in TS. 6. 5. 5. 1 (Ex. 4) as conjunct genitive of interest and concern: 'For this (Indra) when he had slain Vṛtra the seasons were confused' (German: 'Diesem Indra, als er den Vṛtra erschlagen hatte, wurden die Jahreszeiten verwirrt').

Keith renders: 'Of him when he had slain Vṛtra the seasons were confused'.

And the same is true for the third passage (Ex. 4 A), JUB. 1. 8. 12 *teṣāṁ tapyamānānām āpyāyata vedaḥ*, 'For these (gods) as they were practising austerities the Veda was filled up' (German: 'Diesen Göttern, während sie sich kasteiten, wurde der Veda vollgefüllt').

In all three passages (Ex. 3, 4, and 4 A) the speaker may well have felt the genitives as conjunct genitives of interest and concern while the hearer construed them as absolute genitives; cf. § 3, 1, c.

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5. *te devā juṣṭās tanūḥ priyāṇi dhāmāni sārdhaṁ samavadadire, te ho 'cur: etena naḥ sa nānā 'sad etena viṣvāñ yo na etad atikrāmād iti, kasyo 'padraṣṭur iti, tanūnaptur eva çākvarasye 'ti.* ÇB. 3. 4. 2. 5. The Kāṇva recension, as reported by Eggeling, reads *tasya naḥ ka upadraṣṭā*, 'Who (will be) the witness of this (covenant) of ours?', and in view of this parallel one is tempted to render the Mādhyandina text: 'These gods divested themselves of their beloved forms (and) dear possessions and put them together; they said: "He who transgresses this (covenant) of ours shall be without claim to this (and) without share in this". — "Who (being) witness?" — "The Mighty Tanūnapat (being witness)".' However the absence of the participle *sataḥ* which cannot be paralleled either from de Saussure's classical examples (p. 8, § 3 in fine) nor from the older prose literature and which is hardly compensated for by the latent verbal and participial character inherent in the derivatives in *-tṛ* (Whitney, § 271, d; 946) makes such an interpretation of *kasyo 'padraṣṭuḥ* and *tanūnaptur eva çākvarasya* as Absolute Genitives less likely. Eggeling is probably right in rendering: 'Whose (is it) as witness?' i. e. 'In whose keeping as trustee shall it for the present be?' And such appears to be the understanding of the Commentator who glosses *kasyo 'padraṣṭuḥ* by *tasya purastād idaṁ bhavet* and *tanūnaptuḥ* by *tasya purastāt.*

√ *dā + sam — ava* with *tanūḥ* as in ÇB. 3. 4. 2. 8; 9; 15; 16; TS. 6. 2. 2. 1; 6. 2. 2. 3; MS. 3. 7. 10 (p. 90, 4); K. 24, 9 (p. 100, 6); GB. 2. 2. 2 (p. 166, 10); 2. 2. 3 (p. 167, 4) not 'hide' (Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 60, 35) but 'cut off from one's self and collect as common property'; pw. 'zerteilen und die Stücke sammeln', Eggeling 'laid down together (literally: cut off together, part by part)', the Commentator glosses *samavadadire* by *vibhajya sthāpitavantaḥ.*

6. *samidhenīnām evai 'ṣa yogas, tāsāṁ yuktānāṁ yāṁ kāmayata āçiṣaṁ tām avarunddhe*, 'This is the application of the kindling-verses; when these are applied he attains that blessing which he desires'. K. 31. 15 (p. 17, 21).

An instrumental would be expected, cf. TB. 1. 7. 3. 2 *yāvatīm ekena haviṣā 'çiṣam avarunddhe tāvatīm avarundhīta*, 'As great a wish as one secures by one offering so great (a wish) he would secure'.

The absolute genitive *tāsāṁ yuktānām* in this passage (Ex. 6) does not agree with the rule laid down by de Saussure (p. 7, § 2)

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for classical Sanskrit: 'Le sujet du génitif absolu est toujours une personne, dans le sens grammatical du mot, c'est-à-dire un être animé et intelligent, ou censé tel'.

In view of the fact that the true Absolute Genitive is a well established construction in classical Sanskrit (for the limitations of its use as contrasted with the free use of the Absolute Locative cf. de Saussure's monograph De l'emploi du génitif absolu en Sanscrit, 1881; Speijer, Sanskrit-Syntax, § 369, p. 288—289) the small number of instances in the Brāhmaṇa prose is noteworthy; nor do they conform to the special restrictive rule laid down by Pāṇini 2. 3. 38 *ṣaṣṭī ca 'nādare*, '(Instead of the Absolute Locative) the Genitive also (may be used) if disregard (be expressed)' which the Kāçikā illustrates by *rudataḥ prāvrājīt, kroçataḥ prāvrājīt* = *kroçantam anādṛtya pravrajitaḥ*, 'Disregarding (= in spite of) his weeping, lamenting he went away'.

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7. The Disjunct Locative.

§ 56. A. The Proleptic Locative.

No example of a Proleptic Locative has been noted in the Brāhmaṇas proper. But an instance of a Proleptic Locative occurs at AĀ. 2. 3. 1 (p. 112, 1 = 5 Keith) *tasmin yo 'nnaṁ cā 'nnādaṁ ca vedā hā 'sminn annādo jāyate bhavaty asyā 'nnam*, 'To him who knows food and the food-eater,—to him a food-eater is born, his is food'.

Against Sāyaṇa and Max Müller who take *tasmin* to refer to *uktha*, Keith correctly takes it as 'a precursor to *asmin*' (p. 216, note). Cf. for *ā hā 'sminn annādo jāyate* AB. 8. 9. 6 *ā hā 'smin* [*yajamāne*] *vīro jāyate*, and contrast the genitive at JUB. 2. 5. 1; 2. 6. 1—10; 2. 9. 9.

A kind of quasi-prolepsis is seen in the resumption of the Absolute Locative *saṁsthite daçame 'hani* by *etasmin kāle* at KB. 27. 4 (p. 131, 22) *saṁsthite daçame 'hani purā patnīsaṁyājebhya etasmin kāle saṁprasarpanti*, 'When the (rite of the) tenth day has been completed (but) before the Patnīsaṁyājas,—at that time they perform the Saṁprasaraṇa'; and of the Absolute Locatives *astamite* and *apahate tamasi* by *tasmin kāle* at KB. 2. 9 (p. 8, 8) *sāyam*

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astamite purā tamasas tasmin kāle juhuyāt, 'In the evening, after (the sun) has set (but) before darkness (has set in),—at that time he should offer (the Agnihotra); and *prātaḥ puro 'dayād apahate tamasi tasmin kāle juhuyāt*, 'In the morning before sunrise when darkness has been dispelled,—at that time he should offer (the Agnihotra)'. Cf. KB. 12. 2 (below § 69, 1) *etasmint saṁdhau* after a paratactical clause.

B. The Absolute Locative.

§ 57. 1. The Germs of the Absolute Locative.

Germs of the Absolute Locative are seen in those passages in which the nominal locative accompanied by a participle admits of being construed conjunctly with the verb of the clause. Thus:

1. *saṁmṛṣṭe 'gnau tā ubhāv evo 'ttarāv āghārāv āghārayataḥ*, 'These two make the last two fat-oblations in the fire after it has been trimmed (= when the fire has been trimmed)'. ÇB. 2. 5. 2. 30.

Cf. for √ *ghṛ, ghar* + *ā* with conjunct locative ÇB. 3. 5. 2. 13 *madhya* [*agnau*] *āghārayati*, 'He makes the fat-oblation in the middle (of the fire)'; ÇB. 4. 4. 2. 8 *āgnīdhrīye punar āghārayanti . . . mārjālīya evo 'ttamam*, 'They make another fat-oblation on the Āgnīdhrīya-hearth, . . . (but) the last one on the Mārjālīya-hearth'.

2. *tasminn adhiçrita ājyaṁ pratyānayati, . . ., tasmād adhiçrita ājyaṁ pratyānayati*, 'Into this (mess) after it has been placed over (the fire) he pours butter; . . .; therefore he pours butter into (the mess) after it has been placed over (the fire)' = 'When this (mess) has been placed over (the fire) he adds butter'. ÇB. 2. 4. 2. 10.

Cf. for the conjunct locative with √ *nī* + *prati* — *ā*, ÇB. 14. 2. 2. 40 *mahāvīrād upayamanyāṁ pratyānayati*, 'He pours (the milk) from the Mahāvīra-pot into the tray'.

For clear instances of the Absolute Locative *adhiçrite* cf. below § 60, Ex. 145—149.

3. *so 'bravīd : yāvad-yāvad vai juhutha tāvat-tāvan me kaṁ bhavatī 'ti, tad yad asmā iṣṭe kam abhavat tasmād u eve 'ṣṭakāḥ*, 'He said: "To what extent ye offer to that extent there is happiness for me"; and because there was happiness for him in that which had been sacrificed (= when sacrifice had been made) that is the reason why (the bricks are called) iṣṭakās'. ÇB. 6. 1. 2. 23.

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Cf. for the conjunct construction of *iṣṭe* with √ *bhū* JB. 2. 68 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 141) *sa yad evā 'smin [kṛṣṇājine] dīkṣitayaço bhavati tad asminn [yajamāne] utthite yaço bhavati,* 'What glory of the consecrated there is in this (skin of the black antelope) that glory is in this (sacrificer) after he has risen (from the Sattra)'.

4. *tasmād etad [payaḥ] āmāyāṁ gavi satyāṁ çṛtam, agner hi retas tasmād yadi kṛṣṇāyāṁ yadi rohiṇyāṁ çuklam eva bhavati,* 'Therefore this (milk) though (being) in a cow which is raw (yet) is cooked, for it is Agni's seed; therefore (no matter) whether (it be) in a black (cow) or whether (it be) in a red (cow) it is (always) just white'. ÇB. 2. 2. 4. 15.

For the thought cf. Aufrecht, Rig Veda, (2d. ed.) p. XVII, no. 37; TS. 6. 5. 6. 4.

In this passage the transition of the Conjunct Locative to the Absolute Locative ('though the cow is raw') is patent: *kṛṣṇāyām, rohiṇyām* without accompanying participle are clear conjunct locatives, white the addition of the participle *satyām* gives to *āmāyāṁ gavi satyām* a certain air of independence, cf. § 3, 1, c; § 5.

5. *tā [āpaḥ] açrāmyaṅs, tās tapo 'tapyanta, tāsu tapas tapyamānāsu hiraṇmayam āṇḍam saṁbabhūva,* 'These (waters) toiled, they practised austerities; in them as they were practising austerities a golden egg came into existence'. ÇB. 11. 1. 6. 1.

For the conjunct construction cf. e. g. K. 14. 6 (p. 205, 17) *vājapeyayājī tvā amuṣmiṅ loke saṁbhavati,* 'He who sacrifices with the Vājapeya comes into existence in yonder world'; ÇB. 8. 7. 3. 3 *evaṁ ha so 'muṣmiṅ loke saṁbhavati,* 'Thus he comes into existence in yonder world'; GB. 1. 1. 9, p. 8, 5 (in a Çloka, the text emended after Sāyaṇa, AV. Introduction, p. 5) *brahmajñānāṁ*[1] *[vedaḥ] hṛdaye*[2] *saṁbabhūva,* 'It (the Veda) came into existence in the heart of those who know the Brahman'.

Delbrück, Altind. Synt., § 216, p. 389, 20, while admitting the possibility of the conjunct construction prefers to take *tāsu . . . tapyamānāsu* as absolute locative: 'Als sie (die Wasser) büßten, entstand ein goldenes Ei'. But cf. in favour of the conjunct construction also MS. 1. 10. 10 (p. 150, 12); K. 36. 5 (p. 72, 7) *yāvat kumāre 'mṇo* (K. *'mno*; for the lingual *ṇ* in MS. *amṇo* cf. below § 73, Ex. 15 with the Remark) *jāta enas tāvad asminn [yajamāne] eno bhavati,* 'As much sin as there is in a boy immediately after he is born so much sin is in this (sacrificer)'.

6. *yad aṅgāreṣu vyavaçānteṣu lelāya vī 'va bhāti tad devānām āsyam,* 'What flickers (and) flares up in different directions, so to

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[1] So GB. var. lect.; Gaastra's text *brahmajyānāṁ*.

[2] GB. without variant *kṣitaye*.

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speak, in the coals when they have died down that is the mouth of the gods'. MS. 1. 8. 6 (p. 123, 12).

The parallel K. 6. 7 (p. 57, 11), omitting the participle, reads *yātrā 'ṅgāreṣv agnir lelāye 'va tad asyā 'syam,* 'Where the fire flickers so to speak in the coals that is his (Agni's) mouth'. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 297, 31 takes MS. *aṅgāreṣu vyavaçānteṣu* as conjunct case: 'Was in den zusammengesunkenen Kohlen hin und her leuchtet'. That it stands on the border line of conjunct and absolute case is seen from ÇB. 4. 5. 2. 17 (below § 59, Ex. 179) *prathamāvaçānteṣv aṅgāreṣv etaṁ soṣṇīṣaṁ garbham ādatte,* 'Immediately after the coals have died down he takes this embryo together with the cloth', where the Absolute Locative is clear.

ĀpÇ. 6. 9. 2 in a quotation which closely resembles the MS. passage reads *lelāyad vī 'va bhāti,* 'flickering flares up so to speak' (Caland: 'Wenn es noch einen flackernden Schimmer gibt'), but the form *lelāya* is so well supported by MS. 2. 2. 3 (p. 16, 21) *yad vai lelāya vī 'va bhāti taj jyotiḥ,* and the two passages from MS. and K. just cited that Schroeder's emendation to *lelāyad* (MS., vol. IV. p. 310, 2) or Delbrück's emendation to *lelayā* (Altind. Synt. p. 599, 6; presumably after ÇB. 2. 2. 1. 16; 3. 8. 3. 20) appear unnecessary. *Lelāya* is formed from √ 2 *lī* as TS. 1. 5. 1. 4 *upadodrāva* from √ *dru*; MS. 2. 1. 10 (p. 12, 3); 4. 4. 3 (p. 53, 13); 4. 4. 4 (p. 54, 12) *yoyāva* from √ 2 *yu*; RV. 1. 79. 2 (= TS.; MS.; K.) *nonāva* and RV. 6. 45. 25 *nonuvuḥ* < the parallel SV. 1. 146 reads *nonavuḥ* > from √ *nū̆*. Whitney, Gr. § 1018; 1022 classes all these forms together with RV. 1. 1 40. 6 *davidhāva* from √ *dhū* as perfects of the Intensive.

The form *lelāyat* cited in Whitney's Roots etc. s. √ 2 *lī*, p. 149. 3, from JB. should be deleted, cf. above § 29, Ex. 39, Remark, p. 73.

Lelayā ÇB. 2. 2. 1. 16; 3. 8. 3. 20 is adverbial instrumental (so PW. and pw.) to *lelā* which occurs at JB. 1. 216 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 83) *lele 'va vai rātriḥ* and JB. 3. 45 *lele 'va vā antarikṣam.* Caland cites Rudradatta's gloss to ĀpÇ. 2. 19. 11 *kaṇvādiṣu vā lele 'ti pāṭho draṣṭavyaḥ.* According to Schroeder's note 5 to MS. 1. 8. 6 (p. 123, 12) and note 5 to K. 6. 7 (p. 57, 10) the Kap. S. reads *lelā eva* instead of K. *lelāye 'vā.*

7. *athai 'ṣa rudro yaç cīyate, yat saṁcite 'gnāv etāni havīṅṣi na nirvaped eṣa eva rudro 'çānta upotthāya prajāṁ paçūn yajamānasyā 'bhimanyeta, yat saṁcite 'gnāv etāni havīṅṣi nirvapati bhāgadheyenai 'vai 'naṁ çamayati, nā 'sya rudro 'çāntaḥ ‖ upotthāya prajāṁ paçūn abhimanyate,* 'Now (the fire-altar) which is being piled up is (identical with) Rudra; if he were not to offer these oblations on the fire-altar when it has been completely built up (or 'when the fire-altar has been completely built up') this Rudra, being unappeased, springing up would injure the offspring (and) the cattle of the sacrificer; in that he offers these oblations on the fire-altar when

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it has been completely built up (or 'when the fire-altar has been completely built up') he appeases him (= Rudra) with his own portion; Rudra does not, being unappeased, springing up injure his (= the sacrificer's) offspring (and) cattle'. TS. 7. 5. 15. 1—2.

For *saṁcite 'gnau* as conjunct case cf. KB. 18. 6 (81, 15) *tā [dhānāḥ] āhavanīyasya bhasmānte nirvapanti*, 'They offer these (grains) on the fringe of the ashes of the Āhavanīya-fire'; for clear instances of the Locative Absolute *saṁcite 'gnau* cf. below § 60, Ex. 65—66.

For *rudraḥ . . . upotthāya prajāṁ paçūn abhimanyeta* and *abhimanyate* cf. TS. 3. 4. 10. 3 *rudra enaṁ [yajamānam] bhūtvā 'gnir anūtthāya hanyāt.*

8. *taṁ vā etam agniṁ samaindhiṣata samiddhe devebhyo juhavāme 'ti tasminn eva prathame āhutī juhoti*, '(Thinking:) "They have kindled this fire, in (the fire) after it hath been kindled we will offer to the gods", he offers in it the first two oblations'. ÇB. 1. 4. 4. 1.

Tasmin in *tasminn eva . . . juhoti* favours the conjunct construction of *samiddhe [agnau]* in *samiddhe . . . juhavāma.* Cf. similarly *samiddhe [agnau]* with √*hu* at ÇB. 4. 2. 5. 11 *viharaty agnīd agnīnt saminddha evai 'nān etat stṛṇāti barhi(ḥ), stīrṇe barhiṣi samiddhe devebhyo juhavānī 'ti*, 'The Agnīdh-priest draws off the fires, he kindles them, he strews the sacrificial strew (thinking): "After the sacrificial strew hath been strewn I will offer to the gods in (the fire) after it hath been kindled"'; 4. 4. 5. 13 *tam [agnim] etayā ca samidhai 'tayā cā 'hutyā saminddhe samiddhe devebhyo juhavānī 'ti*, 'With this kindling-stick and with this oblation he kindles this (fire, thinking): "I will offer to the gods in the fire after it hath been kindled"'; K. 6. 5 (p. 53, 17) *ubhe āhutī samiddhe juhavāni*, 'I will offer both oblations in (the fire) after it hath been kindled'; 27. 7 (146, 12) *manthino 'dhiṣṭhānam asī* (VS. 7. 18) *'ti samiddha eva juhutaḥ*, 'With the stanza VS. 7. 18 the two offer in (the fire) after it has been kindled'; PB. 9. 4. 5 *susamiddhe hotavyam*, 'The offering should be made in (the fire) after it has been well kindled'.

9. *yathā sarvasmiñ chāṇḍile 'gnau saṁcite pakṣapucchavaty āhutayo hutāḥ syuḥ . . .*, 'As if the oblations had been offered on a complete Çāṇḍila-altar, after it has been fully built up, with wings and tail . . .' ÇB. 9. 5. 1. 61; 68.

10. *ādīptāyāṁ [samidhi] juhoti*, 'He offers the oblation on (the kindling stick) when it has blazed up'. TB. 2. 1. 3. 9.

Cf. for the conjunct construction TB. 2. 1. 3. 8 *kasyāṁ samidhi dvitīyām āhutiṁ uhoti*, 'On which kindling stick does he offer the second oblation?'

11. *yad apradīptāyāṁ samidhi juhoti . . .*, 'If the offers the oblation on the kindling stick when it has not blazed up . . .' JB. 1. 21.

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12. *yadā vā iṣṭako 'padhīyate 'thā 'hutir hūyate, tad asyo 'pahitāsv eve 'ṣṭakāsv etā āhutayo hūyante,* 'As (each) brick is laid down the oblation is offered; thus his oblations are offered on the bricks immediately after they have been put down'. ÇB. 2. 3. 3. 17.

13. *sa vā eṣo 'gnir udyaty āditya ātmānaṁ juhoty, asāv astaṁ yan sāye 'gnāv ātmānaṁ juhoti, rātrir evā 'hañ juhoty aho rātryāṁ, prāṇa evā 'pāne juhoty apānaḥ prāṇe,* 'This same Agni offers himself in the Sun when he rises; yonder Sun in the evening when he sets offers himself in Agni; Night offers (herself) in Day, Day in Night; the out-breathing offers (itself) in the in-breathing (and) the in-breathing in the out-breathing'. KB. 2. 8 (p. 7, 7).

Cf. ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 36 *agnāv evai 'tat sāyaṁ sūryaṁ juhoti sūrye prātar agnim,* 'He offers in the evening Sūrya in Agni (and) in the morning Agni in Sūrya'.

14. *yathā* (MS. *yathā vā idaṁ*) *dīpyamāne* [*agnau*] *bhūyo 'bhyādadhāti* . . ., 'Just as (here, in ordinary life) one puts additional (fuel) on (the fire) when it is blazing up . . .' K. 22. 2 (p. 58, 17); 22. 6 (p. 62, 9); MS. 3. 4. 5 (p. 51, 5).

15. *ghṛtānuṣiktām avasite* [*agnau*] *samidham ādadhāti,* 'He puts a kindling stick soaked in ghee on (the fire) when it has been brought to its proper place'. TS. 5. 2. 2. 4.

16. *yathā puruṣāya vā hastine vā 'prayate hasta ādadhyāt tādṛk tat,* . . ., *yathā puruṣāya vā hastine vā prayate hasta ādadhyāt tādṛk tat,* 'This is as if one were to place (something) into the hand of a man or (the trunk) of an elephant when it is not stretched forth; . . .; this is as if one were to place (something) into the hand of a man or (the trunk) of an elephant when it is stretched forth' (More literally in German: 'Es ist, als ob man einem Menschen oder einem Elephanten etwas in die [nicht] vorgestreckte Hand [in den nicht vorgestreckten Rüssel] reichen wollte'.) AB. 5. 31. 2.

The translation in taking *(a)prayate* as locative of the past participle of √ *yam* + *pra* with *haste* follows Sāyaṇa who glosses: *yathā loke puruṣasya hastino vā grāsārtham aprayate aprasāritahaste grāsaṁ prakṣipet tādṛk tat,* as do PW., Haug and Keith. Weber (Ind. Stud. 9, p. 293) renders: 'Wie wenn man einem Mann oder Elephant, der nicht fortgeht, in die Hand (die Rüsselspitze) etwas hineinlegt, ebenso ist dies (d. h. es ist unnütz, zwecklos)' and notes: '*Aprayate* ist Dativ des part. praes. der √ *i* + *pra* und *hasta* für *haste* ist Loc. sg.' In support of this interpretation Weber cites KB. 2. 9 (p. 7, 18) *sa ya udite juhoti pravasata evai*

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'tan mahate devāyā 'tithyaṁ karoty atha yo 'nudite juhoti saṁnihitāyai 'vai 'tan mahate devāyā 'tithyaṁ karoti, 'He who offers when the sun has risen makes a guest-offering to the great god as he is setting forth on a journey; he who offers when the sun has not (yet) risen makes a guest-offering to the great god when he is close by', and notes: 'Das dortige *pravasate* entspricht dem hiesigen *prayate*, das dortige *saṁnihitāya* dem obigen *aprayate*'.

For the construction of √*dhā* + *ā* with dative and locative cf. AB. 8. 8. 8; 8. 20. 3 *athā 'smai* [*rājñe*] *surākaṅsaṁ hasta ādadhāti*, 'He places a Surā-cup in the hand of this (king)'. < German: 'Er reicht diesem (Könige) einen Surābecher in die Hand' >; ÇB. 4. 3. 1. 1 *tad asmai puroḍāçabṛgalaṁ pāṇau dadhad āha* . . .; 2 *yad asmā etat puroḍāçabṛgalaṁ pāṇāv ādadhāti* . . ., 'While putting a piece of the sacrificial cake into his hand he says . . .; the piece of the sacrificial cake which he places into his hand . . .' < German: 'Indem er dann diesem ein Stück Opferkuchen in die Hand reicht, spricht er . . .; das Stück Opferkuchen, welches er ihm in die Hand reicht . . .' >. Contrast the genitive and locative at ÇB. 5. 1. 5. 28 *ekaṁ vaiçyasya vā rājanyasya vā pāṇāv ādadhat* . . ., 'Placing one (cup) into the hand of either the Vaiçya or the Rājanya'; 6. 3. 1. 41 *haste hy asyā 'hitā bhavati*, '(The spade) has been placed in his hand'.

For the use of this 'sympathetic' dative and the competition between it and the genitive see the details under „Dative"; and cf. Havers, Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der idg. Sprachen, p. 38, § 10.

17. *triḥ pracyute paçau hṛdayaṁ pravṛhyo 'ttamaṁ pratyavadadhāti*, 'Removing the heart (from the spit) he replaces it uppermost on the victim after it has been thrice moved' (or, 'After the victim has been thrice moved he replaces the heart on top, removing it from the spit'). ÇB. 3. 8. 5. 8.

18. *havir vai havirdhāne, stīrṇe barhiṣi havir āsādayanti, tasmāt stīrṇe barhiṣi havirdhāne pravartayanti*, 'The two oblation-holders are (identical with) the oblation; they set down the oblation upon the sacrificial strew after it has been strewn; therefore they move the two oblation-holders forward after the sacrificial strew has been strewn'. K. 25. 8 (p. 113, 12).

19. *abhimṛtāyāṁ vā asyāṁ na çakṣyāmo jīvitum*, 'Upon this (earth) which is affected by death we shall not be able to live'. MS. 4. 5. 9 (p. 77, 4).

A transfer of meaning from the original local sense to the causal 'Since this earth has been affected by death we shall not be able to live (on it)' is easy cf. § 64.

For *abhimṛta* cf. MS. 1. 6. 3 (p. 89, 14 and p. 90, 12—13); K. 8. 2 (p. 84, 12, where *jīva* is the opposite of *abhimṛta*); 25. 6 (p. 110, 2).

20. *prajāpatau vai svayaṁ hotari prātaranuvākam anuvakṣyati sarvā devatā āçaṅsanta : mām abhi pratipatsyati mām abhī 'ti*. AB. 2. 16. 1.

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This passage in which Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 389, 12 construes *prajāpatau . . . hotari . . . anuvakṣyati* as conjunct case with *āçaṅsanta* ('Sie hofften auf Pr. . . .') is discussed below, § 63, Ex. 3.

21. *yathā yukte saṁtata [rathe] ādadhyāt . . .*, 'As if one were to put (a load) on (a cart) which is yoked (and properly) put together . . .' PB. 16. 10. 6.

Cf. for the conjunct construction the preceding clause: *yad vai yukte saṁtata ādhīyate vahati*, '(The load) which is put on a (cart) that is yoked (and properly) put together (that load the cart) carries' (Comment. *yad vai yat khalu dravyaṁ yukte açvābhyāṁ yojite saṁtate saṁbaddhe rathe ādhīyate āropya nidhīyate sa rathas tad dravyaṁ vahati*); also ÇB. 9. 4. 4. 1 *[agnau] yukte tat sarvaṁ samādhīyate*; MS. 3. 4. 4 (p. 50, 1) *tasmin [agnau] yukte sarvaṁ havyaṁ samādhīyate*; K. 22. 1 (p. 57, 4) *tasmin [agnau] yukte yajñas samādhīyate.*

22. *retasy eva hita ṛtūn upadadhāti, tasmād reto hitam ṛtūn anuprajāyate*, 'Upon the seed when it has been deposited he superimposes the seasons; therefore the seed when it has been deposited is born forth in conformity with the seasons'. K. 20. 10 (p. 30, 1).

The parallel MS. 3. 2. 9 (p. 29, 7) construes √ *dhā* + *upa* with the dative: *retase vā etat siktāya ṛtūn upādhāt, tasmāt sarveṣv ṛtuṣu reto hitaṁ, tasmāt sarvān ṛtūn reto 'nuprajāyate.*

23. *tasyām eva stīrṇāyāṁ vedau paridhīṅç ca çakalāṅç co 'panidadhati*, 'Close on to this altar after it has been strewn they deposit the enclosing sticks and the wood-pieces' (or 'After this altar has been strewn they deposit the enclosing sticks and the wood-pieces close by'). ÇB. 2. 5. 3. 5; 11.

24. *gārhapatya āhutiṁ juhuyur : deva varuṇa devayajanaṁ no dehi svāhe 'ti, te 'datte devayajane na yajante*, 'They should offer the oblation in the Gārhapatya-fire (with the formula): "O God Varuṇa, give us a place for divine sacrifice, hail!" (In this way) they do not sacrifice in a place for divine sacrifice which has not been given (them by god Varuṇa) (or, 'unless a place for divine sacrifice has been given'). PB. 24. 18. 8.

The Commentary glosses *adatte devayajane na yajante* by *devayajane varuṇānujñāte yajante*. For the conjunct construction of *adatte devayajane* cf. TS. 6. 2. 6. 1 *āpte devayajane yājayet*, 'He should make him sacrifice in a contiguous place of divine sacrifice', where the term *āpta* is immediately afterwards defined as a place 'which borders immediately on a road or a pit so that neither a cart nor a chariot can pass between'; 6. 2. 6. 2 *ekonnate* and *tryunnate devayajane yājayet*, 'He should make him sacrifice in a place of divine sacrifice which is

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elevated in one (or three) places'; 6. 2. 6. 3 *pratiṣṭhite devayajane yājayet*, 'He should make him sacrifice in a place of divine sacrifice which is firmly established'; 6. 2. 6. 4 *vyāvṛtte devayajane yājayet*, 'He should make him sacrifice in a place of divine sacrifice which is set apart', where the term *vyāvṛtta* is immediately afterwards defined as a place 'which slopes east of the Gārhapatya fire and west of the Āhavanīya-fire'; 6. 2. 6. 4 *kārye devayajane yājayet*, 'He should make him sacrifice in a place of divine sacrifice which is artificially made'; 6. 2. 6. 1 *puro-haviṣi devayajane yājayet*, 'He should make him sacrifice in a place of divine sacrifice where the offering faces east'; 6. 2. 6. 4 *nirṛtigṛhīte devayajane yājayet*, 'He should make him sacrifice in a place of divine sacrifice which is seized by Nirṛti', where the term *nirṛtigṛhīta* is immediately afterwards defined as a place 'where there is a bare patch of level ground'; ṢB. 2. 10. 10 *sa datte [devayajane] yajate*, 'He sacrifices in (a place of divine sacrifice) which has been given (him)'; ÇB. 3. 1. 1. 1 *sa sadeve devayajane yajate*, 'He sacrifices in a place of divine sacrifice which is frequented by the gods'; MS. 1. 10. 12 (p. 152, 6); K. 36. 6 (p. 73, 11) *yasminn [pātre] evā 'ṅho* (K. *yatrā 'ṅho*) *'vāyākṣus tasminn utpūte devatā yajai* (K. *yajān*), 'In (the vessel) from which they have removed misfortune by sacrifice, in that (vessel) after it has been cleaned may I sacrifice to the divinities'. And cf. MS. 5. 2. 3 (p. 18, 5) *spṛte* (read so with Caland. ZDMG. 72, p. 7, for Schroeder's *smṛte*) *devayajane 'gniṁ cinute*. For a clear instance of an Absolute Locative with the √ *dā* see below, § 60, Ex. 78.

25. *pariçrite [prācīnavaṅçaçāle] yājayanti*, K. 22. 13 (p. 68, 6). This passage is discussed below, § 60, Ex. 151.

2. The True Absolute Locative.

§ 58. The clear examples of the true Absolute Locative are grouped in three main divisions according to the tense of the accompanying participle: A. The participle is a past participle; B. The participle is a present participle; and C. The participle is a future participle.

Within each of these three main divisions the examples are arranged according to the verbal root of the participle.

In divisions A and B the first subdivision consists of intransitive, the second subdivision of transitive verbs.

A. The Accompanying Participle is a Past Participle.

§ 59. 1. The Verb is Intransitive.

< √*i* >

1. *prajāpater visrastād āpa āyaṅs, tasv itāsv aviçat*, 'From Prajāpati when he had become disjointed the waters went (away); when they had gone (away) he settled down (= collapsed)'. ÇB. 7. 5. 2. 44.

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The √ *viç* is here used because of the play on the following *viṅçati:* 'Because he settled down *(aviçat)* therefore there are twenty *(viṅçati)* bricks.' The Comment. glosses: *apāṁ nirgamaṇena daurbalyād gantum akṣamas* (var. lect. *akṣamo bhūtva) tathai 'vā 'paviṣṭavān.*

< √ *i* + *apa* >

2. *yad āgrahāyaṇe 'pete meghe 'pete nihāre 'muṣyai* [= *divaḥ*] *rūpaṁ bhavati tad amuṣyai* [*mahānāmnyai*] *prāyacchat*, 'What the form of yonder (sky) is in the (mouth) Āgrahāyaṇa when the cloud has gone away, when the fog has gone away, that (form) he gave to that (third Mahānāmnī)'. JB. 3. 106 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 245).

< √ *i* + *ud* >

3. *atha* (6. 7. 4. 12 *tad ahaḥ*) *prātar udita āditye bhasmai 'va prathamam udvapati*, 'Now (on that day) in the morning when the sun has risen he first cleans out the ashes'. ÇB. 6. 6. 4. 2; 6. 7. 4. 14.

4. *upavasathīye 'han prātar udita āditye vācaṁ visṛjate*, 'On the Upavasatha-day in the morning when the sun has risen he releases speech'. ÇB. 9. 2. 1. 1.

5. *udita āditye prātaranuvākam anubrūyāt*, 'When the sun has risen he should recite the morning-litany'. AB. 4. 19. 4.

6. *vyuṣṭyai svāhe* (VS. 22. 34) *'ty anudita āditye juhoti, svargāya svāhe* (VS. 22. 34) *'ty udite*, '(With the formula:) "To the Dawning hail!", he makes the offering when the sun has not (yet) risen; (with the formula:) "To Heaven hail!", when (the sun) has risen'. ÇB. 13. 2. 1. 7.

7. *indro namucer asurasya vyuṣṭāyāṁ rātrav anudita āditye . . . çira udavāsayat*, 'Indra cut off the head of the Asura Namuci when the night had lighted up, (but) when the sun had not (yet) risen'. ÇB. 12. 7. 3. 3.

8. *tasya* [*namuceḥ*] *vyuṣṭāyām anudita āditye 'pāṁ phenena çiro 'chinad, etad vai na naktaṁ na divā yad vyuṣṭāyām anudita āditye*, 'He cut off the head of this (Namuci) with the foam of the waters when (the night) had lighted up, but when the sun had not (yet) risen; for (the time) when (the night) has lighted up but when the sun has not (yet) risen is neither night nor day'. PB. 12. 6. 8.

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On the hypostasis of the adverbial instrumental *divā* and the adverbial accusative *naktam* in the clause *etad vai na naktaṁ na divā yad vyuṣṭāyām anudita āditya* and their functional equivalence to nominatives cf. PW. s. *divā*, col. 621, pw. s. *divā*, p. 88, col. 3; PW. s. *nakta* col. 6, 16; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 139, 11.

Instances of this use are not rare; thus, PB. 8. 1. 13 *dive 'ti nidhanam upayanti, vyuṣṭir vai divā, vy evā 'smai vāsayati*, '(With the word:) "By day" they enter upon the finale, day-time namely is (identical with) dawning; he thus causes it to dawn for this (sacrificer)'; PB. 5. 8. 9; 9. 1. 11 *sarvaṁ tarhi prajānāti, sarvam asmai divā bhavati*, 'He then discerns everything, everything becomes (as clear as) day-light for him'; MS. 1. 8. 6 (p. 124, 8) *divā ha vā asmā asmiṅ loke bhavati prā 'smā asau loko bhāti ya evaṁ veda*. 'There is day-time for him in this world, yonder world shines forth for him who knows thus'; JB. 3. 74 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 235) *tasmai tama ivā 'sīt, so 'kāmayata: dive 'vā 'smai syād iti, . . ., tasmai dive 'vā 'sīt*, 'There was darkness so to speak for him; he desired: "May there be day-time so to speak for him"; . . .; there was day-time so to speak for him'; Chānd. Up. 3. 11. 3 *sakṛd divā hai 'vā 'smai bhavati*, 'For him there is once for all day-light'; TS. 5. 3. 4. 7; 6. 4. 8. 3 *na vā idaṁ divā na naktam āsīd avyāvṛttam*, 'This (universe) was neither day nor night (but) undistinguished'; K. 8. 3 (p. 86, 5) *asuryā rātrī varṇena çukriyam ahaç, çukriya ādhatte ya [agnim] udite sūrya ādhatte, naktaṁ vā anuditena divo 'ditena, divā 'dhatte ya udite sūrya ādhatte*, 'Asura-like in colour is the night, bright the day; he who sets up (the fire) when the sun has risen sets it up in brightness; for when the sun has not (yet) risen there is night-time, (on the other hand) when the sun has risen there is day-time; he who sets up the fire when the sun has risen sets it up by day' <For the temporal instrumentals *anuditena* and *uditena* cf. above § 40, in fine>; TB. 2. 2. 9. 9 *divā vai no 'bhūd iti, tad devānāṁ devatvam* '(Because they said:) "Day-time hath come for us", that is the reason why the gods are called deva'; TB. 2. 3. 8. 3 *tasmai [prajāpataye] manuṣyānt sasṛjānāya divā devatrā 'bhavat, tad anu devān asṛjata, tad devānāṁ devatvaṁ, ya evaṁ devānāṁ devatvaṁ veda divā hai 'vā 'sya devatrā bhavati*, 'For this (Prajāpati) when he had created men there was day-light among the gods; in accordance with that he created the gods; that is the reason why the gods are called deva; he who thus knows the reason why the gods are called deva, for him there is day-light among the gods'; MS. 4. 2. 1 (p. 21, 6) *tasmai [prajāpataye] pitṝnt sasṛjānāya divā 'bhavat, tena devān asṛjata, tad devānāṁ devatvaṁ, sa yas tad devānāṁ devatvaṁ veda divā ha vā asmai devatrā bhavati*, 'For this (Prajāpati) when he had created the Fathers there was day-light; therewith he created the gods; that is the reason why the gods are called deva; he who thus knows the reason why the gods are called deva, for him there is day-light among the gods'; ÇB. 11. 1. 6. 7 *tasmai [prajāpataye] sasṛjānāya dive 'vā 'sa, tad v eva devānāṁ devatvaṁ yad asmai sasṛjānāya dive 'vā 'sa*, 'For this (Prajāpati), when he had created (the gods) there was day-light so to speak, and that is the reason why the gods are called deva, viz. because there was day-light so to speak for him when he had created (the gods)'; ÇB. 11. 1. 6. 11 *sa yad asmai [prajāpataye] devānt sasṛjānāya dive 'vā 'sa tad*

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ahar akuruta. 'What day-light so to speak there was for this (Prajāpati) after he had created the gods that he made into day'; MS. 4. 1. 8 (p. 9, 17) *asā(v) asmā āditiyo 'muṣmiṅ loke jyotir bhavaty atho divai 'vā 'smā amuṣmiṅ loke bhavati, sarve 'smā ime lokā jyotiṣmanto bhavanti*, 'For him yonder sun becomes a light in yonder world, and further there is also day-light for him in yonder world; all these worlds become luminous for him', <The parallel K. 31. 6 (p. 7, 1) omits the clause *atho divai 'vā 'smā amuṣmiṅ loke bhavati*>; TS. 6. 4. 2. 4 *yad vai divā bhavaty apo rātriḥ praviçati, tasmāt tamrā āpo divā dadṛçre, yan naktaṁ bhavaty apo 'haḥ praviçati tasmāc candrā āpo naktaṁ dadṛçre*, 'When there is day-time night enters the waters, therefore the waters appear darkish by day; when there is night-time day enters the waters, therefore the waters appear bright by night', <The parallel MS. 4. 5. 1 (p. 63, 6) has the Absolute Locative *divā bhūte* (cf. below, § 59, Ex. 113) instead of *yad divā bhavati*>.

The second *sāyam* at GB. 2. 1. 23 (p. 160, 4) *yat sāyaṁ gṛhamedhīyena caranti, puṣṭikarma vai gṛhamedhīyaḥ, sāyaṁ poṣaḥ paçūnāṁ, tasmāt sāyaṁ gṛhamedhīyena caranti*, 'Now as to the reason why they proceed with the Gṛhamedhīya-sacrifice in the evening; the Gṛhamedhīya-sacrifice is a rite ensuring prosperity, the evening-time is the prosperity of the cattle; therefore they proceed with the Gṛhamedhīya-sacrifice in the evening', is similarly hypostatized, cf. AĀ. 2. 1. 5 (p. 104, 7 Keith) *prātar abhavat . . . sāyam abhavat* 'Morning (Evening) came into existence'.

The hypostatized locatives PB. 12. 6. 8 *vyuṣṭāyām* and *anudita āditye* have their parallels in JB. 1. 5 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 5) *suvyuṣṭāyām* and *astamite* : *tayor [samudrayoḥ] vā etayor atyayanam asti . . . astamite purā tamisrāyai suvyuṣṭāyāṁ puro 'dayāt*, 'The (place for) crossing these two (oceans, i. e. Day and Night) is (the time) when (the sun) has set (but) before (complete) darkness (has set in, and the time) when (the night) has well lighted up (but) before sunrise' <cf. below § 59, Ex. 172 and 173> and in Chānd. Up. 2. 9. 3 and 8 *prathamodite* and *prathamāstamite* : *yat prathamodite sa prastāvaḥ; yat prathamāstamite tan nidhanam*, 'The Prastāva is (identical with the time) immediately after the sun has risen; the Finale is (identical with the time) immediately after the sun has set'; cf. also *saṁgavavelāyām* at Chānd. Up. 2. 9. 4 *yat saṁgavavelāyāṁ sa ādiḥ*, 'The Ādi is (identical with) the time when the cows are collected', and *madhyandine* at Chānd. Up. 2. 9. 5 *yat samprati madhyandine sa udgīthaḥ*, 'The Udgītha is (identical with the time) exactly at noon'.

JB. 1. 325 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 124) has the hypostatized Absolute Locatives *prastute, pratihṛte*, and *upadrute* : *prastute purā 'deḥ sa nārakaḥ; pratihṛte puro 'padravāt sa nārakaḥ; upadrute purā nidhanāt sa nārakaḥ*, '(The interval) after the Prastāva has been sung (but) before the Ādi that is one hell; (the interval) after the Pratihāra has been sung (but) before the Upadrava that is one hell; (the interval) when the Upadrava has been sung (but) before the Finale that is one hell' <cf. below, § 59, Ex. 104; 250; § 60, Ex. 197>.

A hypostatized Absolute Locative *huteṣu haviḥṣu* occurs at ÇB. 1. 7. 3. 7 *vāstu hi tad yajñasya yad dhuteṣu haviḥṣu*, 'For (the time) when the oblations have

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been offered that is the place of the sacrifice' < cf. below § 60, Ex. 234 >; cf. TĀ. 5. 11. 4 *āçvinaḥ payasy ānīyamāne.*

In the assignment of the different parts of the sacrificial stake (*yūpa*) to different divinities at TS. 6. 3. 4. 6—7 the adverbial expression *nikhātād ā raçanāyāḥ* '(the section) upward (of that part of the stake) which is dug in (the ground) up to the girdle-rope' stands as subject parallel to *nikhātam, ūrdhvam, raçanā,* and *caṣālam*; and the adverb *uparāt* together with the adverbial expression *raçanāṁ prati* is similarly used as subject parallel to *uparam, ūrdhvam,* and *caṣālam* at K. 26. 6 (p. 129, 5—7).

The adverbial expressions *sajyotiṣi* and *ā jyotiṣo darçanāt* are used as subjects at ṢB. 4. 5. 4 *sajyotiṣy ā jyotiṣo darçanāt so 'syāḥ* [*saṁdhyāyāḥ*] *kālaḥ,* '(The time) when the sun disappears until the stars become visible that is the proper time for this (devotion)'.

With these hypostases may be compared the predicative use of the adverb *tūṣṇīm* at ÇB. 1. 4. 4. 10 *tūṣṇīm iva hī 'daṁ mūlam,* 'For this root is silent, as it were'; ÇB. 7. 3. 2. 2 *aniruktam vai tad yad tūṣṇīm,* 'That which is silent is undefined'; the accusatival function of the adverbs *adya, çvaḥ,* and *hyaḥ* at PB. 11. 9. 3 *adya ca hyaç ca samārabhate,* 'He takes hold of to-day and of yesterday' (Comment. *adya ca adyatanaṁ cai 'va dvitīyam ahar hyaḥ pūrvam ahaç ca samārabhate*); JB. 2. 389 *adya cai 'va te* [*saṁtanayaḥ pragāthāḥ*] *çvaç ca saṁtanvanti,* 'These (combined strophes) connect to-day and to-morrow' < contrast PB. 4. 7. 7 *çvastanam evā 'bhisaṁtanvanti* >; and the genitival function of *adya* and *çvaḥ* at JB. 2. 389 *saṁtanayaḥ pragāthā bhavanty adya ca çvaç cai 'va saṁtatyai,* 'There are the combined strophes, for the sake of combining to-day and to-morrow'.

⌈ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

8 A. *sa ya sa ākāça āditya eva sa, etasmin hy* (mss. omit *hy*) *udite sarvam idam ākāçate,* 'This space is (identical with) the sun; for when that has risen this all is visible'. JUB. 1. 25. 2.

8 B. *brahmayajñena yakṣyamāṇaḥ prācyāṁ diçi grāmād achadirdarça udīcyāṁ prāgudīcyāṁ vo 'dita āditye dakṣiṇata upavīyo 'paviçya hastāv avanijya trir ācāmet,* 'He who is about to sacrifice with the Brahman-sacrifice should rinse (his mouth) thrice, after washing his hands, placing (the sacred cord) over his right (shoulder) and sitting down in the eastern quarter or in the northern or northeastern quarter, away from the village where its roofs are not visible, after the sun has risen'. TĀ. 2. 11. 1.

For *achadirdarçe* cf. § 60, Ex. 113, Rem. ⌋

9. *yad anudite* (2. 1. 2. 12 *yad udite*) *sūrye prātar juhuyāt* . . ., 'If he were to offer in the morning when the sun has not (yet) risen (when the sun has risen) . . .' TB. 2. 1. 2. 7; 2. 1. 2. 12.

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10. *udite sūrye prātar juhoti*, 'He offers in the morning when the sun has risen'. TB. 2. 1. 2. 7; 8.

11. *tad udite sūrye 'juhot*, 'He offered it when the sun had risen'. TB. 2. 1. 2. 8.

12. *yasyai 'vaṁviduṣa udite sūrye 'gnihotraṁ juhvati* . . ., 'If they offer the Agnihotra for one who knows thus when the sun has risen . . .' TB. 2. 1. 2. 8.

13. *yad udite sūrya* [*agnim*] *ādadhītā 'gneyād varṇād iyād, yad anudita aindrād, anudite 'para ādheya udite pūrvaḥ*, 'If he were to set up (the fire) when the sun has risen he would depart from the colour which belongs to Agni; if (on the other hand he were to set it up) when (the sun) has not (yet) risen (he would depart from the colour) which belongs to Indra; the second (fire) should be set up when (the sun) has not (yet) risen, the first (fire) when (it) has risen'. K. 8. 3 (p. 86, 4).

14. *ya udite sūrya* [*agnim*] *ādhatte* . . ., 'He who sets up (the fire) when the sun has risen . . . K. 8. 3 (p. 86, 6; 7; and 9).

The parallel passage MS. 1. 6. 10 (p. 102, 1—2) expresses the same idea by *na purā sūryasyo 'detoḥ* and *udyatsu raçmiṣu* (cf. below, § 61, Ex. 16). The phrase *purā sūryasyo 'detoḥ* as equivalent for *anudite sūrye* is also used at K. 8. 3 (p. 86, 2); MS. 4. 5. 2 (p. 65, 10) and 4. 5. 3 (p. 67, 9); at ÇB. 13. 8. 3. 2 *purā 'dityasyo 'dayāt* is used, and the abbreviation *puro 'dayāt* is found at JB. 1. 5 and 6 (cf. below, § 59, Ex. 172 and 173), twice in a Çloka at AB. 5. 30. 6 and 5. 31. 6, at KB. 2. 9 (cf. below, § 60, Ex. 204), and at ÇB. 3. 2. 2. 26.

15. *no 'dite sūrya āçvinam anuçasyam*, 'The Āçvina-Çastra should not be recited after the sun has risen'. JB. 1. 212. 3 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 165).

16. *anudite sūrye paridadhyāt*, 'He should pronounce the final stanza when the sun has not (yet) risen'. JB. 1. 213. 9 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 166).

17. *ardhodite sūrya āhavanīyam ādadhāti*, 'When the sun has half risen he sets up the Āhavanīya-fire'. TB. 1. 1. 4. 3.

18. *uditeṣu nakṣatreṣu* . . . *vācaṁ visṛjati*, 'When the constellations have risen . . . he releases speech'. TS. 6. 1. 4. 4.

The same idea is expressed at TS. 6. 1. 4. 3 by *na purā nakṣatrebhyaḥ* and at ÇB. 3. 2. 2. 5; K. 23. 5 (p. 80. 5); MS. 3. 6. 9 (p. 72, 4) by *nakṣatraṁ dṛṣṭvā*;

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the opposite idea: 'when the constellations have not yet risen' is expressed at TS. 6. 1. 4. 3 by *purā nakṣatrebhyaḥ*.

Apart from TS. 6. 1. 4. 3 (bis) *vācaṁ visṛjet*; 4 *vācaṁ visṛjati*; TB. 2. 2. 6. 4 (bis) *vācaṁ visṛjet* and *vācaṁ visṛjati*; and MS. 3. 6. 8 (p. 71, 11) *yad vācaṁ visṛjed yajñaṁ visṛjet*, the √ *sṛj* + *vi* with *vācam* is always used in the middle voice, thus, ÇB. 1. 1. 4. 8; 11; 2. 4. 1. 6; 12; 3. 2. 2. 4 (bis); 8 (bis); 26 (bis); 6. 7. 4. 14; 7. 2. 2. 1; 7. 3. 1. 4; 9. 2. 1. 1; 13. 4. 1. 10; TS. 6. 4. 11. 3; TB. 3. 2. 3. 8; 3. 2. 5. 7; 3. 2. 8. 7; K. 23. 5 (p. 80, 5); 27. 9 (bis, p. 149, 4 and 6); 31. 4 (p. 5, 9); MS. 3. 6. 9 (ter, p. 72, 5 and 6); 3. 8. 2 (bis, p. 93, 14 and 15); 4. 1. 6 (p. 8, 5—6); 4. 6. 4 (quater, p. 83, 14; 15 and 17); AB. 1. 28. 14; 15; 2. 21. 1; 2 (bis); 3; 4; 5. 24. 8 (bis); 9 (bis); 10; 11; 12; 13; 15; 16; 8. 9. 5; 7; 8; KB. 10. 5 (p. 47, 20); 11. 8 (p. 52, 19); 27. 6 (bis, p. 133, 10—11); PB. 7. 6. 3; 20. 14. 2 (bis); 4; 7 (bis).

ÇB. 6. 6. 4. 1 and 2 vary between the active and the middle voice, the former reading *tasminn [yajamāne] apahatapāpman vācaṁ visṛjate* while the latter, in the same context, has *visṛjati*.

In Ex. 19—51 the stereotyped phrase *(an)udite sūrye* or *āditye* is abbreviated by the omission of the noun.

19. *ubhau hai 'vā 'sya tathā 'nudita āhitau bhavataḥ*, 'Both (fires) are thus set up by him before (the sun) has risen'. ÇB. 2. 1. 4. 8.

20. *sa ya udita āhavanīyaṁ manthet* . . ., 'If one were to churn the Āhavanīya-fire when (the sun) has not (yet) risen . . .' ÇB. 2. 1. 4. 8.

21. *anudite [agnim] mathitvā* . . ., 'Having churned (the fire) when (the sun) has not yet risen'. . . . ÇB. 2. 1. 4. 8.

22. *tam [agnim] udite prāñcam uddharanti*, 'They carry this (fire) eastward when (the sun) has risen'. ÇB. 2. 1. 4. 8 (bis).

23. *yo 'nudite manthati* . . .; *yaḥ* . . . *udite manthati* . . ., 'He who churns (the fire) when (the sun) has not (yet) risen . . .; he who churns (it) when (the sun) has risen . . .' ÇB. 2. 1. 4. 9.

24. *prātar anudite dve āhutī juhoti*, 'In the morning when (the sun) has not (yet) risen he offers two oblations'. ÇB. 2. 3. 3. 9.

25. *yat prātar anudite juhoti* . . ., 'When he offers in the morning before (the sun) has risen . . . ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 2; 5; 9; 12.

26. *tām udite vācaṁ visṛjate*, 'He releases this speech when (the sun) has risen'. ÇB. 3. 2. 2. 26.

27. *tayor udite 'nyataraṁ juhoty anudite 'nyataram*, 'Of these two (libations) he offers the one when (the sun) has risen, the other one when (the sun) has not (yet) risen'. ÇB. 4. 1. 2. 11; 12.

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28. *tayor vā udite 'nyam anudite 'nyaṁ juhvati*, 'Of these two (libations) they offer the one when (the sun) has risen, the other one when (the sun) has not yet risen'. KB. 12. 4 (p. 55. 3).

29. *yad v evo 'dite 'nyam anudite 'nyaṁ juhvati* . . . 'In that they offer one (libation) when (the sun) has risen, the other (libation) when (the sun) has not (yet) risen . . .'. KB. 12. 4 (p. 55, 4).

30. *prāṇāpānā(v) upāñçvantaryāmāv, udite 'nyaṁ juhvaty anudite 'nyam*, . . ., *tad yad udite 'nyaṁ juhvaty anudite 'nyaṁ: bahis santaṁ prāṇam upajīvāmā 'ntas santam apānam ity, atha ya etāv* (var. lect. *etā*) *udite juhvati prāṇāpānāv utkhidanti*, 'The Upāñçu-cup and the Antaryāma-cup are (identical with) the in-breathing and the out-breathing; they offer the one when (the sun) has risen, the other one when (the sun) has not (yet) risen (thinking): "May we live upon in-breathing which is without (and) upon out-breathing which is within"; but those who offer both these (cups) when (the sun) has risen tear out both the in-breathing and the out-breathing'. JB. 2. 37 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 134).

31. *yad upāñçvantaryāmāv udite 'nyaṁ juhvaty anudite 'nyam* . . ., 'In that they offer the Upāñçu-cup and the Antaryāma-cup, the one when (the sun) has risen, the other one when (the sun) has not (yet) risen . . .' JB. 2. 38 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 135).

32. *tam* [*graham*] *udite juhoti*, 'He offers this (libation) when (the sun) has risen'. ÇB. 4. 1. 2. 14.

33. *tasmād udite hotavyam*, 'Therefore the offering should be made when (the sun) has risen'. AB. 5. 29. 4; 5; 8; 5. 30. 4; 15; 5. 31. 2; 3; 4.

34. *nai 'naṁ satyānṛte udite hiṅsataḥ*, 'Truth and Untruth do not harm him when (the sun) has risen'. TB. 1. 7. 5. 3; 1. 7. 10. 5.

35. *uṣase svāhā vyuṣṭyai svāho 'deṣyate svāho 'dyate svāhe* (TS. 7. 2. 20. 1) *'ty anudite juhoty, uditāya svāhā suvargāya svāhā lokāya svāhe* (TS. 7. 2. 20. 1) *'ty udite juhoti*, '(With the formula): "To the Dawn hail, to Dawning hail, to Him who is about to rise hail, to Him who is rising hail!" he offers when (the sun) has not (yet) risen; (with the formula): "To Him who hath risen hail, to Heaven hail, to the World hail!" he offers when (the sun) has risen'. TB. 3. 8. 16. 4.

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36. *udite hotavyā3m anudita iti mīmāṅsante*, 'They are in doubt whether the offering should be made when (the sun) has risen or when (the sun) has not (yet) risen'. KB. 2. 9 (p. 7, 17).

One would expect *anuditā3 iti* with Pluti, cf. e. g. K. 8. 12 (p. 95, 15) *ādheyo 'gnī3r nā 'dheyā3 iti mīmāṅsante*; but cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 553, 4—10.

37. *tasmād anudite hotavyam*, 'Therefore the offering should be made when (the sun) has not (yet) risen'. KB. 2. 9 (p. 7, 19).

38. *sa ya udite juhoti . . .; yo 'nudite juhoti . . .*, 'He who offers when (the sun) has risen . . .; he who offers when (the sun) has not (yet) risen . . .' KB. 2. 9 (p. 7, 17).

39. *atha yasyai 'tā(v) ubhā(v) udite juhvaty ubhau vā anudita udakayājī sa na somayājī*, 'Now he for whom they offer both these (libations) when (the sun) has risen or both when (the sun) has not (yet) risen is a water-sacrificer, not a Soma-sacrificer'. KB. 12. 4. (p. 55, 6).

40. *etad vā agnihotram anyedyur hūyate yad astamite sāyaṁ juhoty anudite prātar, athai 'tad agnihotram ubhayedyur hūyate yad astamite sāyaṁ juhoty udite prātaḥ*, 'In that he offers after (the sun) has set, in the evening, and when (the sun) has not (yet) risen, in the morning, in that manner the Agnihotra is offered on the next day; but in that he offers after (the sun) has set, in the evening, (and) after (the sun) has risen, in the morning, in that manner the Agnihotra is offered on both days'. AB. 5. 29. 3.

41. *sa yadā dvau saṁvatsarāv anudite juhoti . . .*, 'If one offers (the Agnihotra) for the space of two years when (the sun) has not (yet) risen . . .' AB. 5. 29. 5.

42. *ya evaṁ vidvān udite juhoti . . .*, 'If one knowing thus offers (the Agnihotra) when (the sun) has risen . . .' AB. 5. 29. 5; 7; 5. 30. 4; 15; 5. 31. 2; 3; 4.

43. *ya udite juhoti . . .*, 'If one offers (the Agnihotra) when (the sun) has risen . . .' AB. 5. 29. 5.

44. *yo 'stamite sāyaṁ juhoty udite prātaḥ . . .* 'He who offers (the Agnihotra) when (the sun) has set, in the evening, (and) when (the sun) has risen, in the morning . . .' AB. 5. 29. 6; 5. 31. 4.

45. *sa yo 'nudite juhoti . . .*, 'He who offers (the Agnihotra) when (the sun) has not (yet) risen . . .' AB. 5. 30. 1; 5. 31. 1; 2.

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46. *atha ya udite juhoti . . .*, 'But he who offers (the Agnihotra) when (the sun) has risen . . .' AB. 5. 29. 5; 5. 30. 1; 5. 31. 1; 2.

47. *te ye naktaṁ juhvati rātrim eva te samudraṁ praviçanty, atha ya udite juhvaty ahar eva te samudraṁ praviçanti*, 'Those who offer (the Agnihotra) at night enter the ocean Night, but those who offer (it) when (the sun) has risen enter the ocean Day.' JB. 1. 5 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 5).

48. *te ye naktaṁ juhvati rātrim eva te çyāmaṁ praviçanty, atha ya udite juhvaty ahar eva te çabalaṁ praviçanti*, 'Those who offer (the Agnihotra) at night enter Night, the Dusky One; but those who offer (it) when (the sun) has risen enter Day, the Spotted One'. JB. 1. 6 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 5).

For *çyāma* and *çabala* cf. Bloomfield, JAOS. 15, p. 166.

49. *udite paridadhyāt*, 'He should pronounce the concluding stanza when (the sun) has risen'. JB. 1. 213. 11 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 166).

50. *tad dhai 'ka udita evā 'jyagrahān gṛhṇanty udite prātaranuvākam upākurvanti*, 'Now some draw the butter-libations when (the sun) has risen, (and) when (the sun) has risen they make preparations for (= begin) the morning-litany'. JB. 2. 37.

51. *ghnantam evai 'naṁ sūryo 'bhyudiyāya, tasyo 'dite sa eva gandharvaḥ prajaghāna*, 'Over this (Yavakrī) as he was slaying (the cows) the sun rose; when (the sun) had risen this same Gandharva smote him'. JB. 2. 2 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 191).

For the genitive with √ *han* + *pra* cf. in JB. the preceding *sa evā 'sya prajaghāna*, and TB. 3. 8. 4. 1 *çunaç caturakṣasya prahanti*, 'He smites the four-eyed dog', cited by Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 161, 9.

Summary: *(an)udita āditye* occurs in ÇB., PB., and AB.; *(an)udite sūrye* occurs in TB., K., and JB. (and TB. has once *ardhodite sūrye*); the abbreviated *(an)udite* occurs in ÇB., TB., AB., and KB.

Γ Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

51 A. *ya evaṁ vidvān mahārātra uṣasy udite vrajaṅs tiṣṭhann āsīnaḥ çayāno 'raṇye grāme vā yāvattarasaṁ svādhāyam adhīte sarvān lokāñ jayati*, 'He who at the end of the night, at dawn, when (the sun) has risen, wandering, standing, sitting, lying, in

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the forest or in the village, devotes himself with all possible energy to (Vedic) study wins all the worlds'. TĀ. 2. 15.

In spite of the double accent, *yắvattarásam* here and at TB. 3. 12. 5. 3 must be taken as an Avyayībhāva-compound (Whitney § 1313, c), cf. MS. 1. 10. 3 (148, 21) *yắvattarasám* (the corresponding *yāvattarasam* at K. 36. 3, p. 70, 14 occurs in an unaccented passage). The commentary to TĀ. glosses it by *yāvadbalam, yathāçakti*; the commentary to TB. by *yāvadbalam, uccadhvaninā*.

51 B. *ya evā 'syo 'dite svargo lokas tasminn evai 'naṁ dadhāti*, 'What heavenly world there is of him when (the sun) has risen, in that he places him.' JUB. 4. 10. 12.

51 C. *yat prathamodite sa prastāvaḥ*, '(The time) immediately after (the sun) has risen is (identical with) the Prastāva'. Chānd. Up. 2. 9. 3.

For the compound *prathamodita* cf. § 59, Ex. 181, Rem.
For the hypostatized locative absolute cf. § 59, Ex. 8, Rem.

51 D. *ādityo nivit, tasmād bahvṛcā udita nividam adhīyante*, 'The Nivid is (identical with) the Sun; therefore students of the Rigveda study the Nivid when (the sun) has risen'. JUB. 3. 4. 2.

The wholly anomalons *adhīyante* should be emended to *adhīyate*. ⌋

< √ *i* + *pari* — *ava* >

52. *saṁvatsare paryavete dīkṣā*, 'At the expiration of a year the consecration (takes place)'. ÇB. 13. 4. 4. 1.

Contrast the paratactical construction ÇB. 12. 3. 3. 1 *teṣāṁ pañca çatāni saṁvatsarāṇāṁ paryavetāny āsur athe 'daṁ sarvam eva çaçrāva*, 'Five hundred of these years had passed, then this whole (universe) was exhausted'.

< √ *i* + *pari* — *ā* >

53. *yat saṁvatsare paryete 'gnim ādhatte prajātam* (Schroeder's emend. for *prajāta*) *evai 'nam ādhatte*, 'In that he sets up the fire at the expiration of a year he sets it up full-born'. K. 7. 15 (p. 79, 5); GB. 1. 2. 15 (p. 48, 12 where the Bibl. Indica with the mss. erroneously reads *ye* for *yat* < Gaastra emends *ye* to *yaḥ* >, and the mss. have *prajāpatir* with the var. lect. *prajatir* for *prajātam* which reading Gaastra correctly restores).

54. *agnaye vaiçvānarāyo dvādaçakapālaṁ nirvapet saṁvatsare paryete*, 'He offers a cake on twelve potsherds to Agni Vaiçvānara at the expiration of a year'. K. 10. 3 (p. 182, 18).

55. *prājāpatyaṁ sarvarūpaṁ daçamam ālabheta saṁvatsare paryete*, 'He takes (for slaughter) the tenth (victim) having all colours and

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being sacred to Prajāpati at the expiration of a year'. K. 13. 7 (p. 188, 16).

The parallel passage TS. 2. 1. 4. 2 expresses the same idea by *saṁvatsarasya parastāt prājāpatyaṁ kadrum ālabheta*, 'At the end of a year he should take (for slaughter) a reddish-brown victim sacred to Prajāpati'; cf. TS. 1. 5. 7. 3 *saṁvatsarasya parastād agnipāvamānībhir upatiṣṭhate*; 2. 5. 4. 5, *saṁvatsarasya parastād agnaye vratapataye puroḍāçam aṣṭākapālaṁ nirvapet*; ÇB. 10. 6. 5. 8 *taṁ saṁvatsarasya parastād ātmana ālabhata*; AB. 2. 33. 5 *sa [prajāpatiḥ] saṁvatsarasya parastād vyāharad dvādaçakṛtvaḥ*. MS. 1. 6. 11 (p. 103, 11) expresses the idea 'at the expiration of a year' by *na purā saṁvatsarād dhavīṅṣi nirvapet* 'He should not offer the oblations before the year (has expired)'. And cf. below § 60, Ex. 4, Rem.

56. *dvitīye saṁvatsare paryeta āgneyam aṣṭākapālaṁ nirvapet*, 'At the expiration the second year he should offer (a cake) on eight potsherds sacred to Agni'. K. 22. 3 (p. 58, 22).

57. *tṛtīye saṁvatsare paryete 'bhijitā yajeta*, 'At the expiration of the third year he should sacrifice with the Abhijit-offering'. K. 22. 3 (p. 59, 1).

The parallel passage to Ex. 56 and 57, TS. 5. 6. 5. 1 has *dvitīye saṁvatsara āgneyam aṣṭākapālaṁ nirvapet, . . ., tṛtīye saṁvatsare 'bhijitā yajeta* with the simple locatives *dvitīye* and *tṛtīye saṁvatsare* = 'at the end of the second (or 'third') year', cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 76, p. 117, 3 – 24, and under **"Locative of Time"**.

< √ *i* + *pra* >

58. *teṣu [asureṣu] preteṣu prāyaṇīyaṁ [devāḥ] niravapan* (21. *ātithyaṁ havir niravapan*; 22. *upasado 'tanvata*; 24. *prātaḥ prātaḥsavanam atanvata*; 25. *mādhyandinaṁ savanam atanvata*; 26. *savanīyena paçunā 'caran*; 27. *tṛtīyasavanam atanvata*), 'These (Asuras) having gone away, (the gods) made the initial offering (also 'spread the guest offering'; 'performed the Upasads'; 'performed the morning pressing in the morning'; 'performed the noon pressing'; 'proceeded with the animal offering pertaining to the Soma-sacrifice'; 'performed the third pressing')'. ÇB. 9. 5. 1. 19—22; 24—27.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

58 A. *sa ho 'ccaiççravāḥ kaupayeyo 'smāl lokāt preyāya, tasmin ha prete keçī dārbhyo 'raṇye mṛgayāṁ cacāra*, 'This Uccaiḥçravas Kaupayeya departed from this world; when he had departed Keçin Dārbhya went hunting in a forest'. JUB. 3. 29. 2. ⌋

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< √ *i* + *sam* — *ā* >

59. *atha paçukāmas sāyaṁ paçuṣu sameteṣv agnihotraṁ juhuyād, brahma vā agnihotraṁ, brahmaṇai 'va tat paçūn parigṛhṇāti*, 'He who is desirous of cattle should offer the Agnihotra in the evening when the cattle have come together; the Agnihotra namely is (identical with) the Brahman; with the Brahman he thus encloses the cattle'. JB. 1. 5.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

< √ 1 *ūh* + *adhi* >

59 A. *nā 'dhyūḻhe meghe*, '(One should) not (study) when a cloud has risen up'. AĀ. 5. 3. 3 (p. 159, 6 Keith).

The style is Sūtra like. The verb must be supplied from the preceding *athā 'taḥ svādhyāyadharmaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*; cf. below § 60, Ex. 99 A. ⌋

< √ *kram* + *apa* >

60. *te devā vācy apakrāntāyāṁ tūṣṇīṁ grahān agṛhṇata*, 'Speech having departed, these gods drew the cups in silence'. TS. 6. 4. 11.

Contrast the paratactical constructions like TS. 2. 2. 8. 3 *etāni hi vā etasmād apakrāntāny athai 'ṣa hatamanāḥ svayaṁpāpaḥ*, 'For these (viz. vigour, wrath, mind) have departed from him <= for when these have departed from him>, then his mind is gone, he is in a bad plight'; 2. 3. 3. 4 *reto hi vā etasmād vājinam apakrāmaty athai 'ṣa klaibyād bibhāya*, 'For <= for when> seed (and virile) strength depart from him, then he fears impotence'; 2. 3. 13. 2 *payo hi vā etasmād apakrāmaty athai 'ṣa pāpmanā gṛhītaḥ*, 'For <= for when> the milk departs from him, then he is seized by evil'.

< √ *kram* + *ud* >

61. *yathai 'va tat prajāpatir utkrānte prāṇa utkrānte vīrye srute 'nne rikto 'çayad etad asya tad rūpam*, 'As Prajāpati, when breath had departed, when vigour had departed, when food had flown away, lay there emptied, so was then his form'. ÇB. 7. 1. 2. 9.

62. *prajāpateḥ* (10. 6. 5. 6 *tat* instead of *prajāpateḥ*) *prāṇeṣū 'tkrānteṣu çarīraṁ çvayitum adhriyata*, 'When the breaths had departed Prajāpati's (and 'this') body began to swell'. ÇB. 10. 6. 5. 6; 13. 4. 4. 6.

63. *tasminn* [*prāṇe*] *utkrānte* [*prajāpatiḥ*] *'padyata*, 'When this (breath) had departed he (Prajāpati) fell down'. ÇB. 7. 1. 2. 1; 7. 4. 2. 11.

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64. *tasminn* [*prāṇe*] *enam* [*prajāpatim*] *utkrānte devā ajahuḥ*, 'When this (breath) had departed the gods forsook him (Prajāpati). ÇB. 6. 1. 2. 12.

65. *tasyām* [*tanvām*] *enam* [*prajāpatim*] *utkrāntāyāṁ devā ajahuḥ*, 'When this (body) had departed the gods forsook him (Prajāpati)'. ÇB. 7. 4. 1. 16.

66. *yasmin va utkrānta idaṁ çarīraṁ pāpīyo manyate sa vo vasiṣṭhaḥ*, 'That (sense-organ) after whose departure this body considers itself worse off, that among you is the best'. ÇB. 14. 9. 2. 7 (= BĀU. 6. 2. 7 Mādhy. = 6. 1. 7 Kāṇv.).

⌈ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

66 A. *yasmin va utkrānte çarīraṁ pāpiṣṭhataram iva dṛçyeta* (Çāñkh. Ār. *pāpiṣṭham iva manyeta*) *sa vaḥ* (Çāñkh. Ār. *vai*) *çreṣṭhaḥ*, 'That (sense-organ) among you is the best after whose departure the body may appear (may consider itself) worse (worst) off'. Chānd. Up. 5. 1. 7; Çāñkh. Ār. 9. 2 (p. 316, 10 in Keith's ed. of the Ait. Ār.).

66 B. *tā* [*çriyaḥ*] *abruvan*: *hantā 'smāc charīrād utkrāmāma, tad yasmin na utkrānta idaṁ çarīraṁ patsyati tad ukthaṁ bhaviṣyatī 'ti, . . ., prāṇa utkrānte 'padyata*, 'These (delights = the sense organs) said: "Come, let us depart from this body; then that one of us after whose departure this body will fall will be the Uktha"; . . .; when breath had departed (the body) fell'. AĀ. 2. 1. 4 (p. 103, 10 and 14 Keith). ⌋

< √ *kram* + *sam* >

67. *anaddhā vai saṁkrāntayor yadī 'taro ve 'taram abhibhavatī 'taro ve 'taram*, ÇB. 1. 6. 3. 33.

The case-form of *saṁkrāntayoḥ* is ambiguous; see above § 50, Ex. 28.

< √ *kṣī* 'fail' >

68. *tasmin* [*candramasi*] *kṣīṇe dadāti, . . ., atha yad akṣīṇe dadyāt . . .*, 'He makes the offering when this (moon) is not visible; . . .; if he were to make the offering when (the moon) is visible . . .' ÇB. 2. 4. 2. 7.

69. *yad akṣīṇa eva pūrvasminn anne 'thā 'param annam āgacchati*, 'When, while the old food is (still) unexhausted, new food comes . . .' ÇB. 1. 6. 4. 14.

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, a.

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< √ *gam* + *anu*, 'go out', of the fire. >

70. *yad evā 'syā 'tra kāmānāṁ vyavachidyate 'gnāv anugate* . . .', 'What (part) of his desires is then cut off when the fire has gone out . . .'. ÇB. 6. 6. 4. 11.

71. *ye evā 'gnāv anugate [prāyāçcittī] tasyo 'kto bandhuḥ*, 'As to the two (expiations which are prescribed) when the fire has gone out,—the explanation of this has been (previously) given'. ÇB. 6. 8. 2. 11.

72. *yasyā 'havanīye 'nanugate gārhapatyo 'nugacchet* . . ., 'If one's Gārhapatya-fire were to go while the Āhavanīya fire has not gone out . . .' ÇB. 12. 4. 3. 6.

Cf. the parallel passage JB. 1. 61. 3, below, § 60, Ex. 239.

< √ *gam* + *ā* >

73. *tasmād uṣasy āgatāyām aruṇam ivai 'va prabhāti*, 'Therefore when the dawn has come a ruddish (colour) so to speak shines forth'. AB. 4. 9. 2.

74. *havir ātithyaṁ nirupyate some rājany āgate*, 'The guest-offering is spread when King Soma has arrived'. AB. 1. 15. 1.

75. *agniṁ manthanti some rājany āgate*, 'They churn the fire when King Soma has arrived'. AB. 1. 15. 6.

76. *tad yathai 'vā 'do manuṣyarāja āgate 'nyasmin vā 'rhaty ukṣāṇaṁ vā vehataṁ vā kṣadante* . . ., 'Just as in ordinary life they carve up an ox or a cow which casts her calf when a human king or other worthy has arrived . . .' AB. 1. 15. 6.

77. *sa [indraḥ] u ha mādhyandine savana ājagāma, te ho 'tkrodaṁ cakrire yathā çreṣṭhiny āgata utkrodaṁ kurvate tathā*, 'He (= Indra) arrived at the noon pressing; they raised (a shout of) exultation, just as they raise (a shout of) exultation when a superior has arrived'. JB. 2. 152 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 172).

According to Whitney's transcript both mss. agree in reading *utkrodam* in the clause *utkrodaṁ kurvate*, as they do in the clause *utkrodam eva tat kurvate* which occurs a little later in the same chapter; but in the clause *te 'ho 'tkrodaṁ cakrire* one ms. reads *utkroçam* while the other ms. originally had *utkrodam* which is corrected afterwards by the insertion of the syllable *ça* between *utkro* and *dam* without deleting the syllable *da*. The reading *utkrodam* is supported by TS. 7. 5. 9. 2 (ter) *utkrodaṁ kurvate*, and by the adjective *utkrodin* MS. 2. 5. 9 (p. 59, 17).

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78. *sa ho 'vāca: çraddhā mā 'vidad, ṛtvijo me hvayantv iti, tasmai ha kurupañcālān ṛtvija ūhus, teṣu hā 'gateṣu çailano bibhayāṁ cakāra,* 'He said: "Faith hath found me; let them summon priests for me"; they brought him Kurupancāla priests; when these had arrived Çailana was afraid'. JB. 1. 245.

79. *vadanti grāvāṇo vadanty aulūkhalā manthanty āçiram, indra vā etat* (var. lect. *etam*) *agrā āgate ghoṣam akurvata,* 'The grinding-stones resound, the (noises) connected with the mortar resound, they churn the Soma-milk; for when Indra had first arrived they thus made a noise'. MS. 4. 6. 8 (p. 91, 18).

Vadanti grāvāṇo vadanty aulūkhalāḥ is a Mantra reminiscence, HG. 2. 14. 4; MG. 2. 8. 4 *ulūkhalā grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata*; ĀpMB. 2. 20. 34 *aulūkhalā grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata*; SMB. 2. 2. 13 *aulūkhalāḥ saṁpravadanti*; ÇB. 4. 3. 3. 19; KÇ. 10. 3. 11 *aulūkhalān udvadayata*; AV. 3. 10. 5 *vānaspatyā grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata.*

80. *ā mā rājasya prasavo jagamyād* (VS. 9. 19) *iti* [*ratheṣu*] *punar āgateṣu juhoti,* 'When (the chariots) have returned he offers with (the stanza) VS. 9. 19'. K. 14. 7 (p. 206, 19).

The parallel passage MS. 1. 11. 7 (p. 169, 5) has *ratheṣu punar āsṛteṣu* (var. lect. *āsṛjeṣu*) *juhoti*, see below, Ex. 194 and 195.

81. *yo vai yajñaṁ* (5. 5. 3. 1 *yo vā agniṁ*) *yoga āgate yunakti yuṅkte yuñjāneṣu,* 'He who yokes the sacrifice (and 'fire altar') when the yoking (time) has arrived,—he among those who yoke (really) yokes (it)'. TS. 1. 6. 8. 4; 5. 5. 3. 1.

The PW. compares AV. 19. 13. 1 = SV. 2. 1219 *tau yokṣye* (SV. *yuñjīta*) *prathamau yoga āgate,* 'Them will I first yoke when the conjuncture has arrived' (Whitney, and cf. his note).

82. *yo ha vā* (MS. *yo vā*) *agniṁ yoga āgate na yunakti* (MS. *yuṅkte*) *na yuñjāneṣu yuṅkte,* 'He who does not yoke the fire-altar when the yoking (time) has arrived,—he among those who yoke, does not (really) yoke (it)'. K. 22. 6 (p. 61, 19); MS. 3. 4. 5 (p. 50, 6).

83. *agnim evai 'tad* (MS. *agniṁ vā etad*) *yoga* (MS. *yogā*, cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 272, p. 323, 20—24) *āgate yunakti* (MS. *yuṅkte*) *yuṅkte yuñjāneṣu ya evaṁ veda* (MS. omits *ya evaṁ veda*), 'He thus yokes the fire-altar when the yoking (time) has arrived, he among those who yoke yokes (it truly) who knows thus'. K. 22. 6 (p. 61, 21); MS. 3. 4. 5 (p. 50, 7).

84. *ya ha vā* (MS. *yo vā*) *agniṁ vimoka āgate na vimuñcati* (MS. *vimuñcate*) *na vimuñcamāneṣu vimuñcate,* 'He who does not

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unyoke the fire-altar when the (time for) unyoking has arrived, —he among those who unyoke does not (really) unyoke (it)'. K. 22. 6 (p. 61, 22); MS. 3. 4. 5 (p. 50, 7).

85. *agnim evai 'tad* (MS. *agniṁ vā etad*) *vimoka āgate vimuñcati* (MS. *vimuñcate*) *vi vimuñcamāṇeṣu* (Schroeder's text in MS. *muñcamāneṣu*) *muñcate ya evaṁ veda* (MS. omits *ya evaṁ veda*), 'Thus he unyokes the fire-altar when the (time for) unyoking has arrived; he who knows thus (really) unyokes (it) among those who unyoke'. K. 22. 6 (p. 62, 2); MS. 3. 4. 5 (p. 50, 9).

86. *yathā saṁvatsaram āptvā* || *kāla āgate vijāyata evam eva saṁvatsaram āptvā kāla āgate 'gniṁ cinute*, 'As (an embryo) is born after the lapse of a year when the proper time has come, even so he piles the fire after the lapse of a year when the proper time has come'. TS. 5. 5. 1. 6—7.

For *saṁvatsaram āptvā* 'after a year has been attained' = 'after the lapse of a year' cf. below § 60, Ex. 4, Remark.

87. *yad* (MS. omits *yad*) *āgate kāle prāñcas somair uddravanti* (MS. *utkrāmanti*) *pratyañcas suropayāmaiḥ* . . . 'In that, when the proper time has come they run (and 'they proceed') to the east with the Soma-vessels (and) to the west with the Surā-vessels . . .'. K. 14. 6 (p. 205, 7); MS. 1. 11. 6 (p. 167, 14).

88. *taṁ vā etad āgate kāle sarvaṁ saṁsphītaṁ* (var. lect. *saṁsphīnam*) *yajñaṁ devatābhyo duhet*, 'Thus, when the proper time has come, he should milk this whole replete sacrifice for the divinities'. MS. 3. 6. 7 (p. 69, 17).

The past participle *-sphīta* should be added as from B. in Whitney's Roots etc. s. *sphā*, p. 197.

89. *taṁ [yajñam] kāla āgate yajate*, 'He sacrifices this (sacrifice) when the proper time has come'. TB. 3. 3. 9. 12.

90. *yad vā imām agnir ṛtāv āgate nirvartayaty etad evai 'nāṁ rūpaṁ kṛtvā nivartayati*, 'As Agni, after the (proper) season has arrived, trims this (earth) thus he trims it after this fashion (viz. by having his hair cut)'. TB. 1. 5. 6. 5.

91. *atha vasanta āgate pakveṣu veṇuyaveṣu veṇuyavān uddhartavā āha*, 'Now when spring has arrived (and) when the bamboo seed is ripe he orders it to be collected'. KB. 4. 13 (p. 17, 10).

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92. *varṣāsv āgate çyāmākasasye çyāmākān uddhartavā āha*, 'In the rainy season, when the millet crop has come (= is ripe), he orders the millet to be collected'. KB. 4. 12 (p. 17, 3).

93. *atha vrīhisasye vā yavasasye vā 'gata āgrayaṇīyān uddhartavā āha*, 'Now when the rice crop or the barley crop has come (= is ripe) he orders the grain which is to be used for the first-fruit offering to be collected'. KB. 4. 14 (p. 17, 13).

The PW. s. *sasya*, col. 851, 10, translates *āgata* with *sasya* by 'eingeheimst'; but *āgataṁ sasyam* is not so much the 'garnered crop' as the 'ripe crop', literally 'the crop which has arrived at maturity'; cf. KB. 19. 3 (p. 85, 7) *anāgatam sasyaṁ bhavati daharakāṇy ahāni bhavanti, . . ., āgataṁ sasyaṁ bhavati mahānty ahāni bhavanti*, 'The crop has not yet arrived (= is not yet ripe), the days are short; . . .; the crop is ripe, the days are long'. *Āgataṁ sasyam* is the equivalent of **pakvaṁ sasyam*, cf. for *sasya* with √ *pac* ÇB. 11. 2. 7. 32 *tasmād yadā sasyaṁ pacyate brahmaṇvatyaḥ prajā ity āhuḥ*, 'Therefore when the crop ripens they say: "The creatures are full of the Brahman".'

The masculine agent noun *paktṛ* occurs with *sasyam* in the Yajus TS. 7. 5. 20. 1 = KAçv. 5. 17 (p. 170, 18 where the cod. Ch. corruptly reads *panthā* for *paktā*): *jajñi bījaṁ, varṣṭā parjanyaḥ, paktā sasyaṁ, supippalā oṣadhayaḥ* etc., '(May) the corn (be) germinant (Whitney, Gr. § 1155, e), Parjanya a rainer, the crop a ripener, the plants fruitful, etc.' <As TB. 2. 7. 16. 4 *varṣantu parjanyāḥ, supippalā oṣadhayo bhavantu* shows the substantive verb *bhava(n)tu* must be supplied in the TS. Yajus with *jajñi, varṣṭā, paktā, supippalāḥ*. — For the masculine *paktā* (instead of the neuter *paktṛ*, Whitney, Gr. § 375, b) cf. the stereotyped masculines in the third person of the periphrastic future (Whitney, Gr. § 944) ÇB. 4. 3. 1. 11 *atha çvo 'har bhavitā*; JUB. 1. 38. 3 *lomaçānī 'va teṣāṁ çmaçāni bhavitāraḥ*; JB. 1. 247 *na hai 'va tāvad daivāsuraṁ bhavitā* (see below, § 61, Ex. 10); JB. 2. 429 *ahaḥ . . . bhavitā* (see below, § 59, Ex. 155). — With *varṣṭā* in the TS. Yajus contrast the periphrastic future *vraṣṭā*, MS. 2. 1. 8, below, § 59, Ex. 231, Remark, in fine.>

94. *sākṣād eva tad dīkṣāyām āgatāyāṁ dīkṣate*, 'When the (time for the) consecration has come he straightway consecrates himself'. AB. 4. 26. 3.

95. *tasmād yaṁ sattriyā dīkṣo 'panamed etayor eva çaiçirayor māsayor āgatayor dīkṣeta; . . .; tasmād etayor eva çairirayor māsayor āgatayor ye cai 'va grāmyāḥ paçavo ye cā 'raṇyā aṇimānam eva tat paruṣimāṇaṁ niyanti*, 'Therefore if the consecration which is connected with a sacrificial session should (be desired to) lean toward (= be favourable to) a (sacrificer) he should consecrate

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himself when the two months of the cool season have arrived;...; therefore when the two months of the cool season have arrived both the domestic and the wild animals suffer from leanness and lack of sleekness'. AB. 4. 26. 3.

95 A. *e'mā agman revatīr jīvadhanyā ity āgatāsu*, '(He recites) RV. 10. 30. 14 when (the waters) have come'. KB. 12. 2 (p. 53, 19).

< √ *gam* + *pari* — *ā* >

96. *saṁvatsare paryāgata etābhir* [*vyāhṛtibhiḥ*] *evo 'pasādayet*, . . ., *saṁvatsare paryāgata etābhir evā 'sādayet*, 'After the year is completed he should perform the Upasads with these (sacred utterances); . . .; after the year is completed he should deposit (the oblations) with these (sacred utterances)'. TS. 1. 6. 10. 3.

< √ *jan* >

97. *vaiçvānaraṁ dvādaçakapālaṁ nirvapet putre jāte*, . . ., *yasmiñ jāta etām iṣṭiṁ nirvapati pūtaḥ* ‖ *eva tejasvy annāda indriyāvī paçumān bhavati*, 'When a son has been born he should offer (a cake) on twelve potsherds sacred to Vaiçvānara; . . .; he after whose birth he offers this oblation becomes pure, brilliant, an eater of food, possessed of vigour, (and) rich in cattle'. TS. 2. 2. 5. 3–4.

98. *tasmād yajñayajñīyasya stotre varaṁ dadyād yathā putre jāte varaṁ dadati tathā*, 'Therefore he should grant a boon at the Stotra of the Yajñayajñīya-Sāman, just as they grant a boon when a son has been born'. JB. 1. 297 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 122).

99. [*putre*] *jāte 'gnim upasamādhāya . . . juhoti*, 'When (the son) has been born, having piled up the fire . . . he offers (the oblation)'. ÇB. 14. 9. 4. 23 (= BAU. 6. 4. 23 Mādhy. = 24 Kāṇv.).

< √ *tṛ* (*tṝ*) + *pra* >

100. *yathā pratīrṇāyām āgacchet sa vihīyeta*, 'Just as if he were to arrive when the (ferry) has crossed over he would be left'. ÇB. 2. 3. 3. 16.

< √ *tṛp* >

101. *vāk tena tṛpyati, vāci tṛptāyām agnis tṛpyaty, agnau tṛpte pṛthivī tṛpyati, pṛthivyāṁ tṛptāyāṁ yāni pṛthivyāṁ bhūtāny anvāyattāni tāni tṛpyanti*, . . ., *prāṇas tena tṛpyati, prāṇe tṛpte vāyus tṛpyati, vāyau tṛpte 'ntarikṣaṁ tṛpyaty, antarikse tṛpte yāny antarikṣe bhūtāny anvāyattāni tāni tṛpyanti*, . . ., *cakṣus tena tṛpyati, cakṣuṣi tṛpta ādityas tṛpyaty, āditye tṛpte dyaus tṛpyati, divi tṛptāyāṁ yāni*

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divi bhūtāny anvāyattāni tāni tṛpyanti, . . ., manas tena tṛpyati, manasi tṛpte candramās tṛpyati, candramasi tṛpta āpas tṛpyanty, apsu tṛptāsu yāny apsu bhūtāny anvāyattāni tāni tṛpyanti, . . ., çrotraṁ tena tṛpyati, çrotre tṛpte diçaç cā 'ntardeçāç ca tṛpyanti, dikṣu cā 'ntardeçeṣu ca tṛpteṣu yāni dikṣu cā 'ntardeçeṣu ca bhūtāny anvāyattāni tāni tṛpyanti, 'Speech (and 'breath'; 'sight'; 'mind'; 'hearing') rejoices thereat; speech (and 'breath', 'sight'; 'mind'; 'hearing') having rejoiced the fire (and 'the wind'; 'the sun'; 'the moon'; 'the quarters and the intermediate quarters') rejoices; the fire (and 'the wind'; 'the sun'; 'the moon'; 'the quarters and the intermediate quarters') having rejoiced, the earth (and 'the atmosphere'; 'the sky'; 'the waters') rejoices; the earth (and 'the atmosphere'; 'the sky'; 'the waters') having rejoiced those beings which are connected with the earth (and 'the atmosphere'; 'the sky'; 'the waters'; 'the quarters and the intermediate quarters') rejoice'. GB. 1. 3. 14 (p. 83, 3).

The construction of *anvāyatta* varies between the locative and the accusative; with the locative, as in our passage, also at ÇB. 13. 1. 2. 9 (ter); TB. 3. 8. 7. 3 (ter); ÇB. 13. 3. 5. 1; TB. 3. 9. 15. 1; Chānd. Up. 2. 9. 2 (*tasmin*); MS. 1. 4. 11 (bis, p. 59, 19 and p. 60, 1), but the parallel to the last passage TS. 1. 6. 11. 1 (bis) construes *anvāyatta* with the accusative, and so also at ÇB. 1. 6. 3. 41; 1. 7. 2. 7; 3. 1. 2. 18; 12. 7. 2. 19; 14. 5. 2. 3 (= BĀU. 2. 2. 3 Mādhy. = 2 Kāṇv.); 14. 6. 8. 9 (= BĀU. 3. 8. 9); PB. 6. 3. 14 (bis); KB. 12. 6 (p. 56, 5); GB. 1. 3. 19 (p. 89, 3); JB. 1. 276 (Caland, p. 107) *tāni [stotrāṇi] devā anvāyattāḥ, . . . tāni prajā anvāyattāḥ*; JB. 2. 27 in a Çloka *māṁ sarve devā anvāyattāḥ* and in the prose explanation of it *evaṁvidaṁ ha vāva sarve devā anvāyattāḥ*; JUB. 3. 17. 7; Chānd. Up. 1. 10. 9–11; 1. 11. 4–9; 2. 9. 2–8; 3. 16. 1; 3; 5. The same variation appears in the construction of the causative *anvāyātayati* which takes the accusative and locative at ÇB. 13. 1. 2. 9; TB. 3. 8. 7. 3, but two accusative at ÇB. 3. 4. 1. 23; KB. 24. 5 (p. 109, 24).

102. *etasya vāci tṛptāyām agnis tṛpyati, prāṇe tṛpte vāyus tṛpyati, cakṣuṣi tṛpta ādityas tṛpyati, manasi tṛpte candramās tṛpyati, çrotre tṛpte diçaç cā 'ntardeçāç ca tṛpyanti, sneheṣu tṛpteṣv āpas tṛpyanti, lomeṣu tṛpteṣv oṣadhivanaspatayas tṛpyanti, çarīre tṛpte pṛthivī tṛpyati*, 'When his speech has rejoiced Agni rejoices, when (his) breath has rejoiced Vāyu rejoices, when (his) eye has rejoiced Āditya rejoices, when (his) mind has rejoiced the Moon rejoices, when (his) hearing has rejoiced the Quarters and the Intermediate Quarters rejoice, when (his) fat has rejoiced the Waters rejoice,

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when (his) hair has rejoiced Plants and Trees rejoice, when (his) body has rejoiced the Earth rejoices'. GB. 1. 2. 22 (p. 60, 8).

< √ *dru* + *ud* >

103. *yat prācy uddrute* (the mss. *udute* and *udrute*) *yajamāno mriyeta kiṁ tatra karma kā prāyaçcittiḥ*, 'If, after (the priest) has run up to the east, the sacrificer should die, what rite is there, what expiation?' JB. 1. 57. 2 (JAOS. 23, p. 339).

< √ *dru* + *upa* 'to sing the Upadrava' >

104. *upadrute purā nidhanāt sa nārakaḥ*, '(The interval) after the Upadrava has been sung (and) before the finale that is one hell'. JB. 1. 325 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 124).

For the hypostasis of *upadrute* cf. above § 59, Ex. 8, Remark.

< √ *pac* >

105. *atha vasanta āgate pakveṣu veṇuyaveṣu veṇuyavān uddhartavā āha*, 'Now when spring has come, when the bamboo-seed is ripe, he orders the bamboo-seed to be collected'. KB. 4. 13 (p. 17, 10).

< √ *pat* >

106. *yajamāne 'dhaḥçirasi patite sa deço 'dhaḥçirāḥ patati yasminn ardhe yajante*, 'When the sacrificer has fallen headlong, that place on which spot they sacrifice falls headlong (also)'. GB. 2. 2. 15 (p. 181, 8).

⌈ Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

< √ *pad* + *pra* >

106 A. *tā* [*çriyaḥ*] *abruvan*: *hante 'daṁ punaḥ çarīraṁ praviçāma, tad yasmin naḥ prapanna idaṁ çarīram utthāsyati tad ukthaṁ bhaviṣyatī 'ti*, . . ., *prāṇe prapanna udatiṣṭhat*, 'These (delights = the sense-organs) said: "Come, let us again enter this body; then that one of us after whose entrance this body will rise up will be the Uktha"; . . .; when breath had entered this body rose up'. AĀ. 2. 1. 4 (p. 103, 18 and 104, 1 Keith).

< √ *bhid* + *sam* >

106 B. *na saṁbhinnāsu chāyāsu*, ('One should) not (study) when the shadows have met'. AĀ. 5. 3. 3 (p. 159, 5 Keith).

The style is Sūtra-like; the verb must be supplied from the preceding *athā 'taḥ svādhyāyadharmaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*; cf. above § 59, Ex. 59 A and below § 60, Ex. 99 A. ⌋

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< budh + pra >

107. *tat subandhāv aprabuddhe 'nvabudhyantā : 'hārṣṭāṁ vā asyā 'sum asuramāyāv iti*, 'Now when Subandhu did not awaken they became aware: "The two Asura illusions have snatched away his vital spirit".' JB. 3. 168 (JAOS. 18, p. 43; Caland, Auswahl, p. 261).

< bhū >

108. *te rātryāṁ bhūtāyāṁ paçūn nā 'paçyan*, 'As night had fallen they did not see the cattle'. K. 7. 10 (p. 61, 21).

109. *etaṁ sāye bhūte 'çvaṁ pariṇayanti*, 'When evening has come they lead this horse about'. ÇB. 7. 3. 2. 18.

110. *ko hi tad veda yad vasīyānt sve vaçe bhūte punar vā dadāti na vā*, 'For who knows whether the stronger will give (a thing) back or not, his pleasure (will) having become paramount'. TS. 6. 3. 2. 6.

Sve vaçe bhūte is not so much 'when his will is accomplished, when his will has come to pass' (Keith) but rather 'his will alone being paramount', cf. ÇB. 1. 3. 2. 15 *tasmād u kṣatriyasyai 'va vaçe sati vaiçyaṁ paçava upatiṣṭhante*, 'And therefore cattle are at the disposal of the Vaiçya (only) as long as it pleases the Kṣatriya'; ÇB. 1. 3. 5. 14 (where *vacaḥ* in Weber's text is a misprint for *vaçaḥ*, see the Corrections, p. 134, 13); 4. 4. 5. 19; 6. 2. 1. 39 *yāvad asya vaçaḥ syāt*, 'as far as he pleases', 'so viel er Lust hat' (Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 572, 9).

111. *devā vā asurān yudham upaprayanto 'bruvan : yan no vāmaṁ vasu tad apanidhāya yudhyāmahai, tad* (see the Remark) *adya kasmiñç cid bhūte 'bhyupadhāvāme 'ti* (see the Remark), 'The gods, as they were setting out to combat the Asuras, said: "Let us enter the combat after we have (securely) laid away that which is our dearest treasure; unto it, if anything (untoward) happens to-day, let us take recourse'. JB. 1. 138; 142 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 39 and 43).

The clause *tad adya kasmiñç cid bhūte 'bhyupadhāvāme 'ti* has been conjecturally emended. According to Caland the mss. read both at 1. 138 and 142 *yad . . . bhūte bhyavathāvāmeti*; according to Whitney's transcript they read in both places *yad . . . bhūte bhyapathāvāmeti*, with the var. lect. at 1. 142 *bhyaḥpathāvāmeti*. Caland emends the text to *'bhyavadhāvāme 'ti*, but conjectures *abhyavadadhāme 'ti* as the correct reading and renders: 'Lasset uns, bevor wir den Kampf angehen, die uns liebe Habe in Sicherheit bringen, welche wir jetzt in welches Wesen nur immer niederlegen wollen'. I have emended the *abhyapa-* (*ava?*) *thāvāma* of the mss. to *abhyupadhāvāma*, since a $\sqrt{}$ *dhāv* + *abhi — apa* (or *ava*) is not quotable, and $\sqrt{}$ *dhāv* + *abhi — upa* occurs in the similar passages

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MS. 1. 7. 2 (p. 110, 17) *devā asurair vijayam upayanto 'gnau priyās tanvas saṁnyadadhata: yan no jayeyur imā abhyupadhāvema yady u jayeme 'mā abhyupāvartemahī 'ti*, and K. 8. 15 (p. 99, 6) *devāç ca vā asurāç ca saṁyattā āsaṅs, te devā vijayam upayanto 'gnau priyās tanvas saṁnyadadhata: yadi jayeme 'mā upavartemahi yadi no jayeyur imā abhyupadhāveme 'ti* (so Schroeder's emendation, the cod. Ch. reads *abhyapathāvemeti*, the ms. D. *adyapathāvemeti*, the Kap. S. parallel *imābhyupadhāvemeti*).

For the confusion of *dh* and *th* cf Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. § 103, p. 123, and the Mantra parallels:

avithuraḥ ĀÇ. 3. 1. 17; MÇ. 5. 2. 8. 16; Kauç. 56. 3	*avidhuraḥ* ĀpÇ. 10. 27. 2. cf. on *vithura* : *vidhura*, Geldner Ved. Stud. 3, p. 66, Anm. 1.
mānthālaḥ VS. 24. 38 < MS. 3. 14. 19 (p. 176, 9) *mānthālavaḥ* according to the Pp. ms.; the Saṁhitā mss. read *mātālavaḥ*; TS. 5. 5. 18. 1 and KAçv. 7. 8 (p. 180, 15) *mānthīlavaḥ* >	*māndhālaḥ* VSK. 26. 38.
niṣaṅgathiḥ TS. 4. 5. 1. 4; MS. 2. 9. 2 (p. 122, 4, with the var. lect. of one ms. *niṣaṅgadhiḥ*); K. 17. 11 (p. 254, 21; < the Nīlar. Up. 15 reads *niṣaṅgatiḥ* >.	*niṣaṅgadhiḥ* VS. 16. 10.
āvathuḥ RV. 10. 131. 5 (see Oldenberg's note); AV. 20. 125. 5; VS. 10. 34; 20. 77; MS. 3. 11. 4 (p. 146, 3); K. 38. 9 (p. 111, 7); ÇB. 5. 5. 4. 26.	*āvadhuḥ* VSK. 11. 47,
ṛtuthā MS. 4. 12. 2 (p. 180, 2); K. 10. 12 (p. 141, 2); ĀÇ. 2. 11. 12; ÇÇ. 3. 6. 2	*ṛtudhā* TS. 2. 1. 11. 2; ĀpMB. 2. 4. 4.
viçvathā SV. 1. 219	*viçvadhā* RV. 8. 5. 1.
nāthamānām ĀpMB. 1. 11. 2	*nādhamānām* RV. 10. 183. 2; < *bādhamānām* MG. 1. 14. 16 >.
athorāmaḥ HG. 2. 7. 2	*adhorāmaḥ* ApMB. 2. 16. 2.
athā SV. 1. 433	*adhā* RV. 7. 56. 1.
adhithāḥ AV. 2. 13. 3; 19. 24. 6	*adhidhāḥ* HG. 1. 4. 3; < *adhidhā* ĀpMB. 2. 2. 8 >.
artham RV. 10. 18. 4; AV. 12. 2. 23; VS. 35. 15; ÇB. 13. 8. 4. 12.	*ardham* TB. 3. 7. 11. 3; ĀpÇ. 9. 12. 4; ĀpMB. 2. 22. 4.

The words *kasmiṅç cid bhūte* which Caland construes as conjunct locative ('in welches Wesen nur immer') I have taken as absolute locative in the sense of 'if anything whatsoever (= anything untoward, any mishap) should have taken place', an euphemistic expression parallel to the *yadi no jayeyuḥ* of MS. and K., cf. the

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somewhat similar euphemistic phrase *anyatarām upāgāt* at JUB. 3. 8. 2. But I do not feel at all certain about the correctness of this interpretation; I am not able to parallel the use of an oblique neuter case of the pronoun *ka* without supporting noun.

< √ *bhū* with the adverbs *divā* and *çvaḥ* >

112. *amuṁ [sūryam] vā ayaṁ [agniḥ] divā bhūte praviçati, tasmād asau divā rocata, imām [pṛthivīm] asau naktaṁ, tasmād ayaṁ naktam*, 'This (Agni), when there is day, enters yonder (sun); therefore yonder (sun) shines by day; yonder (sun enters) this (earth) at night, therefore this (Agni shines) at night'. MS. 1. 5. 5 (p. 73, 11).

113. *apo vai rātrir divā bhūte praviçati, tasmād āpo divā kṛṣṇā, āpo 'har naktaṁ, tasmād āpo naktaṁ çuklāḥ*, 'When there is day, night enters the waters, therefore the waters are black by day; at night day (enters) the waters, therefore at night the waters are bright'. MS. 4. 5. 1 (p. 63, 6).

Cf. TS. 6. 4. 2. 4 *yad vai divā bhavaty apo rātriḥ praviçati, tasmāt tāmrā āpo divā dadṛçre, yan naktaṁ bhavaty apo 'haḥ praviçati, tasmāc candrā āpo naktaṁ dadṛçre*, cf. above Ex. 8, Remark, p. 157, 7.

114. *atha çvo bhūte 'numatyai havir aṣṭākapālaṁ puroḍāçaṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a cake on eight potsherds as oblation to Anumati'. ÇB. 5. 2. 3. 2.

115. *atha çvo bhūta āgnāvaiṣṇavam ekādaçakapālaṁ puroḍāçaṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a cake on eleven potsherds sacred to Agni and Viṣṇu'. ÇB. 5. 2. 3. 6.

116. *atha çvo bhūte 'gnīṣomīyam ekādaçakapālaṁ puroḍāçaṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a cake on eleven potsherds sacred to Agni and Soma'. ÇB. 5. 2. 3. 7.

117. *atha çvo bhūta aindrāgnaṁ dvādaçakapālaṁ puroḍāçaṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a cake on twelve potsherds sacred to Indra and Agni'. ÇB. 5. 2. 3. 8.

118. *atha çvo bhūte vaiçvānaraṁ dvādaçakapālaṁ puroḍāçaṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a cake on twelve potsherds sacred to (Agni) Vaiçvānara'. ÇB. 5. 2. 5. 13.

119. *atha çvo bhūte . . . bārhaspatyaṁ caruṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a pap sacred to Bṛhaspati'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 2.

120. *atha çvo bhūte . . . aindram ekādaçakapālaṁ puroḍāçaṁ nirva-*

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pati, 'Then on the following day he offers a cake on eleven potsherds sacred to Indra'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 3.

121. *atha çvo bhūte . . . ādityaṁ caruṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a pap sacred to Aditi'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 4.

122. *atha çvo bhūte . . . vāruṇaṁ yavamayaṁ caruṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a barley-pap sacred to Varuṇa'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 5.

123. *atha çvo bhūte . . . mārutaṁ saptakapālaṁ puroḍāçaṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a cake on seven potsherds sacred to the Maruts'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 6.

124. *atha çvo bhūte . . . sāvitraṁ dvādaçakapālaṁ vā 'ṣṭākapālaṁ vā puroḍāçaṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a cake on twelve potsherds or on eight potsherds sacred to Savitṛ'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 7.

125. *atha çvo bhūte . . . āçvinaṁ dvikapālaṁ puroḍāçaṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a cake on two potsherds sacred to the Açvins'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 8.

126. *atha çvo bhūte . . . pauṣṇaṁ caruṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a pap sacred to Pūṣan'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 9.

127. *atha çvo bhūte . . . raudraṁ gāvedhukaṁ caruṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a pap of Gavedhuka seeds sacred to Rudra'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 10.

128. *atha çvo bhūte . . . adhvana ājyaṁ juhoti*, 'Then on the following day he offers clarified butter to the Road'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 11.

129. *atha çvo bhūte . . . nairṛtaṁ caruṁ nirvapati*, 'Then on the following day he offers a pap sacred to Nirṛti'. ÇB. 5. 3. 1. 13.

130. *atha çvo bhūte dvitīye 'hann evam evai 'tāsu sāvitrīṣv iṣṭiṣu saṁsthitāsv eṣai 'vā 'vṛt*, 'Then on the following day, (viz.) on the second day, when these oblations sacred to Savitṛ have been thus completed there is this same course of procedure'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 6.

131. *na tā [dakṣiṇāḥ] it sadyo 'nyasmā atidiçen : ned yan me 'daṁ yaça āgaṅs tat sadyo 'nyasmā atidiçānī 'ti, çvo vai 'va bhūte dvyahe vā*, 'He should not assign these (gift-cows) to another (person) on the same day (considering): "Lest I assign on the same day to another (person) that glory which hath come to me"; nor (should he do so) on the following day nor on the day after that'. ÇB. 14. 1. 1. 32.

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132. *sa enāḥ* (1. 6. 7. 2 reads *tāḥ* for *sa enāḥ*) [*devatāḥ*] *çvo bhūte yajate*, 'He sacrifices to these (divinities) on the following day'. TS. 1. 6. 7. 1; 2.

133. *çvo bhūte havir nirvapet*, 'On the following day he should offer an oblation'. TS. 2. 4. 10. 1.

134. *tāḥ* [*devatāḥ*] *çvo bhūte 'bhiyajate*, 'To these (divinities) he sacrifices on the following day'. MS. 1. 4. 5 (p. 52, 13); K. 31. 15 (p. 17, 9).

135. *tān* [*devān*] *çvo bhūte 'bhiyajate*, 'To these (gods) he sacrifices on the following day'. MS. 3. 8. 7 (p. 105, 9).

136. *sa çvo bhūte devatā abhiyajate*, 'On the following day he sacrifices to the divinities'. MS. 1. 4. 5 (p. 52, 11).

137. *tasya çvo bhūte* [*devatāḥ*] *yajñam āgacchanti*, 'To his sacrifice (the divinities) come on the following day'. K. 31. 15 (p. 17, 6); GB. 2. 2. 24 (p. 189, 13).

138. *te* [*devāḥ*] *vai çvo bhūte vṛtraṁ haniṣyantā upāvasan*, 'These (gods), intending to slay Vṛtra on the following day, fasted'. MS. 1. 10. 5 (p. 154, 9).

The parallel K. 36. 9 (p. 76, 3), omitting *bhūte*, reads *te çvo vṛtraṁ haniṣyanta upāvasan*.

139. *sa vai çvo bhūte vṛtraṁ hantum upaplāyata*, 'He went up on the following day in order to slay Vṛtra'. MS. 1. 10. 16 (p. 155, 15).

The parallel K. 36. 10 (p. 77, 4), omitting *bhūte*, reads: *sa çvo vṛtraṁ hantum upaplāyata* (Schroeder's emend. for *upaplāvayāta*).

For *pla* instead of *pra* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 193, a, p. 220, 30.

140. *tau vai tatrai 'va çvo bhūte . . . agnaye surabhimate 'ṣṭākapālaṁ niravapatām*, 'These two on the following day offered there (a cake) on eight potsherds to Agni the Fragrant'. MS. 2. 1. 3 (p. 4, 6).

141. *sa çvo bhūta āgneyam aṣṭākapālaṁ nirvapet*, 'On the following day he should offer (a cake) on eight potsherds sacred to Agni'. MS. 2. 3. 5 (p. 32, 5).

The parallel K. 11. 8 (p. 154, 3), omitting *bhūte*, reads: *āgneyam aṣṭākapālaṁ çvo nirvapet*.

142. *sa çvo bhūte vatsaṁ vāyavā ālabheta*, 'On the following day he should take (for slaughter) a calf for Vāyu'. MS. 2. 5. 4 (p. 52, 18).

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The parallel K. 13. 7 (p. 188, 22), omitting *bhūte*, reads *vāyavyaṁ vatsaṁ çva ālabheta.*

The variation between the dative (*vāyave*, MS.) and the adjective (*vāyavyam*, K.) is discussed under "Dative".

143. *çvo bhūta ādityebhyo bhuvadvadbhyo ghṛte caruḥ*, 'On the following day (there is) a pap in ghee for the Ādityas who bestow prosperity'. MS. 2. 6. 1 (p. 64, 9); 4. 3. 1 (p. 39, 15).

144. *çvo bhūte 'gnāvaiṣṇava ekādaçakapālaḥ*, 'On the following day (there is a cake) on eleven potsherds sacred to Agni and Viṣṇu'. MS. 2. 6. 1 (p. 64, 9); 4. 3. 1 (p. 39, 19).

145. *çvo bhūte 'gnīṣomīyā ekādaçakapālaḥ*, 'On the following day (there is a cake) on eleven potsherds sacred to Agni and Soma'. MS. 2. 6. 1 (p. 64, 10); 4. 3. 1 (p. 40, 5).

146. *çvo bhūta aindrāgna ekādaçakapālaḥ*, 'On the following day (there is a cake) on eleven potsherds sacred to Indra and Agni'. MS. 2. 6. 1 (p. 64, 11); 4. 3. 1 (p. 40, 8).

147. *çvo bhūta āgneyo 'ṣṭākapālaḥ*, 'On the following day (there is a cake) on eight potsherds sacred to Agni'. MS. 2. 6. 1 (p. 64, 12); 4. 3. 1 (p. 40, 13).

148. *tāṁ* [*vācam*] *çvo bhūte maitrāvaruṇa ṛtvigbhyo vibhajati*, 'On the following day the Maitrāvaruṇa-priest distributes this (speech) among the priests'. MS. 3. 6. 8 (p. 71, 3).

The parallel passage K. 23. 4 (p. 79, 12), reading *çaçvat* instead of *çvo bhūte*, has: *tāṁ çaçvad ṛtvigbhyo vibhajati.*

Cf. TS. 6. 1. 4. 2 *maitrāvaruṇo hi purastād ṛtvigbhyo vācaṁ vibhajati, tām ṛtvijo yajamāne pratiṣṭhāpayanti.*

149. *tam āgneyaṁ çvo bhūte paçum ālabhanta*, 'On the following day they took (for slaughter) this victim sacred to Agni'. MS. 3. 6. 10 (p. 74, 10).

150. *çvo bhūta ādityaṁ* [*graham*] *gṛhṇīran*, 'On the following day they should draw the Āditya-cup'. MS. 4. 8. 10 (p. 119, 15).

151. *sāvitraṁ pūrvedyuḥ paçum ālabhante; . . .; prājāpatyaṁ çvo bhūta ālabhante*, 'On the preceding day they take (for slaughter) a victim sacred to Savitṛ; . . .; on the following day they take (for slaughter a victim) sacred to Prajāpati'. JB. 2. 371 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 207).

152. *çvo ha bhūte gā anviyāya*, 'On the following day he went after the cows'. JB. 2. 276 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 194).

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153. *tam īṁ* (the ms. *ĭṁ*) *hinvanty agruva* (the ms. *abruva*) (RV. 9. 1. 8) *iti çvo* (the ms. *çco*) *bhūte pratipadaṁ kurvīran*, 'On the following day they should use RV. 9. 1. 8 as introductory stanza'. JB. 2. 394 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 211).

154. *yad evā 'dyā 'har utsṛjeraṅs tac chvo* (the ms. *taç co*) *bhūte pratisaṁkhyāyo* (the ms. *pratisaṁvyāyo*) *'paprastuyuḥ* (the ms. *praprastuyuḥ*), 'The day (i. e. the verses belonging to the day's rite) which they may (happen to) omit to-day they should count off together and sing as additional Stotras on the following day'. JB. 2. 394 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 211).

Caland renders: 'Das Ritual des Tages, das man an éinem Tage hat ausfallen lassen, soll man zum folgenden Tage hinzunehmen und an diesem die ausgefallenen Stotras abhalten'.

upaprastuyuḥ is Caland's plausible conjecture; but √ *stu* + *upa -pra* does not appear to occur elsewhere.

For √ *sṛj* + *ud* with *ahaḥ* cf. TS. 7. 5. 6. 1 (quater); 2 (ter); 3 (bis); 4 (bis); 7. 5. 7. 1; 2 (bis); K. 33. 7 (ter, p. 32, 15—17).

155. *ahaç çvo bhūte bhavitā* 'To-morrow there will be day'. JB. 2. 4. 31 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 229).

According to Whitney's transcript the ms. reads here: *aha çvo bhavitā* without *bhūte*.

For the masculine *bhavitā* cf. above § 59, Ex. 93, Rem.

156. *tau [açvinau] tvai 'tad evā 'gatya çvo vaktārau, . . . iti*; *tau hai 'nāṁ [sukanyām] çvo bhūta etyai 'tad evo 'catuḥ*, '"These two (Açvins), coming, will tell thee the same to morrow; . . ." On the following day these two (Açvins) coming to her (= Sukanyā) told her the same'. JB. 3. 124 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 252).

157. *svareṇa çvo bhūte pratipadyante*, 'On the following day they recite the introductory stanza with tone'. JB. 3. 172.

158. *çvo ha bhūte parisasratuḥ* (Caland's emendation for *parisasruḥ*), 'On the following day the two (viz. Indra and Upamā) wandered about'. JB. 3. 245 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 285).

Caland renders: 'Am anderen Morgen begegneten die beiden einander wieder'.

159. *atha yac chvo bhūte gṛhamedhīyasya niṣkāçamiçreṇa pūrṇadarvyā caranti pūrvedyuḥkarmaṇai 'vai 'tat prātaḥkarmo 'pasaṁtanvanti*, 'In that they proceed on the following day with a spoonful of the mixture of scrapings of the Gṛhamedha-sacrifice they thus connect to-day's rite with yesterday's rite'. GB. 2. 1. 23 (p. 160, 6).

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According to Gaastra *niṣkāça-*, with *ç*, is here the reading of all the mss.; the Bibl. Ind. ed. prints *niṣkāsa-*, with *s*, and this spelling is found at AB. 1. 11. 7 and in the passages quoted from TS. and TB. in the PW. The correct spelling (cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 238, 12—13) *niṣkāṣa*, with *ṣ*, is found at K. 9. 5 (p. 107, 19); 36. 9 (p. 76, 16); 36. 7 (p. 75, 6); 23. 9 (p. 86, 1); MS. 1. 10. 15 (p. 155, 6); 3. 7. 2 (p. 76, 13). For the confusion of the sibilants *s*, *ṣ*, and *ç* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 197, 2, p. 226; and cf. the play between *Çarva* and *sarva* at KB. 6. 3 (p. 23, 13—15).

The mss. readings for *pūrṇadarvyā* are *pūṇadarvyā*, *pūrṣyādarvyā*, *pūrṇādavyāṁ*, and *pūrṇādarvyā*. Gaastra emends to *pūrṇadarveṇa*, which seems to be demanded by the preceding *niṣkāçamiçreṇa*.

Summary: The phrase *çvo bhūte* is common in MS. (twenty-one times) and ÇB. (eighteen times). It occurs eight times in JB., three times in TS., and twice each in K. and GB.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

159 A. *sa ha çvo bhūte gā abhiprasthāpayāṁ cakāra*, 'On the following day he drove the cows on'. Chānd. Up. 4. 6. 1; 4. 7. 1; 4. 8. 1. ⌋

< √ *mī* + *pra* >

160. *tasmād gardabhe purā 'yuṣaḥ pramīte bibhyati*, 'Therefore (people) are afraid when an ass has prematurely died'. TS. 5. 1. 5. 7.

161. *tasmād gardabhas sarvam āyur eti, tasmād gardabhe pramīte bibhyati*, 'Therefore the ass reaches its full life-time; therefore (people) are afraid when an ass has (prematurely) died'. K. 19. 5 (p. 6, 6).

Paçau pramīte is not Absolute Locative but the Conjunct Locative at K. 27. 3 (p. 142, 5) *taṁ* [*somaṁ vāyuḥ*] *vyavāt, tasmād gandham apāhan, sa eṣa paçau* (Schroeder's emendation for *paço*) *pramīte, tasmāt tasmān nā 'pigṛhyaṁ, somasya hi sa rājño gandhaḥ*, '(Vāyu) blew through this (Soma); he drove the odour away from him; that (odour) is (now) in the dead animal, therefore one should not close (one's nose, cf. § 48, Ex. 46, Rem.) against this (odour), for it is the odour of King Soma'; cf. ÇB. 4. 1. 3. 8, *tasya* [*somasya*] *devā yāvanmātram iva gandhasyā 'pajaghnus, taṁ paçuṣv adadhuḥ, sa eṣa paçuṣu kuṇapagandhas, tasmāt kuṇapagandhān nā 'pigṛhṇīta, somasya hai 'ṣa rājño gandhaḥ*.

< √ *mruc* + *ni*[1] >

162. *yadi nimrukte sūrye vratam ālabheta* . . ., 'If he should undertake the vow after the sun has set, . . .' K. 31. 15 (p. 17, 12).

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[1] Cf. Sieg. Nachrichten d. Götting. Ges. d. Wiss. 1923, p. 21.

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163. *amnas sūrye nimrukte sāyam agnihotraṁ juhuyāt*, 'In the evening, immediately after the sun has set, he should offer the Agnihotra'. K. 6. 5 (p. 54, 4).

164. *nimrukte sūrye vāg yantavyā*, 'When the sun has set speech should be restrained'. MS. 1. 8. 4 (p. 119, 10).

< √ *vac* + *anu* 'to pronounce the Anuvākyā' >

165. *tasmān marutvate 'nūkte na deyam*, 'Therefore after the invitatory stanza to (Indra) Marutvant has been recited no gifts should be made'. K. 28. 3 (p. 155, 16).

< √ 1. *vas (uṣ)* 'shine' + *vi* >

166. *indro namucer asurasya vyuṣṭāyāṁ rātrāv anudita āditye . . . çira udavāsayat*, 'Indra cut off the head of the Asura Namuci when the night had lighted up (but) when the sun had not (yet) risen'. ÇB. 12. 7. 3. 3.

In the following instances, Ex. 167—173, the noun *rātrāu* is omitted:

167. *tasya* [*namuceḥ*] *'vyuṣṭāyām anudita āditye 'pāṁ phenena çiro 'chinat*, 'When (the night) had lighted up (but) when the sun had not (yet) risen he cut off the head of this (Namuci) with the foam of the waters'. PB. 12. 6. 8.

168. *etad vai na naktaṁ na divā yad vyuṣṭāyām anudita āditye*, 'For (the time) when (the night) has lighted up (but) when the sun has not (yet) risen is neither night-time nor day-time'. PB. 12. 6. 8.

For the hypostasis of *naktam, divā, vyuṣṭāyām*, and *anudita āditye* see above § 59, Ex. 8, Rem.

169. *vyuṣṭāyāṁ purā sūryasyo 'detor* [*agniḥ*] *ādheyaḥ*, 'When (the night) has lighted up (but) before sunrise (the fire) should be set up'. K. 8. 3 (p. 86, 2).

170. *vyuṣṭāyāṁ purā sūryasyo 'detor anubrūyāt*, 'When (the night) has lighted up (but) before sunrise he should recite the invitatory stanza'. MS. 4. 5. 3 (p. 67, 9).

171. *vyuṣṭāyāṁ prātar vṛddhān garbhān prajanayati*, 'In the morning when (the night) has lighted up he causes the (full-) grown foetuses to be born'. MS. 1. 8. 7 (p. 125, 9).

172. *tayor* [*samudrayoḥ*] *vā etayor atyayanam asti . . . astamite purā tamisrāyai suvyuṣṭāyāṁ puro 'dayāt*, 'The (place for) crossing

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these two (oceans, i. e. Day and Night) is (the time) when (the sun) has set (but) before (complete) darkness (has set in, and the time) when (the night) has well lighted up (but) before sunrise'. JB. 1. 5 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 5).

173. *tayor* [*samudrayoḥ*] *etad evā 'tyayanam* (the mss. *evătyayanam, evātyāyanam, evetyayanam*) *astamite purā tamisrāyai suvyuṣṭāyāṁ puro 'dayāt,* 'The (place for) crossing these two (oceans, i. e. Day and Night) is (the time) when (the sun) has set (but) before (complete) darkness (has set in, and the time) when (the night) has well lighted up (but) before sunrise'. JB. 1. 6 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 5).

Caland renders: 'Es gibt ein Mittel an den beiden vorbeizukommen, (indem man das Agnihotra darbringt) nachdem die Sonne untergegangen ist, vor der Finsternis, und nachdem es hell geworden ist, (aber) noch vor Sonnenaufgang'.

On the hypostasis of *astamite, suvyuṣṭāyām, purā tamisrāyai,* and *puro 'dayāt* see above § 59, Ex. 8, Rem.

174. *vyuṣite paridadhyāt,* 'He should recite the final stanza after it has dawned'. JB. 1. 213. 10 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 166).

On the strength of this passage the past participle *-uṣita* should be marked as occurring in "B." in Whitney's Roots etc. p. 155 sub √ 1 *vas, uṣ, uch* 'shine'.

Contrast with the locatives *vyuṣṭāyām, vyuṣite* in Ex. 166—174 the infinitival locative *vyuṣi* 'at dawn' in a Yajus JUB. 4. 5. 1, and in Mantra RV. 7. 81. 2 = SV. 2. 102 = TB. 3. 1. 3. 2.

< √ *vā* + *ud* 'to be blown, exhausted' >

175. *asurā vā ātmann ajuhavur udvāte 'gnau,* 'The Asuras offered the oblation in themselves, the fire having gone out'. KB. 7. 3 (p. 29, 22).

For the singular of the reflexive pronoun cf. Whitney, Gr. § 514, a; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 56, p. 95; Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax § 263, p. 198; Ved. und Sansk. Syntax § 127, p. 39. The rule is strictly observed in the Brāhmaṇa prose, thus e. g. ÇB. 3. 4. 2. 14; 3. 4. 3. 4; 4. 2. 4. 9; 4. 4. 3. 15; 6. 6. 1. 12; 8. 6. 3. 4; 9. 5. 2. 7; 12. 7. 3. 4; 13. 2. 8. 5; TS. 2. 4. 2. 2; 5. 6. 6. 1; 6. 2. 2. 3; 6. 3. 2. 1; 6. 4. 10. 2; 7. 2. 1. 3; 7. 4. 7. 2; 7. 5. 8. 5; 7. 5. 9. 2; TB. 1. 4. 6. 7; 1. 6. 3. 10; 3. 9. 6. 3 = 3. 9. 7. 5; K. 10. 10 (p. 137, 12); 34. 2 (p. 37, 9); MS. 3. 4. 7 (p. 54, 15); 3. 7. 10 (p. 90, 7); PB. 24. 13. 3; AB. 6. 20. 21; KB. 2. 8 (p. 7, 9); 7. 1 (p. 28, 12); 7. 3 (p. 29, 22); 19. 1 (p. 84, 7); 20. 2 (p. 90, 14); 20. 3 (p. 91, 12); 20. 4 (p 92, 17); 21. 2 (p. 93, 21); 21. 3 (p. 94, 16); 21. 4 (p. 95, 13); 27. 6 (p. 133, 1); GB. 1. 3. 19 (p. 88, 11—12); Chānd. Up. 2. 9. 4; 8. 8. 1.

An exception to the universal rule is found at JB. 2. 179. There (JB. 2. 178) the story is told how the Maruts appropriated the Pañcaçāradīya-sacrifice, sa-

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crificed with it, and thus became the strongest, most eminent, and most powerful among the gods: *tam* [*pañcaçāradīyam marutaḥ*] *āharaṅs, tenā 'yajanta, tato vai ta ojiṣṭhā baliṣṭhā bhūyiṣṭhā vīryavattamā devānām āsann ajayan svargaṁ lokam, ojiṣṭho baliṣṭho bhūyiṣṭho* (the ms. omits *bhūyiṣṭho*) *vīryavattamas svānāṁ bhavati jayati svargaṁ lokaṁ ya evaṁ veda.* Then (JB. 2. 179) the text continues: *vīryaṁ vai devānāṁ havis, tad ātmabhya evā* [*marutaḥ*] *'gṛhṇata, tad yan* [*pañcaçāradīyaḥ*] *marudbhya eva bhavati vīryam eva tad ātmasu dadhate,* 'The oblation is (identical with) the vigour of the gods; that they (= the Maruts) took for themselves; inasmuch as (the Pañcaçāradīya-sacrifice) is (offered) to the Maruts they (= the sacrificers) thus place vigour into their selves'. Here the reflexive *ātmabhyaḥ* appears to have been influenced by the subsequent *ātmasu* which may be nominal = 'into their selves'.

A similar instance occurs at JB. 2. 374 *sa* [*prajāpatiḥ*] *sarvaṁ bhuvanaṁ prajanayya* (the ms. *prajanya*; for the emendation cf. ÇB. 4. 3. 1. 22 and 23 *sa idaṁ sarvaṁ prajanayya* etc.) *pṛṣṭhyena* (the ms. *pṛṣṭhena*) *ṣaḍahenā 'tmann adhatta, tad yad eṣa pṛṣṭhyaṣ ṣaḍaho bhavati sarvam eva vai tena bhuvanaṁ prajanayyā* (the ms. *prajanya*, as above) *'tmasu dadhate,* 'He (= Prajāpati) having produced the whole creation put it into himself by means of the Pṛṣṭhya Ṣaḍaha; inasmuch as a Pṛṣṭhya Ṣaḍaha is (celebrated), they (= the sacrificers) having thereby produced the whole creation place it into their selves'.

In a third passage, AB. 6. 4. 6 (cited by Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 56. p. 95, 34), *ātman* has not reflexive but nominal force but the variation between singular and plural is odd. There the story is told of how the gods protected the sacrifice in various places against the successive attacks of the Asuras and Rakṣases: Mitra and Varuṇa repulsed them at the right, Indra in the middle, Indra and Agni at the left, Agni in front (AB. 6. 4. 1—4). Thereupon the Asuras and Rakṣases make a final attack in the rear. Then the text continues: *te devāḥ pratibudhya viçvān devān ātmānaṁ paçcāt tṛtīyasavane paryauhaṅs, te viçvair eva devair ātmabhiḥ paçcāt tṛtīyasavane 'surarakṣāṅsy apāghnata, tathai 'vai 'tad yajamānā viçvair eva devair ātmabhiḥ paçcāt tṛtīyasavane 'surarakṣāṅsy apaghnate,* 'These gods, perceiving it (viz. the rear attack of the Asuras and Rakṣases) put the All Gods, as their selves, around (as a defense) in the rear at the third pressing; with the All Gods, as their selves, in the rear they smote away the Asuras and Rakṣases at the third pressing; even so do the sacrificers with the All Gods as their selves in the rear smite away the Asuras and Rakṣases at the third pressing'. It is clear that the second *ātmabhiḥ* cannot be the reflexive pronoun but is the noun *ātman* in apposition: With the (help of the) All Gods, with (the help of) their (i. e. the gods') selves (and not by their own effort or by themselves) do the sacrificers smite away the Asuras and Rakṣases. The same is true for the first *ātmabhiḥ* and the singular *ātmānam* which precedes it. The Commentary glosses: *ātmānam iti, viçveṣāṁ devānāṁ viçeṣeṇa ye prerakā devās teṣām ātmabhūtān svaçīravad atyantam āptān viçvān devān ity arthas, tair viçvair devair itaradevātmabhūtair asurāṇāṁ tṛtīyasavane 'pahatvād idaṁ tṛtīyasavanaṁ vaiçvadevam*; both *ātmānam* and *ātmabhiḥ* are

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nouns and refer to the self or selves of the All Gods. The close juxtaposition of the singular and plural is here so odd that one is strongly tempted to correct either the singular *ātmānam* to the plural *ātmanaḥ* or the plural *ātmabhiḥ* to the singular *ātmanā*, cf. for the latter MS. 3. 7. 10 (p. 90, 7) *tad yad evaṁvidvāṅsaḥ samavamr̥çanti bhavanty ātmanā* and the instances of the singular noun *ātman* where a plural would be expected given toward the end of this Remark.

For the plural *ātmabhiḥ* = 'by our selves, by their selves' cf. JUB.1. 58. 8—9 *te* [*devāḥ*] *'bruvan: . . . ātmabhir evai 'nad* [*retaḥ*] *vikaravāmahā iti, tad ātmabhir eva vyakurvata*, 'These (gods) said: ". . . Let us divide this (seed) by our selves"; they then divided it by their selves'.

In a fourth passage, MS. 4. 1. 9 (p. 12, 6); K. 31. 7 (p. 9, 3) and TB. 3. 2. 8. 11, the variation between the singular *ātmanaḥ* in MS. and K. and the plural *ātmabhyaḥ* in TS. is not quite clear. The longer version in TB. is as follows: *devā vai havir bhr̥tvā 'bruvan: kasminn idaṁ mrakṣyāmaha iti, so 'gnir abravīn: mayi tanūḥ saṁnidadhvam, ahaṁ vas taṁ janayiṣyāmi yasmin mrakṣyadhva iti, te devā agnau tanūḥ saṁnyadadhata* (read so for *sanyad-* of the Bibl. Ind.), *tasmād āhur: agniḥ sarvā devatā iti, so 'ṅgāreṇā 'po 'bhyapātayat, tata ekato 'jāyata, sa dvitīyam abhyapātayat, tato dvito 'jāyata, sa tr̥tīyam abhyapātayat, tatas trito 'jāyata, yad adbhyo 'jāyanta tad āpyānām*[1] *āpyatvaṁ, yad ātmabhyo 'jāyanta tad ātmyānām ātmyatvaṁ, te devā āpyeṣv amr̥janta . . .*, 'The gods, after they had carried[2] the Havis said: "On whom shall we wipe this off?" Agni said: "Deposit your bodies together in me; I shall produce one for you on whom ye shall wipe (it) off". The gods deposited their bodies together in Agni. Therefore they say: "Agni is (equivalent to) all the gods". He threw a coal at the waters; thence Ekata was born. He threw a second time; thence Dvita was born. He threw a third time; thence Trita was born. Because they were born from the waters that is the reason why the Āpyas are called so; (and) because they were born from the selves (of the gods) that is the reason why the Ātmyas are called so. The gods wiped (it) off on the Āpyas . . .' The shorter version in MS. and K. is as follows: *te vai* (K. omits *vai*) *devās taṁ* (Schroeder's text reads in K. *tan* which should be corrected to *taṁ*; cf. immediately below, both in MS. and K. *ahaṁ vas taṁ janayiṣyāmi*) *nā 'vindan* (K. *'vindanta*) *yasmin yajñasya krūraṁ mārkṣyāmahā*[3] (K. *-hā*) *iti, so 'gnir abravīd: ahaṁ vas taṁ janayiṣyāmi yasmin yajñasya krūraṁ mārkṣyadhvā*[3] (K. *-dhvā*) *iti, so 'po 'ṅgā-*

[1] Āpya instead of Āptya as at ÇB. 13. 4. 2. 16; KB. 22. 9 (p. 102, 7).

[2] The √ *bhr̥* with *havis* is not found elsewhere in the Brāhmaṇa prose; with *havyam* it occurs at KB. 3. 2 (p. 9, 16); ÇB. 1. 5. 1. 8; TS. 2. 5. 9. 1 with reference to Agni who bears the oblation to the gods; *havīṅṣi haranti* occurs at ÇB. 3. 8. 2. 20; 3. 8. 3. 10. Caland on ĀpÇ. 1. 25. 5 renders: 'Als die Götter das Havis herangebracht hatten'. and notes: 'Jedenfalls hatten die Götter durch die Zubereitung des Havis eine Schuld auf sich geladen, ebenso wie derjenige tut, der den Soma auspreßt'.

[3] MS. *krūramārkṣyāmahā* and *krūramārkṣyadhvā* stand of course for *krūraṁ mārkṣy-*. For the *ār* of *mārkṣya-* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. I, p. 67, 3—4,

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renā 'bhyapātayat, tata ekato 'jāyata, dvitīyaṁ, tato dvitas, tṛtīyaṁ, tatas trito, yad adbhyo 'dhi niramimīta tad āpeyānām (Kap. S. *āpyeyānām*) *āpeyatvaṁ* (Kap. S. *āpyeyatvaṁ*), *yad ātmano 'dhi niramimīta tad ātmeyānām ātmeyatvam* (so also Kap. S.; K., transposing the order of the last two clauses. reads: *yad ātmano niramimīta tad ātmīyānām ātmīyatvaṁ, yad adbhyo niramimīta tad āpīyānām āpīyatvam*), 'The gods found no one on whom they should wipe off that of the sacrifice which is cruel. Agni said: "I shall produce one for you on whom ye shall wipe off that of the sacrifice which is cruel". He threw a coal at the waters; thence Ekata was born. (He did so) a second time; thence Dvita (was born). (He did so) a third time; thence Trita (was born). Because he fashioned (them) from the waters that is the reason why the Āpeyas [Āpyeyas, Āpīyas] are called so; (and) because he fashioned them from the self ('his own self'? or 'their i.e. the gods' selves'?) that is the reason why the Ātmeyas [Ātmīyas] are called so'. Assuming that the K. and MS. versions knew the story in substantially the same form in which it is reported in TB. and merely omit, for brevity's sake, the fact that the gods deposited their forms *(tanūḥ)* in Agni out of which *(ātmabhyaḥ)* he fashioned Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, the *ātmanaḥ* of K. and MS. may be regarded as parallel to the *ātmabhyaḥ* of TB. But taken by themselves K. and MS. may mean that Agni fashioned the three out of his own self.

It is noteworthy that elsewhere too *ātman* with clearly nominal character shows a tendency toward the singular where a plural would be expected. Thus, while AV. 3. 15. 7 *sa naḥ prajāsv ātmasu goṣu prāṇeṣu jāgṛhi*, 'Watch over our offspring, (our) selves, (our) kine, (and our) breaths'; AV. 11. 5. 22 *pṛthak sarve prājāpatyāḥ prāṇān ātmasu bibhrati*, 'All the descendants of Prajāpati carry severally (their) breaths in (their) selves; AV. 19. 48. 5; K. 37. 10 (p. 91, 9) *paçūn ye sarvān rakṣanti* (K. *rakṣatha*) *te na ātmasu jāgrati* (K. *jāgṛta*), 'They who [Ye who] defend all cattle they [do ye] watch over our selves'; and prose passages like ÇB. 2. 6. 2. 16 *athai 'tān yajamāno 'ñjalau samopya | ūrdhvān udasyati yathā gaur no 'dāpnuyāt, tad ātmabhya eva tac chalpān nirmimate*, 'Then the sacrificer, taking these (remains of the cakes) into (his) joined palms, throws them upward so that a cow may not reach them; they (= the sacrificer and the priests) thus cut out (Rudra's) darts from (their) selves'; MS. 2. 1. 11 (p. 13, 3); K. 10. 5 (p. 130, 3) *vāmadevaç ca vai kusitāyī* (K. *kusidāyī*) *cā 'tmanor ājim ayātām*, 'Vamadeva and Kusitāyī staked (their) selves on a race', show the plural and dual respectively, the Yajus TS. 4. 2. 4. 1 = K. 7. 12 (p. 73, 19) = TB. 1. 2. 1. 17 *saṁ*[1] *yā vaḥ priyāḥ tanuvaḥ* (K. *tanvaḥ*), *saṁ priyā hṛdayāni vaḥ, ātmā vo astu saṁ priyaḥ*, 'United (literally: 'together') be your dear forms, united be your dear hearts, united be your dear self', and the prose passage K. 33. 8 (p. 34, 16) *te pañcaviñçaṁ stomam upayanti puruṣastomaṁ, daça hastyā añgulayo daça padyā, dvau*

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§ 60, b, γ. TB. has the normal *mrakṣya-* like *srakṣya-* from √ *sṛj*, Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. I, p. 213, § 190, c; Whitney § 936, c.

[1] *Sam* should be taken and accented as a separate word throughout the Yajus; cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. 13, p. 60.

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bāhū, dve sakthyā(v), ātmā pañcaviñço, yad etaṁ stomam upayanti svād eva tat stomāt sattriṇa ātmānaṁ prajanayanti, bhūtyai, 'They undertake the twenty-five-fold Stoma, the man-stoma; there are ten fingers on the hands (and) ten (toes) on the feet, two arms, two thighs, the self is the twenty-fifth; in that those who celebrate a Sattra undertake this Stoma, (they do so) for the sake of (obtaining prosperous) existence, (for) out of its own Stoma they produce (their) self', have the singulars *ātmā* and *ātmānam* where plurals would be expected.

Such singulars, however, are not confined to *ātman* (where the boundary line between nominal and pronominal use is often hard to draw); they occur also e.g. with *prāṇa* and *hṛdaya*, *hṛd*; thus, K. 7. 12 (p. 73, 17—18) has *saṁsṛṣṭaḥ prāṇo astu vaḥ* (= TB. 1. 2. 1. 17) and *saṁ vaḥ sṛjāmi hṛdayam* (TB. 1. 2. 1. 17 reads here the plural *hṛdayāni*) along with *saṁsṛṣṭās tanvas santu naḥ*; RV. 1. 177. 1 has *hṛdā paçyanti . . . vipaçcitaḥ*, but AV. 9. 1. 1 *hṛdbhiḥ prajāḥ prati nandanti sarvāḥ*. And similar variations between singular and plural occur also in the case of concrete nouns, thus, e.g., TS. 2. 5. 6. 3 *sākṣād eva devānām āsye juhoti*, but ÇB. 5. 1. 1. 1; 11. 1. 8. 1 *asurāḥ . . . sveṣv evā 'syeṣu juhvataç ceruḥ*. The whole question deserves a fuller treatment than is possible on the basis of the material at present at my disposal.

The dual *ātmānau* at ÇB. 2. 5. 2. 43 *ubhāv ātmānā upaspṛçete*, 'They both touch themselves', must be construed as nominative, cf. *sarve* at ÇB. 3. 1. 2. 3 *tad dhai 'ke sarva eva vapante*, 'Now some shave themselves all over'; see below § 60, Ex. 159, Remark, H, init.

176. *yasyā 'havanīye 'nudvāte gārhapatya udvāyet* . . ., 'If anyone's Gārhapatya-fire should go out while the Āhavanīya-fire has not gone out . . .' TB. 1. 4. 4. 6.

< √ *viç* + *ni* >

177. *niviṣṭe mṛtā patnī naṣṭā vā 'gnihotraṁ katham agnihotraṁ juhoti*, AB. 7. 10. 2.

The passage is discussed above § 27, Ex. 2, p. 46.

< √ *viç* + *sam* — *upa* >

178. *samupaviṣṭeṣv adhvaryuḥ sampreṣyati*, 'When (the priests) have seated themselves the Adhvaryu-priest calls upon (the Hotṛ-priest)'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 2.

Γ Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

< *vṛt* >

178 A. *atha māsi-māsy āmāvāsyāyāṁ vṛttāyāṁ paçcāc candramasaṁ dṛçyamānam upatiṣṭheta*, 'Then every month, the night of the new moon having come, he should worship the moon when it is seen in the west'. ÇĀ. 4. 8; KUB. 2. 8.

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Çaṅkarānanda's recension omitted *vṛttāyām*, but he notes its occurence in the other recension (Bibl. Ind. p. 50, 3). In the next paragraph all texts have only *paurṇamāsyām* 'on the night of the full moon' without participle. ⌋

< √ *çam* >

179. *çānte 'gnau kiṁjyotir evā 'yaṁ puruṣaḥ*, 'When the fire is extinguished, of what light is this man possessed?' ÇB. 14. 7. 1. 5; 6 (= BĀU. 4. 3. 5; 6).

180. *çāntāyāṁ vāci kiṁjyotir evā 'yaṁ puruṣaḥ*, 'When speech is hushed, of what light is this man possessed?' ÇB. 14. 7. 1. 6 (= BĀU. 4. 3. 6).

< √ *çam + ava* >

181. *prathamāvaçānteṣv aṅgāreṣv etaṁ soṣṇīṣaṁ garbham ādatte*, 'Immediately after the coals have been extinguished he takes the embryo together with the cloth'. ÇB. 4. 5. 2. 17.

For the compound *prathamāvaçānta* 'just extinguished' cf. ÇB. 2. 2. 4. 15 *prathamadugdha* 'just milked'; Chānd. Up. 2. 9. 3 *prathamodita* 'just risen'; JUB. 3. 14. 8 *prathamanirbhiṇṇa* 'just split open'; Chānd. Up. 2. 9. 8; ÇÇ. 2. 7. 1; KÇ. 4. 15. 12 *prathamāstamita* 'just set'; Nir. 7. 23 (Roth, p. 122, 18 = Bibl. Ind. 7. 6. 7, vol. III, p. 409, 16) *prathamasamāvṛtta* 'having just turned toward'. Synonymous with *prathamāstamite* is ĀpÇ. 6. 4. 6 (pw., 5 Nachträge, p. 244, col. 2) *amnarastamite.*

< √ *çam + vi — ava* >

182. *yad aṅgāreṣu vyavaçānteṣu lelāya vī 'va bhāti tad devānām āsyam*, MS. 1. 8. 6 (p. 123, 12).

The passage is discussed above § 57, Ex. 6, p. 149.

< √ *sad* >

183. *sa vai* (also *tad yat* and, in 4, *yad v eva* and *tasmāt*) *sanne 'chāvāka ṛtugrahaiç carati*, 'He (= the Adhvaryu-priest) proceeds with the season-cups when the Achāvāka-priest has taken his seat'. ÇB. 4. 3. 1. 3—4 (quater).

184. *tasya prātaḥsavane sanneṣu nārāçaṅseṣv ekādaça dakṣiṇa vyādiçati*, 'When, at his morning pressing, the Nārāçaṅsa-cups have been set down he assigns eleven gift-cows (to the priests)'. PB. 17. 11. 2.

Cf. below, Ex. 186.

185. *aṣṭāv aṣṭāviṅçatiçatamānāni prātaḥsavane sanneṣu nārāçaṅseṣu* [*dadāti*] . . ., *dvātriṅçatam aṣṭāviṅçatiçatamānāni tṛtīye savane sanneṣu*

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nārāçaṅseṣu [*dadāti*], 'At the morning pressing, when the Nārāçaṅsa-cups have been set down, (he gives as fee) eight (gold pieces) weighing twenty-eight Çatamānas; . . .; at the third pressing, when the Nārāçaṅsa-cups have been set down, (he gives as fee) thirty-two (gold pieces) weighing twenty-eight Çatamānas'. PB. 18. 3. 2.

186. *tasya prātaḥsavane sanneṣu nārāçaṅseṣv ekādaça dakṣiṇā nīyanta, ekādaça mādhyandine savane sanneṣu nārāçaṅseṣv, ekādaça tṛtīyasavane sanneṣu nārāçaṅseṣu*, 'At his morning pressing, when the Nārāçaṅsa-cups have been set down, eleven gift-cows are led up; eleven at the midday pressing, when the Nārāçaṅsa-cups have been set down; eleven at the third pressing, when the Nārāçaṅsa-cups have been set down'. TB. 2. 7. 1. 3.

Cf. above, Ex. 184.

187. *yathā sanneṣu nārāçaṅseṣu dadāty evam eṣa dadāti*, 'He gives (the fee) even as he gives (the fee) when the Nārāçaṅsa-cups have been set down'. K. 6. 6 (p. 55, 17).

Schroeder here reads *yathāsanneṣu* = *yathā āsanneṣu*, and Simon in his Index lists the participle under √ *sad* + *ā*, but the passages quoted above (Ex. 184—186) show that *yathā sanneṣu* should be read.

188. *marutvatīyayoḥ sannayor dakṣiṇā dīyante*, 'When the two Marutvatīya-cups have been set down the gift-cows are given'. MS. 4. 6. 8 (p. 91, 2).

189. *āgmann āpa uçatīr barhir e 'dam* (RV. 10. 30. 15) *iti sannāsu* [*vasatīvarīṣv ekadhānāsu cā 'nvāha*], '(He recites the verse) RV. 10. 30. 15 when (the Vasatīvarī and the Ekadhānā waters) have been set down'. AB. 2. 20. 7.

< √ *sad* + *ā* >

190. *çyeno na yoniṁ sadanaṁ dhiyā kṛtam* (RV. 9. 71. 6) *ity* [*some*] *āsanne* [*anvāha*], 'He recites (the verse) RV. 9. 71. 6 when (the Soma) has been placed (on the Sadas)'. AB. 1. 30. 21.

191. *ya āhitāgnir āsanneṣu haviṣṣu mriyeta kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ*, 'If the Agnihotrin should die after the oblations have been placed (on the Vedi), what expiation is there?' AB. 7. 2. 3.

192. *āsanne haviṣy ātithye 'gniṁ manthanti*, 'When the guest-offering has been deposited they churn the fire'. KB. 8. 1 (p. 34, 14).

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< √ *sad* + *sam* >

193. *saṁsanneṣu chandogeṣu pravṛtahomīye āhutī juhoti*, 'When the Saman-singers have seated themselves together he offers the two oblations prescribed for the rite of the choice of the priests'. KB. 18. 5 (p. 81, 6).

< √ *sṛ* + *ā* >

194. *athai 'teṣv ājisṛteṣu ratheṣu punar āsṛteṣv eteṣāṁ dundubhīnām ekaṁ yajuṣo 'pāvaharati*, 'When these race-running chariots have returned he takes down one of these drums with a Yajus'. ÇB. 5. 1. 5. 10.

Cf. the parallel passages K. 14. 7 (p. 206, 19), above Ex. 80, and MS. 1. 11. 7 (p. 169, 5) below Ex. 195.

195. *ratheṣu punar āsṛteṣu* (var. lect. *āsṛjeṣu*) *juhoti*, 'When the chariots have returned he offers an oblation'. MS. 1. 11. 7 (p. 169, 5).

The parallel passage K. 14. 7 (p. 206, 19), omitting the noun, reads: *punar āgateṣu juhoti*, cf. above Ex. 80; and the preceding example, Ex. 194.

For the confusion of *t* and *j* cf. the Mantra parallels:

ajītim TS. 5. 7. 2. 3; PG. 3. 1. 2; BDh. 2. 6. 11. 11.
ajījim SMB. 2. 1. 10.
ṛtuthā VS. 26. 19.
ṛjudhā TB. 3. 7. 10. 3; ĀpÇ. 9. 14. 1.
vratam PB. 21. 3. 7.
vrajam ĀpÇ. 22. 17. 10.

< √ *sthā* + *ud* >

196. *sa augha utthite nāvam āpadyasai*, 'When the flood hath risen thou shalt enter the ship'. ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 4.

197. *sa augha utthite nāvam āpede*, 'When the flood had risen he entered the ship'. ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 5.

198. *indrāṇyai caruṁ nirvapet senāyām utthitāyāṁ rājño gṛhe*, 'He should offer a pap to Indrāṇī in the king's house when the army is drawn up'. K. 10. 10 (p. 136, 8).

The parallel passage MS. 2. 2. 5 (p. 19, 6) has the present participle *senāyām uttiṣṭhantyām*, cf. below § 61, Ex. 44.

199. *indrāya ce 'ndrāṇyai ca caruṁ nirvapet senāyām utthitāyāṁ rājño gṛhe*, 'He should offer a pap to Indra and Indrāṇī in the king's house when the army is drawn up'. K. 10. 10 (p. 136, 12).

Γ Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

< √ *sthā* + *nis* >

199 A. *ni(ḥ)ṣṭhite preṅkhe hotā vāṇam audumbaraṁ çatatantum ubhābhyāṁ parigṛhyo 'ttarata upohate yathā vīṇām*, 'When the swing

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has been completed the Hotṛ-priest, taking a Vāṇa (-lute) of Udumbara wood with a hundred strings in both (hands) holds it on his left (side) like a Vīṇā (-lute)'. Ait. Ār. 5. 1. 4 (p. 147, 3).

For the abbreviation of *niḥṣṭhite* to *niṣṭhite* cf. above § 50, Ex. 27, Rem., below § 60, Ex. 249 Rem., and cf. pw. s. *sthā* + *nis*.

The translation of *uttarata upohate* follows Sāyaṇa; Keith (p. 272, note 2) suggests: 'strikes it, beginning from the lower side'. ⌋

< √ *sthā* + *sam* >

200. *saṁsthite 'gniṣṭome parihṛtāsu vasatīvarīṣv adhvaryur annahomāñ juhoti*, 'When the Agniṣṭoma has been completed (and) when the Vasatīvarī water has been carried round the Adhvaryu-priest offers the food-oblations'. ÇB. 13. 5. 1. 4.

201. *tasmād agnīṣomīye saṁsthite yajamānasya gṛhe 'çitavyam*, 'Therefore, when (the sacrifice) for Agni and Soma has been completed (food) should be eaten in the sacrificer's house'. MS. 3. 7. 8 (p. 87, 6).

202. *saṁsthite hy agnyādheye 'gnihotraṁ hūyate*, 'For the Agnihotra is offered when the setting up of the fire has been completed'. KB. 18. 14 (p. 84, 3).

203. *saṁsthite 'tirātre sāṁnāyyena yajante*, 'When the Atirātra has been completed they sacrifice with the offering of sweet and sour milk'. PB. 25. 10. 3.

204. *saṁsthite daçame 'hani purā patnīsaṁyājebhya etasmin kāle saṁprasarpanti*, 'When (the rite of) the tenth day has been completed, before the Patnīsaṁyājas,—at that time they perform the Saṁprasarpaṇa'. KB. 27. 4 (p. 131, 22).

For the resumption by *etasmin kāle* cf. above § 56.

205. *atha çvo bhūte dvitīye* (7. *atha tṛtīye*; 8. *atha caturthe*; 9. *atha pañcame*; 10. *atha ṣaṣṭhe*; 11. *atha saptame*; 12. *athā 'ṣṭame*; 13. *atha navame*; 14. *atha daçame*) *'hann evam evai 'tāsu sāvitrīṣv* (7—14 *'tāsv*) *iṣṭiṣu saṁsthitāsv eṣai 'vā 'vṛt*, 'Then on the following day, viz. on the second day [Then on the third . . . tenth day] when these offerings to Savitṛ [these offerings] have been completed there is the same course of procedure'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 6—14.

206. *prajāpatinā sutyāsv evam evā 'har-ahaḥ parihṛtāsv eva vasatīvarīṣū 'davasānīyāyām antataḥ saṁsthitāyām* [*yajamānaṁ*

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saṁgāyanti], 'On the Sutyā-days (they sing of the sacrificer) along with Prajāpati, in exactly the same way, day after day, when the Vasatīvarī water has been carried round (and) when the Udavasānīyā-oblation has finally been completed'. ÇB. 13. 4. 4. 4.

207. *udayanīyāyāṁ saṁsthitāyām ekaviṅçatiṁ* (13. 6. 2. 16 *ekādaça*) *vaçā anūbandhyā ālabhate*, 'When the Udayanīyā-oblation has been completed he takes twenty-one [eleven] supplementary barren cows (for slaughter)'. ÇB. 13. 5. 4. 25; 13. 6. 2. 16.

208. *udavasānīyāyāṁ saṁsthitāyāṁ catasraḥ . . . jāyāḥ . . . dakṣiṇāṁ dadati*, 'When the Udavasānīyā-oblation has been completed they give four women as sacrificial fee'. ÇB. 13. 5. 4. 27.

209. *athai 'nam* [*yajamānam*] *udavasānīyāyāṁ saṁsthitāyāṁ punar abhiṣiñcanti*, 'When the Udavasānīyā-oblation has been completed they consecrate this (sacrificer) again'. AB. 8. 5. 2.

210. *saṁsthitāyāṁ co 'davasānīyāyāṁ maitrāvaruṇyā payasyayā yajeta*, 'When the Udavasānīyā-oblation has been completed he should sacrifice with clotted milk sacred to Mitra and Varuṇa'. KB. 19. 7 (p. 87, 2).

211. *saṁsthite goṣṭome paurṇamāsaṁ nirvapante*, 'When the Goṣṭoma has been completed they offer the full-moon offering'. PB. 25. 10. 8.

212. *sa saṁsthitayor eva darçapūrṇamāsayor athā 'mum lokam eti*, 'After the full-moon and the new-moon (sacrifices) have been completed—he then goes to yonder world'. ÇB. 11. 2. 4. 10.

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65.

213. *dīkṣaṇīyāyāṁ saṁsthitāyāṁ sāyaṁ vāci visṛṣṭāyāṁ vīṇāgaṇagina upasametā bhavanti*, 'When the initiation offering has been completed (and) when, in the evening, speech has been released master lute-players are assembled'. ÇB. 13. 4. 4. 2.

214. *saṁsthiteṣu patnīsaṁyājeṣu* [*saṁprasarpanti*], 'When the Patnīsaṁyājas have been completed (they perform the Saṁprasarpaṇa)'. KB. 27. 4 (p. 131, 24).

215. *tasmāt saṁsthite yajñe brāhmaṇaṁ tarpayitavai brūyāt*, 'Therefore, when the sacrifice has been completed, he should order the Brāhmaṇa to be gratified'. ÇB. 1. 7. 3. 28.

216. *ned asaṁsthite yajñe prāçnāni*, 'Lest I eat while the sacrifice is not (yet) completed'. ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 39.

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217. *saṁsthite yajñe dakṣiṇataḥ parītya pūrṇapātraṁ ninayati*, 'When the sacrifice has been completed, walking round to the south, he empties the full vessel'. ÇB. 1. 9. 3. 1.

218. *tad yat saṁsthite yajñe huteṣv audgrabhaṇeṣū 'khaṁ pravṛṇakti* . . ., 'In that he puts the fire-pan on (the fire) when the sacrifice has been completed (and) after the Audgrabhaṇa-oblations have been offered . . .' ÇB. 6. 6. 1. 22.

219. *saṁsthita eva yajñe huteṣv audgrabhaṇeṣū 'khāṁ pravṛñjyāt*, 'He should put the fire-pan on (the fire) when the sacrifice has been completed (and) after the Audgrabhaṇa-oblations have been offered'. ÇB. 6. 6. 1. 22.

220. *sarvā vai saṁsthite yajñe vāg āpyate*, 'When the sacrifice has been completed speech is wholly obtained'. ÇB. 13. 3. 6. 6; TB. 3. 9. 18. 1.

221. *āvṛhya ha sma purā saṁsthite yajñe 'gnau yūpaṁ prāsyati*, 'Formerly namely he used to pull out the sacrificial stake and throw it into the fire when the sacrifice had been completed'. MS. 3. 9. 4 (p. 119, 13).

Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 10, emends *prāsyati* to *prāsyanti*; cf. K. 26. 6 (p. 129, 5) *juhvati*.

222. *saṁsthite hi yajñe prahṛteṣu paridhiṣu juhoti*, 'For he offers the oblation after the sacrifice has been completed (and) after the enclosing sticks have been thrown (into the fire)'. K. 36. 4 (p. 71, 14).

The parallel passage MS. 1. 10. 9 (p. 149, 16) omits *yajñe*, cf. below Ex. 227.

223. *yac cā 'ha saṁsthite yajñe* . . ., 'And when he recites after the sacrifice has been completed . . .'. KB. 26. 6 (p. 122, 15—16).

The phrase *saṁsthite yajñe* (Ex. 215—223) is abbreviated to *saṁsthite* in the following examples (Ex. 224—236):

224. *atha saṁsthite visṛjate*, 'Then, after (the sacrifice) has been completed, he divests himself (of the vow)'. ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 3; 5.

For *visṛjate* = *vrataṁ visṛjate* cf. above § 48, Ex. 46, Rem.

225. *tāni [kapālāni] tataḥ saṁsthite: yāni gharme kapālāny upacinvanti vedhasa* (TS. 1. 1. 7. 2) *iti catuṣpadaya rcā vimuñcati*, 'When (the sacrifice) has been completed he takes these (potsherds) apart with the verse TS. 1. 1. 7. 2 which consists of four Padas'. TS. 3. 2. 7. 6.

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226. *dvādaça* (2. *dvādaçai 'va*) *brahmaudanānt saṁsthite nirvapet*, 'When (the sacrifice) has been completed he should offer twelve rice-paps for the priests'. TB. 3. 9. 8. 1; 2.

227. *saṁsthite hi prahṛteṣu paridhiṣu juhoti*, 'For he offers the oblation after (the sacrifice) has been completed (and) after the enclosing sticks have been thrown (into the fire)'. MS. 1. 10. 9 (p. 149, 16).

The parallel passage K. 36. 4 (p. 71, 14) has the full phrase *saṁsthite yajñe*, cf. above, Ex. 222.

228. *taṁ* [*somam*] *saṁsthite prahṛteṣu paridhiṣv ajuhot*, 'He offered this (Soma) after (the sacrifice) had been completed (and) after the enclosing sticks had been thrown (into the fire)'. MS. 4. 7. 4 (p. 98, 5).

229. *yat saṁsthite prahṛteṣu paridhiṣu juhoti . . .; saṁsthite juhoti*, 'In that he offers the oblation after (the sacrifice) has been completed (and) after the enclosing sticks have been thrown (into the fire) . . .; he offers the oblation after (the sacrifice) has been completed'. MS. 4. 7. 4 (p. 98, 6—7).

230. *yat saṁsthite prahṛteṣu paridhiṣv ajuhot* (and *juhoti*), 'In that he made [makes] the oblation after (the sacrifice) had [has] been completed (and) after the enclosing sticks had [have] been thrown (into the fire)'. MS. 4. 7. 4 (p. 98, 17—18).

231. *yadi purā saṁsthānād vīryetā: 'dya varṣiṣyatī 'ti brūyād, yadī saṁsthite: çvo vraṣṭe* (var. lect. *vṛṣṭe*) *'ti brūyāt*, 'If it (= the vessel) should be caused to go to pieces (= break to pieces) before the completion (of the sacrifice) he should say: "It will rain to-day"; if (it should break to pieces) after (the sacrifice) has been completed, he should say: "It will rain to-morrow".' MS. 2. 1. 8 (p. 9, 13).

Boehtlingk suggests the emendation of *vīryeta* to *çīryeta* (pw. Nachträge 4, p. 296, col. 2, s. *īr* + *vi*, or to *dīryeta* (so Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 296, note 1 and Caland, WZKM. 16, p. 97).

For the confusion of *v* and *ç* I am not able to cite a Mantra parallel; the variant, given in Bloomfield's Concordance, K. 38. 6 (p. 107, 15) *vardhamānaḥ* for VS. 20. 38 *çardhamānaḥ* is due to an oversight, the printed K. text like the other parallels reads *çardhamānaḥ*.

For the confusion of *v* and *d* in Mantra texts cf. *vikṣu* RV. 10. 15. 2; and the VS., TS., and MS. parallels. *dikṣu* AV. 18. 1. 46.

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vikṣu VS. 4. 31; TS. 1. 2 8. 1; 6. 1. 11. 3; K. 2. 6 (p. 12. 16); 4. 9. (p. 35, 4); ÇB. 3. 3. 4. 7.	*dikṣu* MS. 1. 2. 6 (p. 15, 10)
viçaḥ RV. 1. 35. 5.	*diçaḥ* TB. 2. 8. 6. 2.
vṛṣṭyā K. 2. 6 (p. 12, 8).	*dṛṣṭyā* PG. 3. 2. 14.
saṁvṛk K. 18. 1 (p. 265, 5).	*saṁdṛk* RV. 10. 82. 2; and the VS., TS., and Nir. parallels.

But *vīryeta* is read both in lines 13 and 14 without variant and as passive of the causative it is unexceptionable both in form and meaning; cf. *nīryamāṇa* and *nīryate* at MS. 3. 9. 3 (p. 116, 2; 3; and 5): *tasmād [yūpāt] vā ime lokā nīryamāṇād bibhyatī, 'çvaro hy eṣo 'çānto nīryamāṇa imān lokān hiṅsitoḥ; . . .; çamayaty evai 'naṁ, çānta eva nīryate*, 'As it (= the sacrificial stake) is caused to move downward (= is falling down) these worlds are afraid of it; for being caused to move downward (= falling down) unappeased it is capable of harming these worlds; . . .; he appeases it, and (thus) it is caused to move downward (= to fall down) appeased'. Cf. above § 44, g and the **Corrections and Additions** to p. 95, line 25.

This last passage, by the way, casts doubt on Weber's emendation of *prayataḥ* to *prapataḥ* in the parallel passage TS. 6. 3. 3. 3 *ime vai lokā yūpāt prayato bibhyati* (cf. above § 44, h). The change of *y* to *p* is so slight that both Delbrück (Altind. Synt. p. 111, 28) and Keith accept Weber's emendation. But TS. *prayataḥ* 'as it moves (literally, 'steps') forward' is so close a parallel to MS. *nīryamāṇāt* 'as it is caused to move downward' that the reading of all the TS. mss. should probably be kept. The sacrificial stake does not simply fall down like an ordinary tree, but, like a person, it threateningly moves forward or downward.

The future *vraṣṭā* seems to occur in this passage only; for the *ra* cf. Whitney, Gr. § 241; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 212, § 190, a. Contrast the agent noun *várṣṭā* TS. 7. 5. 20. 1 = KAçv. 5. 17 (p. 170, 18), cf. above § 59, Ex. 93, Rem. (in fine).

For the use of the two futures *varṣiṣyati* and *vraṣṭā* cf. Whitney, Gr. 949, a; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 296, § 168.

232. *tān [mayukhān] saṁsthite rathavāhanasya* (K. omits *rathavāhanasya*) *madhyameṣāyām atihanyāt* (K. *upahanti*), 'When (the sacrifice) has been completed he should hammer [he hammers] these (pegs) into the middle (part of the) pole of the wagon-frame', MS. 2. 2. 1 (p. 14, 11); K. 11. 6 (p. 152, 1).

For *madhyameṣā* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 101, b, p. 254; and Keith's note to the parallel passage TS. 2. 3. 1. 5.

233. *yā caturthī [āhutiḥ] tāṁ saṁsthite 'psu juhoti*, 'The fourth (oblation) he offers in the waters after (the sacrifice) has been completed'. K. 11. 10 (p. 158, 5).

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234. *saṁsthite* [*āhutayaḥ*] *hotavyāḥ*, '(The oblations) should be offered after (the sacrifice) has been completed'. K. 12. 2 (p. 164, 9).

235. *yat saṁsthite juhuyāt* . . ., 'If he were to make the offering after (the sacrifice) has been completed'. K. 12. 2 (p. 164, 10).

236. *vikarṣo vai tathā yajñasya bhavati yad asaṁsthite nipadyeta*, 'If one were to rest while (the sacrifice) is not (yet) completed a tearing-apart of the sacrifice would (thus) ensue'. JB. 2. 168.

Instead of *asaṁsthite yajñe* ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 39 (above, Ex. 216) and the abbreviated *asaṁsthite* JB. 2. 168 (above, Ex. 236) the compound *vi-saṁsthite* is used in the following passage:

237. *tasmāt prātaranuvāka upākṛte visaṁsthite yajñe subrahmaṇyaḥ subrahmaṇyām āhvayati*, 'Therefore the Subrahmaṇya-priest calls the Subrahmanyā hither when arrangements for the morning litany have been made (and) when the sacrifice has not (yet) been completed'. ṢB. 1. 2. 9.

Vi- as negative prefix with a past participle is very exceptional. The only close parallel which I am able to quote is *vinirmūḍha* cited. in pw. and PW. (s. *muh* + *nis*, col. 844) from Mārk. Pūr. 132, 34 and rendered there by 'nicht vergeblich', 'haud irritus'.

For Sūtra occurrences of *visaṁsthita* 'not completed' cf. PW. s. v. and s. *saṁcara*, 2, a, col. 553; and pw. s. *visaṁsthitasaṁcara*.

Instead of the locative absolute *asaṁsthite yajñe* ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 39 (above Ex. 216), *asaṁsthite* JB. 2. 168 (above Ex. 236), and *visaṁsthite* ṢB. 1. 2. 9 (above Ex. 237) the nominal expressions *purā yajñasya saṁsthāyai* (ÇB. 3. 1. 3. 6 *ned* . . . *purā yajñasya saṁsthāyā antaṁ gachāni*, 'Lest I reach the end before the completion of the sacrifice') and *purā saṁsthānāt* MS. 2. 1. 8 (p. 9, 13) above Ex. 231 are also found; cf. also ÇB. 9. 4. 4. 15 *kiṁ purā saṁsthāyai saṁsthārūpaṁ kuryāma*, 'Why should we perform a species of completion prior to completion?'

238. *athā 'nūbandhyasya vapāyāṁ saṁsthitāyāṁ tvāṣṭreṇa paçunā caranti*, 'Now when the (offering of the) omentum of the supplementary (victim) has been completed they proceed with the victim sacred to Tvaṣṭṛ'. KB. 19. 6 (p. 86, 7).

239. *te saṁsthita eva mādhyandine savane purā tṛtīyasavanād etam ajuhavuḥ*; . . .; *tathai 'va graho hūyate saṁsthita eva mādhyandine savane purā tṛtīyasavanāt*, 'They offered this (cup) when the noon-pressing had been completed (and) before the third pressing; . . .;

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thus the cup is offered after the noon-pressing has been completed (and) before the third pressing'. ÇB. 4. 3. 5. 2.

240. *athā 'ha saṁsthita eva mādhyandine savane purā tṛtīyasavanāt* . . ., 'Then he says, when the noon-pressing has been completed (and) before the third pressing . . .' ÇB. 4. 3. 5. 8.

241. *saṁsthiteṣu saṁsthiteṣu savaneṣu japeḥ*, 'After each pressing has been completed thou shouldst mutter'. ÇB. 12. 3. 4. 6.

242. *atha saṁsthite saṁsthite savane vācayati*, 'Then, when each pressing has been completed, he makes (him) speak'. GB. 1. 5. 15 (p. 131, 5).

243. *nā 'saṁsthite some 'dhvaryuḥ pratyaṅk sado 'tīyāt*, 'The Adhvaryu-priest should not go beyond the Sadas before the Soma (-sacrifice) has been completed'. TS. 6. 3. 1. 6.

244. *te devā vai saṁsthitê some pra sruco 'haran pra yūpam*, 'After the Soma (-sacrifice) had been completed the gods threw the offering-spoons (and) the sacrificial stake (into the fire)'. TS. 6. 3. 4. 9.

245. *saṁsthite some pra prastaraṁ harati*, 'After the Soma (-sacrifice) has been completed he throws the grass-bunch (into the fire)'. TS. 6. 3. 4. 9.

246. *etasyāṁ* [*iṣṭau*] *saṁsthitāyām upotthāyā 'dhvaryuç ca yajamānaç cā 'çvasya dakṣiṇe karṇa ājapataḥ*, 'After this (oblation) has been completed the Adhvaryu-priest and the sacrificer whisper into the right ear of the horse'. ÇB. 13. 4. 2. 15.

247. *tasyāṁ* [*iṣṭau*] *saṁsthitāyāṁ yajamāno 'gnihotraṁ juhoti*, 'After this (oblation) has been completed the sacrificer offers the Agnihotra'. KB. 18. 14 (p. 84, 2).

248. *tasmāt tasyāṁ* [*iṣṭau*] *saṁsthitāyāṁ yajamāno 'gnihotraṁ juhuyāt*, 'Therefore the sacrificer should offer the Agnihotra after this (oblation) has been completed'. KB. 18. 14 (p. 84, 3).

< √ *sru* >

249. *yathai 'va tat prajāpatir utkrānte prāṇa utkrānte vīrye srute 'nne rikto 'çayad etad asya tad rūpam*, 'As Prajāpati, when breath had departed, when vigour had departed, when food had flown away, lay there emptied, so was then his form'. ÇB. 7. 1. 2. 9.

< √ *hṛ* + *prati*, 'to sing the Pratihāra' >

250. *pratihṛte puro 'padravāt sa nārakaḥ*, '(The interval) after

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the Pratihāra has been chanted (but) before the Upadrava is one hell'. JB. 1. 325 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 124).

For the hypostasis of the absolute locative *pratihṛte* and of the adverbial phrase *puro 'padravāt* cf. above § 59, Ex. 8, Rem.

§ 60. 2. The Verb is transitive.

< √ *āp* >

1. *āpte trirātre gāyatryā rūpeṇa prayanti*, 'When the Trirātra has been attained (= completed) they proceed with the Gāyatrī-form', PB. 12. 7. 2.

2. *āpte ṣaḍahe chandāṅsi stomān kṛtvā prayanti*, 'When the (rite of the) sixth day has been attained (= completed) they proceed using (new) metres and Stomas'. PB. 14. 1. 2.

3. *yad āpte* [*daçarātre*] *pravatīḥ kuryur atipadyeran, yad āvatyo bhavanty anatipādāya*, 'If, after (the ten-night rite) has been attained (= completed), they were to use (verses) containing (the word) "forth" (*pra*) they would skip; in that (the verses) contain (the word) "hither" (*ā*)—that is for the sake of avoiding (such) skipping'. PB. 15. 9. 3.

4. *apratiṣṭhāṁ vā ete gachanti yeṣāṁ saṁvatsare 'nāpte 'thai 'kādaçiny āpyate*, 'Those whose set of eleven (victims) is attained (= exhausted) before the yearly session is attained (= completed) suffer from the lack of a firm footing'. TB. 1. 2. 5. 1.

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, b. In all these passages (Ex. 1—4) *āpte* is equivalent to *samāpte, parisamāpte* (cf. the Commentary to PB. 14. 1. 1—2 which glosses *āpyante* by *parisamāpyante*, and *āpte* by *parisamāpte*, and to PB. 15. 9. 3 where *āpte* is glossed by *samāpyamāne*).

Similarly *saṁvatsaraṁ āptvā* is synonymous with *saṁvatsare paryavete* [cf. above § 59, Ex. 52] or *saṁvatsare paryete* [cf. above § 59, Ex. 53—57] = 'after the expiration, at the completion of a year'. Thus, TS. 5. 5. 1. 6—7 *yo vai saṁvatsaram ukhyam abhṛtvā 'gniṁ cinute yathā sāmi garbho 'vapadyate tādṛg eva tad ārtim ārched, vaiçvānaraṁ dvādaçakapālaṁ purastān nirvapet, saṁvatsaro vā agnir vaiçvānaro, yathā saṁvatsaram āptvā kāla āgate* [cf. above § 59, Ex. 86] *vijāyata evam eva saṁvatsaram āptvā kāla āgate 'gniṁ cinute nā 'rtim ārchati*, 'If one piles the fire without having kept it in the pan for the space of a year, —that is as if an embryo is prematurely miscarried—, he would go to ruin; he should first offer (a cake) on twelve potsherds sacred to (Agni) Vaiçvānara, for Agni Vaiçvānara is (identical with) the year; even as (an embryo) is (properly) born after the year has been attained (= after the expiration of a year) when

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the proper time has come so he piles the fire after the year has been attained (= after the expiration of a year) when the proper time has come'; TS. 2. 2. 6. 2 *saṁvatsarāya vā etau samamāte yau samamāte, tayor yaḥ pūrvo 'bhidruhyati taṁ varuṇo gṛhṇāti, vaiçvānaraṁ dvādaçakapālaṁ nirvapet samamānayoḥ pūrvo 'bhidruhya, saṁvatsaro vā agnir vaiçvānaraḥ, saṁvatsaram evā 'ptvā nirvaruṇaṁ parastād abhidruhyati nai 'naṁ varuṇo gṛhṇāti,* 'Two who make a covenant make the covenant for the space of a year; he of the two (covenantors) who commits a hostile act before (the stipulated time of a year has expired) him Varuṇa seizes; he of the two covenantors who commits a hostile act before (the stipulated time of a year has expired) should offer (a cake) on twelve potsherds sacred to (Agni) Vaiçvānara; Agni Vaiçvānara namely is (identical with) the year; so he commits the hostile act (as) having attained the year (= as if after the expiration of the stipulated year), as afterwards (= as after the covenanted time), exempt from (the vengeance of) Varuṇa; Varuṇa does not seize him'; MS. 2. 5. 6 (p. 55, 14); K. 13. 1 (p. 180, 1) *agnaye vaiçvānarāya kṛṣṇaṁ petvam ālabheta samāntam abhidhrokṣyant* (for *samāntam abhidhrokṣyant* K. reads *yas samāntam abhidruhyed yo vā 'bhidudhrukṣet*), *saṁvatsaro vā agnir vaiçvānaraḥ, saṁvatsarāya samamyate* (for *saṁvatsarāya samamyate* K. reads *saṁvatsarāyai 'ṣa samamate yas samamate*), *saṁvatsaram evā 'ptvā 'varuṇaṁ kāmam abhidruhyati,* 'He who is about to commit a hostile act [commits a hostile act or is about to commit one] against one with whom he has made a covenant should take (for slaughter) for Agni Vaiçvānara a black he-goat; Agni Vaiçvānara namely is (identical with) the year, and for the space of a year a covenant is made [he who covenants covenants]; (but) having attained the year (= after the expiration of a year) he commits a hostile act exempt from (the vengeance of) Varuṇa as he pleases'; MS. 2. 1. 2 (p. 2, 7) and K. 10. 3 (p. 127, 3) are verbatim identical with MS. 2. 5. 6 (p. 55, 14) and K. 13. 1 (p. 180, 1) respectively, except for the introductory clause which runs there: *agnaye vaiçvānarāya dvādaçakapālaṁ nirvapet.*

For TS. 2. 2. 6. 2; MS. 2. 1. 2 (p. 2, 7); 2. 5. 6 (p. 55, 14); K. 10. 3 (p. 127, 3); 13. 1 (p. 180, 1) cf. Wackernagel, Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preuß. Ak. d. Wiss., 1918, p. 407—408.

Nirvaruṇam in TS. and *avaruṇam* in MS. and K. are adverbs (pw. Nachträge 4, p. 295, col. 2 and p. 301, col. 1) not adjectives, as Keith renders *nirvaruṇam* 'against one who has lost Varuṇa's protection'.

In the story of the cows' Sattra (TS. 7. 5. 1; 7. 5. 2; K. 33. 1; PB. 4. 1; JB. 2. 372; AB. 4. 17) TS. 7. 5. 1. 1 reads *tāḥ* [*gāvaḥ*] *saṁvatsaram āptvo 'datiṣṭhann: arātsme 'ti,* 'These (cows) rose up (= ended the Sattra) having attained the year (= after the expiration of a year) (thinking): "We have gained (our desire)"', while the parallel passages have √ *āp* + *sam*: AB. 4. 17. 3 *samāpayiṣyāmaḥ saṁvatsaram*; PB. 4. 1. 2 *saṁ saṁvatsaram āpayāma*; JB. 2. 372 *sarvān evai 'tā dvādaça māsas samāpayāma*; and √ *pad* + *sam*: TS. 7. 5. 2. 1; K. 33. 1 (p. 27, 4) *saṁvatsaraṁ saṁpādyo 'ttiṣṭhāma.* These examples of the use of the simple √ *āp* show that Böhtlingk's emendation of Chānd. Up. 1. 4. 4 *yadā vā ṛcam āpnoti* 'When he completes the *ṛc*' to *ṛcaṁ samāpnoti* is not necessary.

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< √ *i* with ***astam***[1] >

5. *astamita āditye bhasmai 'va prathamam udvapati*, 'After the sun has set he first throws out the ashes'. ÇB. 6. 6. 4. 1.

6. *astamita āditye . . . kiṁjyotir evā 'yaṁ puruṣaḥ*, 'Possessed of what light is this man . . . when the sun has set?' ÇB. 14. 7. 1. 3; 4; 5; 6 (BĀU. 4. 3. 3—6).

7. *candramasy astamite kiṁjyotir evā 'yaṁ puruṣaḥ*, 'Possessed of what light is this man when the moon has set?' ÇB. 14. 7. 1. 4; 5; 6 (= BĀU. 4. 3. 4—6).

8. *atho apy āhuḥ : saurya evai 'ṣa paçuḥ syād iti, tasmād etasminn astamite paçavo badhyante*, 'And they also say: "The animal should belong to Sūrya"; therefore the animals are tied up when this (Sūrya) has set'. ÇB. 11. 8. 3. 2.

The phrase *āditya* (Ex. 5 and 6) or *sūrya* (Ex. 8) *astamite* is abbreviated to *astamite* in the following examples (Ex. 9—20):

9. *yat sāyam astamite juhoti* . . ., 'When he offers in the evening after (the sun) has set . . .' ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 2; 4; 9; 11.

10. *sāyam astamite dve āhutī juhoti*, 'In the evening after (the sun) has set he offers two oblations'. ÇB. 2. 3. 3. 9.

11. *tām astamite vācaṁ visṛjate*, 'After (the sun) has set he releases this speach'. ÇB. 3. 2. 2. 4.

12. *astamite 'nuçaṅsati*, 'Afterwards, when (the sun) has set, he recites the Çastra'. ÇB. 4. 5. 3. 11 (bis).

13. *te 'stamite prāñca upaniṣkrāmanti*, 'When (the sun) has set they walk out toward the east. ÇB. 4. 6. 9. 23.

14. *tayor [samudrayoḥ] vā etayor atyayanam asti . . . astamite purā tamisrāyai suvyuṣṭāyāṁ puro 'dāyāt*, JB. 1. 5 (Caland, Auswahl p. 5), see above § 59, Ex. 172.

15. *tayor [samudrayoḥ] etad evā 'tyayanam astamite purā tamisrāyai suvyuṣṭāyāṁ puro 'dayāt*, JB. 1. 6 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 6), see above § 59, Ex. 173.

16. *atho khalv astamita eva vācaṁ visṛjeran*, 'After (the sun) has set they should release speech'. AB. 5. 24. 11.

In the preceding clause the temporal idea is expressed paratactically: *samayāviṣitaḥ sūryaḥ syād atha vācaṁ visṛjeran*, 'The sun should be half set, then they should release speech' = 'When the sun is half set they should release speech'.

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[1] Cf. Sieg, Nachrichten d. Götting. Ges. d. Wiss. 1923, p. 21.

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17. *etad vā agnihotram anyedyur hūyate yad astamite sāyaṁ juhoty anudite prātar, athai 'tad agnihotram ubhayedyur hūyate yad astamite sāyaṁ juhoty udite prātaḥ*, AB. 5. 29. 3, see above § 59, Ex. 40.

18. *eṣa ha vā ahorātrayos tejasi juhoti yo 'stamite sāyaṁ juhoty udite prātaḥ*, 'He offers in the brilliance of night and day who offers (the Agnihotra) in the evening when (the sun) has set (and) in the morning when (the sun) has risen'. AB. 5. 29. 6.

19. *eṣa ha vai satyaṁ vadan satye juhoti yo 'stamite sāyaṁ juhoty udite prātaḥ*, 'He, speaking the truth, offers in truth who offers (the Agnihotra) in the evening when (the sun) has set (and) in the morning when (the sun) has risen'. AB. 5. 31. 4.

20. *sāyam astamite purā tamasas tasmin kāle juhuyāt*, 'In the evening when (the sun) has set (but) before (complete) darkness (has set in),—at that time he should offer (the Agnihotra)'. KB. 2. 9. (p. 8, 8).

For the resumption by *tasmin kāle* cf. above § 56.

⌈ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

20 A. *ya evā 'syā 'stamite svargo lokas tasminn evai 'naṁ dadhāti*, 'What heavenly world there is of him when (the sun) has set, in that he places him'. JUB. 4. 10. 17.

20 B. *ya prathamāstamite tan nidhanam*, '(The time) immediately after sun-set is (identical with) the Nidhana'. Chānd. Up. 2. 9. 8.

For the hypostasis of *prathamāstamite* cf. above § 59, Ex. 8, Rem.
For the compound *prathamāstamita* cf. above § 59, Ex. 181, Rem. ⌋

A corresponding negative compound **anastamite* 'when (the sun) has not (yet) set' does not occur in the Brāhmaṇa prose; the idea is expressed by *purā 'dityasyā 'stamayāt*, ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 7; 8; 3. 9. 2. 7, and *purā 'stamayāt*, ÇB. 3. 2. 2. 26; 4. 5. 3. 11 (bis). Cf. the nominal parallels to *anudita āditye, anudite sūrye* given above § 59, Ex. 14, Rem.

< √ *i* + *abhi* — *ava* >

21. *yā ūrmī vyardataḥ paçau vā puruṣe vā 'bhyavete* . . ., 'The two waves which move apart when an animal or a man has stepped into (the water) . . .' ÇB. 5. 3. 4. 4.

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22. *vīryaṁ vā etad apām udardati paçau vā puruṣe vā 'bhyavete*, 'The vigour of the waters surges up when an animal or a man has stepped into (the water)'. ÇB. 5. 3. 4. 6.

apaḥ must be supplied with *abhyavete*, cf. ÇB. 3. 2. 2. 27 (bis); 3. 8. 5. 10; 4. 4. 5. 10 (bis); MS. 3. 6. 7 (p. 68, 18); 4. 8. 5 (bis, p. 112, 4 and p. 113, 12); PB. 5. 9. 2; ṢB. 3. 1. 1. For the abbreviation cf. above § 48, Ex. 46, Rem.

< √ *kr* with *hiṅ* >

24. *upākṛte* [*stotre*] *hiṅkṛte manthanti*, 'When the arrangement (for the Stotra) has been made (and) when the Hiṅ-call has been uttered they churn (the fire)'. PB. 12. 10. 13.

< √ *kr* with *vaṣaṭ* >

25. *tasmād u saha vai 'va vaṣaṭkāreṇa juhuyād vaṣaṭkṛte vā*, 'Therefore he should offer the oblation either along with the Vaṣaṭ-call or after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered'. ÇB. 1. 7. 2. 12; 13; 14.

26. *tā(v) ubhāv eva vaṣaṭkṛte juhutaḥ*, 'These two offer the oblation after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered'. ÇB. 2. 5. 2. 31; 32.

27. *vaṣaṭkṛte juhoti*, 'He offers the oblation after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered'. ÇB. 2. 5. 2. 37; 38; 2. 5. 3. 7; 8; 9; 10; 12; 13; 14; 15; 2. 6. 1. 27; 28; 29; 31; 3. 4. 4. 11; 12; 13; 3. 8. 2. 23; 27; 3. 8. 3. 32; 33; 34; 4. 3. 5. 20; 4. 4. 1. 7; 4. 4. 2. 4; 5; 6; 4. 4. 3. 9; 4. 4. 5. 16; 17; 5. 1. 3. 14; 5. 2. 2. 18; 5. 3. 2. 8; 5. 3. 3. 15; 5. 4. 4. 24; 11. 2. 2. 5; 13. 5. 2. 23; 13. 5. 3. 7; 14. 2. 2. 15; 14. 3. 1. 30.

28. *vaṣaṭkṛte 'dhvaryur juhoti*, 'The Adhvaryu-priest offers the oblation after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered'. ÇB. 4. 2. 1. 22; 4. 5. 2. 9; 11.

29. *taṁ vā etaṁ* [*puroḍāçam*] *puronuvākyavantaṁ yājyavantaṁ vaṣaṭkṛte srucā juhoti*, 'He offers this (cake), which is connected with an invitatory formula (and) with an offering-formula, with the ladle after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered.' ÇB. 9. 3. 1. 16.

30. *katham asyai 'te puronuvākyavanto yājyavanto vaṣaṭkṛte srucā hutā bhavanti*; . . .; *evam u hā 'syai 'te puronuvākyavanto yājyavanto vaṣaṭkṛte srucā hutā bhavanti*, 'How [Even so] do these (cakes), which are connected with an invitatory formula (and) with an offering formula, come to be offered by him with the ladle after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered'. ÇB. 9. 3. 1. 17.

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31. *athā 'sminn* [*agnau*] *etaṁ* [*rasam*; 10. 4. 1. 14; 20 *graham*] *vaṣaṭkṛte juhoti*, 'He then offers this (sap [cup]) in this (fire) after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered'. ÇB. 10. 1. 1. 6; 10. 4. 1. 14; 20.

32. *ta ete* (GB. has *te* for *ta ete*) *vaṣaṭkṛte-vaṣaṭkṛte vyutkrāmanti*, These (viz. speech, out-breathing, and in-breathing) depart in different directions whenever the Vaṣaṭ call has been uttered'. AB. 3. 8. 9; GB. 2. 3. 6 (p. 192, 9).

33. *tayor* [*darbhataruṇakayoḥ*] *vaṣaṭkṛte 'ntaḥparidhi pūrvaṁ prāsyed* : *dadhikrāvṇo akāriṣam* (RV. 4. 39. 6) *ity etaya ṛcā sasvāhākārayā 'nuvaṣaṭkṛte 'paraṁ* : *ā dadhikrāḥ çavasā pañca kṛṣṭīr* (RV. 4. 38. 10) *iti*, 'Of these two (grass-blades) he should throw the first between the enclosing sticks, after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered, with the verse RV. 4. 39. 6 accompanied by the Svāhā-call; the second (blade) with (the verse) RV. 4. 38. 10 after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been repeated'. AB. 7. 33. 1.

34. *vaṣaṭkṛte juhoty anuvaṣaṭkṛte*, 'He offers the oblation after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been uttered (and) after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been repeated'. ÇB. 4. 4. 3. 9.

The expression **avaṣaṭkṛte* in the sense of 'before the Vaṣaṭ-call has been made' does not occur in the Brāhmaṇa prose; in its stead the nominal phrase *purā vaṣaṭkārāt* is used, ÇB. 1. 7. 2. 13 *tad atha yat purā vaṣaṭkārāj juhuyāt*, 14 *yat purā vaṣaṭkārāj juhuyāt*, 'If he should make the oblation before the Vaṣaṭ-call'. But *ananuvaṣaṭkṛte* 'before the Vaṣaṭ-call has been repeated' occurs at ÇĀ. 2. 17, below Ex. 38 A.

The simple nominal locative *vaṣaṭkāre* is used in the sense of 'after the Vaṣaṭ-call' (cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 76, p. 117) at ÇB. 2. 5. 3. 18 *tasmin vaṣaṭkāre juhuyāt*, 'He should offer the oblation after this Vaṣaṭ-call (viz. the Vaṣaṭ-call made by the bull's roar)'.

< *kṛ* with *vaṣaṭ* + *anu* >

35. *anuvaṣaṭkṛte juhoti*, 'He offers the oblation after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been repeated'. ÇB. 14. 2. 2. 17.

36. *anuvaṣaṭkṛte bhakṣam āharati*, 'He brings the Soma draught after the Vaṣaṭ-call has been repeated'. ÇB. 14. 3. 1. 30.

37. = above Ex. 33.

38. = above Ex. 34.

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┌ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

38 A. *ananuvaṣaṭkṛta eva preñkhaṁ grathnanti*, 'They tie the swing before the Vaṣaṭ-call has been repeated'. ÇĀ. 2. 17.

< √ *kṛ* with *alam* >

38 B. *yathai 'va khalv ayam asmiñ charīre sādhv alaṁkṛte sādhv alaṁkṛto bhavati, suvasane suvasanaḥ, pariṣkṛte pariṣkṛta, evam evā 'yam asminn andhe 'ndho bhavati, srāme srāmaḥ, parivṛkṇe parivṛkṇaḥ*, 'Just as this (Self) is handsomely groomed, finely dressed, (and) adorned when this body is handsomely groomed, finely dressed, (and) adorned, even so it is blind, lame, (and) mutilated when this (body) is blind, lame, (and) mutilated'. Chānd. Up. 8. 9. 1; 2.

Contrast the *yadi*-clauses at Chānd. Up. 8. 10. 1; 3 *tad yady apī 'daṁ çarīram andhaṁ bhavaty anandhaḥ sa bhavati, yadi srāmam asrāmaḥ . . .* ┘

< √ *kṛ* + *ā* >

39. *etair eva juhuyād goṣv ākṛtāsu*, 'With these he should offer the oblation when the cows have been driven out'. MS. 4. 2. 11 (p. 34, 18).

Goṣv ākṛtāsu is contrasted with *antargoṣṭhāsu goṣu* (p. 34, 17): *pratar evā 'ntargoṣṭhāsu goṣu hotavyam*, 'The oblation should be offered in the morning when the cows are (still) in the stable'.

< √ *kṛ* + *upa-ā* >

40. *te hai 'ke brahmāṇa upākṛte prātaranuvāke stomabhāgāñ japitvā bhāṣamāṇā upāsate, tad dhai 'tad uvāca brāhmaṇa upākṛte prātaranuvāke brahmāṇaṁ bhāṣamāṇaṁ dṛṣṭvā: 'rdham asya yajñasyā 'ntaragur iti*, 'Now some Brahman-priests, when the arrangement for the morning litany has been made, sit talking when they have muttered the Stomabhāgas; with reference to this a Brāhmaṇa said when he saw a Brahman-priest talking after the arrangement for the morning litany had been made: "They have excluded one half of this sacrifice"'. AB. 5. 33. 3.

Cf. the parallel passage JUB. 3. 16. 5 below Ex. 42 A.

41. *tasmād brahmo 'pākṛte prātaranuvāke vācaṁyamaḥ syād o 'pāñçvantaryāmayor homād upākṛteṣu pavamāneṣv o 'dṛcaḥ*, 'Therefore the Brahman-priest should restrain his speech after the arrangement for the morning litany has been made until the offering of the Upāñçu and Antaryāma (cups), (and) when the arrangement

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for the Pavamāna (Stotras) has been made until the end'. AB. 5. 33. 4.

Cf. the parallel passages GB. 1. 3. 3, below Ex. 176 and JUB. 3. 16. 6, below Ex. 42 B.

42. *tasmāt prātaranuvāka upākṛte visaṁsthite ca yajñe subrahmaṇyaḥ subrahmaṇyām āhvayati*, ṢB. 1. 2. 9, see above § 59, Ex. 237.

⌜ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

42 A. *etad dha tad vidvān brāhmaṇa uvāca brahmāṇaṁ prātaranuvāka upākṛte vāvadyamānam āsīnam* . . ., 'A Brāhmaṇa knowing this said to a Brahman-priest who sat loudly talking when the arrangement for the Prātaranuvāka had been made . . .' JUB. 3. 16. 5.

Cf. the parallel passage AB. 5. 33. 3 above Ex. 40.

42 B. *tasmād brahmā prātaranuvāka upākṛte vācaṁyama āsīta*, Therefore the Brahman-priest should sit restraining his speech when the arrangement for the Prātaranuvāka has been made'. JUB. 3. 16. 6.

Cf. the parallel passage AB. 5. 33. 4 above Ex. 41.

42 C. *sa yatro 'pākṛte prātaranuvāke purā paridhānīyāyā brahmā vyavavadati* . . . 'If the Brahman-priest, after the arrangement for the Prātaranuvāka has been made (and) before the concluding (verse), begins to talk . . .' Chānd. Up. 4. 16. 2.

42 D. *atha yatro 'pākṛte prātaranuvāka na purā paridhānīyāyā brahmā vyavavadati* . . ., 'If, on the other hand, the Brahman-priest does not begin to talk after the arrangement for the Prātaranuvāka has been made (and) before the concluding (verse) . . .' Chānd. Up. 4. 16. 4. ⌟

43. *sa prastoto 'pākṛte stotra āha* . . ., 'After the arrangement for the Stotra has been made the Prastotṛ-priest says . . .' AB. 5. 34. 4.

44. *upākṛte [stotre] hiṅkṛte manthanti*, PB. 12. 10. 13, see above Ex. 24.

⌜ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

44 A. *upākṛte stotre traidhaṁ ninayātha*, 'When the arrangement for the Stotra has been made pour out (the water) in three places'. Ait. Ār. 5. 1. 2 (p. 146, 1 Keith). ⌟

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45. *upākṛtāya svāhe* (TS. 7. 4. 16. 1) *'ty upākṛte* [*açve*] *juhoti*, 'He offers the oblation with (the formula) TS. 7. 4. 16. 1 after (the horse) has been prepared'. TB. 3. 9. 16. 2.

Cf. ĀpÇ. 20. 15. 6 below Ex. 235 Rem.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

< √ *kṛ* + *pari* >

45 A. = above Ex. 38 B. ⌋

< √ *kṛ* + *pra* >

46. *taṁ* [*granthim*] *prakṛte karman viṣyati*, 'When the work is completed he undoes this (knot)'. ÇB. 3. 5. 3. 25.

47. *prakṛte karman* [*granthim*] *viṣyati*, 'When the work is completed he undoes (the knot)'. ÇB. 3. 6. 1. 25.

< √ *krī* >

48. *tasmād upāñçu vācā caritavyaṁ some rājani krīte, gandharveṣu hi tārhi vāg bhavati*, 'Therefore, when king Soma has been bought, one should proceed with low voice, for then Speech is among the Gandharvas'. AB. 1. 27. 4.

49. *some rājani krīte subrahmaṇyām āhvayanti*, 'When king Soma has been bought they call the Subrahmaṇyā hither'. AB. 6. 3. 1.

50. *atha yāṁ krīte rājani subrahmaṇyām āhvayati yām etāṁ dakṣiṇāsu nīyamānāsū 'tkare tiṣṭhan subrahmaṇyām āhvayati sai 've 'yam*, 'Now it is this same Subrahmaṇyā which he calls hither when king (Soma) has been bought, which he, standing on the mound, calls hither while the gift-cows are being led up'. JB. 2. 80 (JAOS. 18, p. 36).

51. *krīte some 'porṇute*, 'When the Soma has been bought he uncovers (the person who is being consecrated)'. TS. 6. 1. 3. 3.

Krīte some is contrasted with *purā somasya krayāt* (cf. TS. 3. 1. 2. 1 *purastāt somasya krayāt*) in the preceding clause: *na purā somasya krayād aporṇvīta, yat purā somasya krayād aporṇvīta* . . ., 'One should not uncover him before the purchase of the Soma; if he were to uncover him before the purchase of the Soma . . .'

52. *sa vai tarhy eva jāyate yarhy adaḥ some krīte* (var. lect. *krīyate*) *prorṇute*, 'He (= the person who is being consecrated) is born at the moment when he covers (him with the caul) there after the Soma has been bought'. MS. 3. 6. 7 (p. 68, 17).

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53. *krīte some maitrāvaruṇāya daṇḍaṁ prayachati*, 'After the Soma has been bought he gives the staff to the Maitrāvaruṇa-priest'. TS. 6. 1. 4. 2.

54. *yāṁ prathamāṁ dīkṣito vasati yajñaṁ tayā 'varunddhe, yāṁ some krīte prajāṁ tayā*, 'The first (night) which the consecrated person spends he thereby obtains the sacrifice; (and the night) which (he spends) after the Soma has been bought (he) thereby (obtains) offspring'. MS. 3. 6. 3 (p. 63, 15).

< √ *khyā* + *prati* >

55. *prati yad āpo adṛçram āyatīr* (RV. 10. 30. 13) *iti pratikhyātāsu* [*apsv anvāha*], 'He recites (the verse) RV. 10. 30. 13 when (the holy water) has been sighted (by the Hotṛ-priest)'. KB. 12. 1 (p. 53, 10).

The parallel passage AB. 2. 20. 4 (below § 62, Ex. 19) reads *pratidṛçyamānāsu* for *pratikhyātāsu*.

< √ *khyā* + *vi-ā* >

56. *sa ha vyākhyāta uvāca* . . ., 'When it had been explained he said . . .'. ÇB. 4. 1. 5. 10.

Vyākhyāta stands for the locative *vyākhyāte* not for the nominative *vyākhyātaḥ* since √ *khyā* + *vi-ā* governs the dative of the person, ÇB. 14. 5. 4. 4 (= BĀU. 2. 4. 4); 14. 7. 3. 5 (= BĀU. 4. 5. 5) *vyākhyāsyāmi te*.

< √ *gam* + *ā* >

57. *sakṛd eva yāmu āgate devebhyo yajñaṁ duhe*, 'He milks the sacrifice for the gods once, the end having been reached'. K. 23. 6 (p. 81, 8).

For *yāma* = 'end, conclusion' cf. TS. 6. 3. 1. 6 *yāmo hi sa teṣām*, 'For that is the end of these (fires)'; 6. 6. 6. 2 *atho etarhy eva 'sya yāmaḥ*, 'And then indeed is the end of this (rite)'.

Or, possibly, *yāma* may have here the ordinary sense of 'course, journey', in which case it would have to be construed as cognate accusative (cf. § 66, 4): 'After the course has been traversed'. The sense would be the same in either case: 'After the task has been accomplished'.

< √ *gṛh* >

58. *prāṇe gṛhīte 'smād annam* (18 *etayor ubhayor gṛhītayor asmād ūrg*) *udacikramiṣat*, 'When breath had been seized food [when these two (viz. food and breath) had been seized vigour] desired to depart from him'. ÇB. 7. 5. 1. 17; 18.

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59. *ūrji gṛhītāyām asmād ete ubhe udacikramiṣatām*, 'When vigour has been seized these two (viz. food and breath) desired to depart from him'. ÇB. 7. 5. 1. 19.

60. *dyāvāpṛthivī haviṣi gṛhīta udavepetām*, 'Heaven and earth trembled when the oblation had been taken'. TB. 3. 2. 4. 7.

Contrast the ablative in the parallel passages K. 31. 3 (p. 4, 19) *ime vai lokā haviṣo gṛhītād udavepanta* and MS. 4. 1. 5 (p. 7, 6) *haviṣo gṛhītād ime lokā udavepanta*; cf. above § 44, k.

61. *tad āhuḥ : kiṁ nā 'tistuvanti, kiṁ nā 'tiçaṅsanti, kiṁ nā 'tigṛhṇanti; sa brūyāt : prāṇam eva nā 'tistuvanti, stute vai prāṇa eva pariçiṣyate, vācam eva nā 'tiçaṅsanti, çaste vāi vāg eva pariçiṣyate, mana eva nā 'tigṛhṇanti, gṛhīte vai mana eva pariçiṣyate*, 'They say: "Beyond what do they not chant the Stotra? Beyond what do they not recite the Çastra? Beyond what do they not draw (the cup)?" Let him say: "It is breath beyond which they do not chant the Stotra, for, when the Stotra has been chanted, breath remains over; it is speech beyond which they do not recite the Çastra, for, when the Çastra has been recited, speech remains over; it is mind beyond which they do not draw (the cup), for, when (the cup) has been drawn, mind remains over"'. JB. 2. 39.

For the *s* in *atistuvanti* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 234, § 204, b.

< √ *ci* >

62. *yad v eva cite gārhapatya acita āhavanīye 'tha rājānaṁ krīṇāti* . . ., '(The reason) why he buys king (Soma) when the Gārhapatya-fire has been piled (but) when the Āhavanīya-fire has not (yet) been piled . . .' ÇB. 7. 3. 1. 2; 3.

Contrast the paratactical expression ÇB. 7. 3. 1. 1 *cito gārhapatyo bhavaty acita āhavanīyo 'tha rājānaṁ krīṇāti*, 'The Gārhapatya-fire has been piled (but) the Āhavanīya-fire has not (yet) been piled, then he buys king (Soma)'.

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, a.

63. *yad agnau sāmicita etāṁ diçam eti* . . ., 'If he goes in this direction when the fire-altar is (only) half piled . . .' ÇB. 7. 2. 1. 18.

64. *yad agnau sāmicite bahirvedy eti* . . ., 'If he goes outside of the Vedi while the fire-altar is (only) half piled . . .' ÇB. 7. 5. 2. 28.

< √ *ci* + *sam* >

65. *saṁcite 'gniḥ praṇīyate*, 'When the fire-altar has been completely piled Agni is brought forward'. ÇB. 10, 1. 4. 10.

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66. *yat saṁcite 'gnāv etāni havīṅṣi na nirvapet . . .; yat saṁcite 'gnāv etāni havīṅṣi nirvapati . . .,* TS. 7. 5. 15. 1 see above § 57, Ex. 7.

< √ *chid* >

67. *tasyāṁ chinnāyāṁ dhanurārtnyau viṣphurantyau viṣṇoḥ çiraḥ pracichidatuḥ,* 'When this (bow string) had been cut the two ends of the bow, springing asunder, cut off Viṣṇu's head'. ÇB. 14. 1. 1. 9.

< √ *ji* + *vi* >

68. *tāṁ* [*vācam*] *devāḥ sarvasmin vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre 'trā 'gre vācam avadaṅs, tatho evai 'ṣa etāṁ sarvasmin vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre 'trā 'gre vācaṁ vadati,* 'Everything having been completely won, in freedom from fear (and) in freedom from danger the gods then for the first time uttered that (speech), and in like manner does this (sacrificer) then for the first time utter this speech, everything having been won, in freedom from fear (and) in freedom from danger'. ÇB. 4. 2. 2. 8.

For *atra* here and in Ex. 69 see above § 7, b, and below § 65, b.

69. *sa yām evā 'mūṁ bhīṣā 'surarakṣasebhyo na nirabruvaṅs tām evai 'tat sarvasmin vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre 'tra nirāha,* 'That (speech) which they did not utter from fear of the Asuras and Rakṣases, that he then utters, everything having been won, in freedom from fear (and) in freedom from danger'. ÇB. 4. 2. 2. 12.

70. *taṁ* [*indram*] *devāḥ sarvasmin vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre yathe 'ṣīkāṁ muñjād vivṛhed evaṁ sarvasmāt pāpmano vyavṛhan,* 'Everything having been won, in freedom from fear (and) in freedom from danger the gods pulled this (Indra) out of all evil even as one might pull a reed from its sheath'. ÇB. 4. 3. 3. 16.

In the preceding three passages (Ex. 68—70) Eggeling renders *sarvasmin vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre* by 'All being conquered and free from fear and danger' and 'Their entire conquest being free from fear and danger'. In my translation *sarvasmin vijite* has been separated from *abhaye 'nāṣṭre.*

For *abhaye 'nāṣṭre,* 'in freedom from fear (and) in freedom from danger' cf. ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 17 *tasyā* [*vajrasya*] *'bhaye 'nāṣṭre nivāte yajñam atanvata* and *tanute;* ÇB. 6. 3. 1. 29; 7. 3. 2. 5; 6; 7. 4. 1. 37; 9. 2. 3. 3; 4; 5 *abhaye 'nāṣṭra etaṁ yajñam atanvata* and *tanute*; ÇB. 4. 6. 6. 1—5 *athā 'bhaye 'nāṣṭra uttarato yajñam upacariṣyāmaḥ*, also *upācaran, upacareyuḥ* and *upacaranti;* ÇB. 7. 3. 2. 10 *rakṣāṅsi nāṣṭrā apahatyā 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre svasti samaçnuvata* and *samaçnute*; ÇB. 7. 4. 1. 33 *rakṣāṅsi nāṣṭrā apahatyā 'bhaye 'nāṣṭra etam ātmānaṁ samaskurvata* and *saṁskurute;* 10. 2. 5. 1; 2 *abhaye 'nāṣṭra etam ātmānaṁ samaskurvata* and *saṁskurute*; JB. 3. 297 *abhaye ha khalu vā eṣa dīkṣate* (the ms. *dīkṣite*) *'bhaye*

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yajate 'bhaya uttiṣṭhati ya evaṁ vidvān etābhir ṛgbhis stute; PB. 15. 11. 9[1] *indragṛhe* [cf. K. 11. 3, p. 146, 11 and 14] *vā eṣo 'bhaye yajate 'bhaya uttiṣṭhati ya evaṁ vidvān etāsu* [*ṛkṣu*] *stute*; and the Mantra TS. 5. 7. 2. 4; K. 13. 15 (p. 198, 5) *nivāta* [cf. ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 17, above] *eṣām abhaye syāma* (PG. 3. 2. 2 *vasema*), a variant to AV. 6. 55. 2 *nivāta id vaḥ çaraṇe syāma*.

For **sarvaṁ vijayati* cf. ÇB. 13. 5. 4. 13 *vijitya pṛthivīṁ sarvām*; K. 26. 2 (p. 122, 10) *upasadbhir vai devā imān lokān vyajayan* and the frequent *sarvam* with the simple root *ji*: *sarvaṁ jayati* ÇB. 11. 2. 7. 9; 13—20; 28—31; 12. 8. 2. 31; 36; TS. 5. 4. 12. 3; TB. 3. 8. 18. 6; 3. 9. 22. 4; PB. 16. 7. 2; 16. 9. 1. 4; 20. 2. 2; 3; 20. 11. 11; 21. 4. 12; 22. 8. 5; *sarvam ajayan* PB. 16. 7. 1; 22. 8. 4; *sarvam itare jayān* ÇB. 1. 5. 4. 6; *sarvaṁ viçvam ajayat* KB. 24. 1 (p. 107, 23); and *viçvam ajayan* PB. 22. 8. 4; *viçvam ajayat* PB. 16. 4. 5; *viçvam ajaiṣma* KB. 24. 1 (p. 107, 21).

71. *etena* [*agnīṣomīyenai 'kādaçakapālena puroḍāçena*] *vā indro vṛtram ahann* (5. 2. 4. 3 *sākamedhair vai devā vṛtram aghnans*) *eteno eva vyajayanta yā 'sye 'yaṁ vijitis* (5. 2. 4. 3 *tair v eva vyajayanta ye 'yam eṣāṁ vijitis*) *tāṁ, tatho evai 'ṣa etena* (5. 2. 4. 3 *etaiḥ*) *pāpmānaṁ dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ hanti, tatho eva vijayate: vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre sūyā iti*, 'With this (cake on eleven potsherds sacred to Agni and Soma) Indra slew Vṛtra [with the Sākamedha-rites the gods slew Vṛtra] and with it he gained that complete victory which is his [and with them they gained that complete victory which is theirs]; and in like manner does this (sacrificer) by means of it [them] slay his evil, hateful rival and thus gains a complete victory, (thinking): "May I be consecrated in freedom from fear (and) freedom from danger, a complete victory having been won".' ÇB. 5. 2. 3. 7; 5. 2. 4. 3.

72. *te* [*devāḥ*] *etena vajreṇā 'jyena* (5. 2. 4. 12 *tāv etena haviṣā*; 5. 2. 4. 14 *apāmārgair vai devā*) *dikṣu nāṣṭrā rakṣāṅsy avāghnaṅs* (5. 2. 4. 12 *avāhatāṁ*; 5. 2. 4. 14 *apāmṛjata*), *te vyajayanta ye 'yam eṣāṁ vijitis tāṁ* (5. 2. 4. 12 *tau vyajayetāṁ yai 'nayor iyaṁ vijitis tāṁ*), *tatho evai 'ṣa etena vajreṇā 'jyena* (5. 2. 4. 12 *tatho evai 'ṣa etena haviṣā*; 5. 2. 4. 14 *tatho evai 'ṣa etad apāmārgair eva*) *dikṣu nāṣṭrā rakṣāṅsy avahanti* (5. 2. 4. 14 *apamṛṣṭe*), *tatho eva vijayate: vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre* (in 5. 2. 4. 12 Weber's text erroneously omits

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[1] Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 22 emends to *indragṛho vā eṣo*; *'bhaye yajate . . .*; but cf. in the K. passage quoted above *tava gṛhe yājayānī 'tī 'ndram abravīt* and *indrasya gṛhe 'yājayat*.

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the avagraha) *sūyā iti*, 'These (gods) slew the evil spirits, the Rakṣases, in the quarters by means of the butter-oblation as thunderbolt [These two slew the evil spirits, the Rakṣases, in the quarters by means of the oblation; By means of the Apāmārga-rites the gods wiped off the evil spirits, the Rakṣases, on the quarters]; they gained that complete victory which is theirs; and so does this (sacrificer) by means of this butter oblation as a thunderbolt slay the evil spirits, the Rakṣases, in the quarters [and so does this (sacrificer) by means of this oblation slay the evil spirits, the Rakṣases, in the quarters; and so does this (sacrificer) wipe off the evil spirits, the Rakṣases, on the quarters] and thus he gains a complete victory, (thinking): "May I be consecrated in freedom from fear (and) freedom from danger, a complete victory having been won"'. ÇB. 5. 2. 4. 7; 5. 2. 4. 12; 5. 2. 4. 14.

73. *sa [indraḥ] vṛtraṁ pāpmānaṁ hatvā vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre dakṣiṇā nināya, tasmād apy etarhi yad evai 'tena mādhyandinena pavamānena stuvate 'tha vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre dakṣiṇā nīyante; . . .; sa [yajamānaḥ] vṛtraṁ pāpmānaṁ hatvā vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre dakṣiṇā nayati*, 'He (= Indra), having slain Vṛtra, the evil, a complete victory having been won, led up the gift cows in freedom from fear (and) freedom from danger; therefore even now, when they praise with the Pavamāna of the midday-pressing, then the gift-cows are led up in freedom from fear (and) freedom from danger, a complete victory having been won; . . .; he (= the sacrificer), having slain Vṛtra, the evil, leads up the gift-cows in freedom from fear (and) freedom from danger, a complete victory having been won'. ÇB. 4. 3. 3. 5.

Eggeling gives the following alternative renderings for *vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre* in Ex. 71—73: (1) 'All being conquered and free from danger and injury', (2) 'Their entire conquest being free from danger and injury', and (3) 'Security and peace (*abhayam anāṣṭram*) having been completely gained' (SBE. 26, p. 289). As in the translation of *sarvasmin vijite 'bhaye 'nāṣṭre* above Ex. 68—70 I have separated *vijite* here from *abhaye 'nāṣṭre*, and construed it absolutely rather than transitively: 'a complete victory having been gained', resuming the immediately preceding *vijayate* 'he gains a complete victory'.

For *abhaye 'nāṣṭre* cf. the Rem. to. Ex. 70 above.

< √ *jñā + vi* >

74. *ātmani vā are dṛṣṭe çrute mate vijñāta idaṁ sarvaṁ viditam,*

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'When, my dear, the Self has been seen, heard, thought, (and) understood this whole (universe) is known'. ÇB. 14. 7. 3. 6 (= BĀU. 4. 5. 6).

The same idea is expressed by nominal instrumentals at ÇB. 14. 5. 4. 5 (= BĀU. 2. 4. 5) *ātmano vā are darçanena çravaṇena matyā vijñānene 'daṁ sarvaṁ viditam.*

< √ *jñā* + *sam*, Causative >

75. *saṁjñapteṣu paçuṣu patnyaḥ pānnejanair udāyanti,* 'When the victims have been quieted (= killed) the wives come up with water for washing the feet'. ÇB. 13. 5. 2. 1.

< *tan* + *pra* >

76. *vi vā etad yajñaṁ chinatti yad yajñe pratata etām antareṣṭiṁ nirvapati* (12. 2 *yad yajñe pratata etā antarāhutīr juhoti*), 'He cuts the sacrifice in twain if, after the sacrifice has been commenced, he offers this intermediate offering [these intermediate oblations]'. K. 10. 5 (p. 129, 6); 12. 2 (p. 164, 9).

Very similar is the Vedic quotation at ĀpÇ. 9. 4. 4 *vi vā etasya yajñaç chidyate yasya yajñe pratata antar etām iṣṭiṁ nirvapanti.*

< √ *tan* + *vi* >

77. *nivartante dakṣiṇā nīyamānāḥ | sute some vitate yajñatantre,* 'The gift-cows which are led up when the Soma has been pressed (and) when the woof of the sacrifice has been spread, turn back'. GB. 1. 5. 25 (p. 140, 14; Çloka).

< 1 *dā* 'give' >

78. *sa he 'ndro* (Caland's emendation for *'nmo*) *bhayadam āsamātyaṁ harī* (Caland's emendation for *bharī*) *yayāca, tau hā 'smai na dadau, tayor hā 'dattayor juhāva . . .,* 'This Indra asked Bhayada Āsamātya for the two steeds; he did not give them to him; when they had not been given he (= Indra) exclaimed . . .' JB. 3. 237 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 282).

< √ *1 dā* + *ā* >

79. *tā* [*prajāḥ*] *asmāt* [*prajāpateḥ*] *sṛṣṭā apākrāmaṅs, tāsāṁ : divi sad bhūmy ādada* (SV. 1. 467) *iti prāṇān ādatta, tā enaṁ prāṇeṣv ātteṣu punar upāvartanta,* 'These (creatures), when they had been created, departed from this (Prajāpati); with (the verse) SV. 1. 467 he took their breaths away; after these breaths had been taken away they returned to him'. PB. 7. 5. 2.

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< √ *1 dṛ* 'split' >

80. *tad āhur: na vā ārtyā 'rtir anūdyā, 'rtyā vā eṣa ārtim anuvadati yaḥ kalaçe dīrṇe dadrāṇavatīṣu karoti*, 'Now they say: "When a mishap (occurs words referring to) a mishap should not be spoken; he who sings (the Nidhana) to (verses) containing (the word) *dadrāṇa* (RV. 10. 55. 5) when the Soma vessel is split speaks (words referring to) a mishap when a mishap (has occurred)'. PB. 9. 6. 5.

The Commentary glosses *ārtyā* by *ārtau satyām*, and the instrumental may well be translated here by a temporal phrase (see above § 40, the Remark to TB. 2. 7. 9. 4). The primary force is that of accompaniment: 'With = in connection with a mishap'.

< √ *dṛç* >

81. = Ex. 74 above.

< √ *dham* >

81 A. *tad yathā hiraṇye dhmāte na kaç cana nyañgaḥ pāpmā pariçiṣyata evaṁ hai 'vā 'smin na kaç cana nyañgaḥ papmā pariçiṣyate ya evaṁ vidvān agnihotraṁ juhoti*, 'Just as, when gold is smelted (= refined), not a trace (of) badness remains even so no trace (of) evil remains in him who knowing thus offers the Agnihotra'. JB. 1. 10 (JAOS. 16, p. 234, 10 with the correction in Proceedings April 1895, p. ccxlii, line 5 from bottom).

For *nyañgaḥ pāpmā* cf, with reverse order, JUB. 1. 45. 5 *ne 'ha kaç cana pāpmā nyañgaḥ pariçekṣyate*; 2. 12. 1 *na hai 'va tatra kaç cana pāpmā nyañgaḥ pariçiṣyate*.

For the refining of gold cf. PB. 17. 6. 4 *yathā hiraṇyaṁ niṣṭaped evam enam [yajamānam] agniṣṭun niṣṭapati*; JUB. 3. 34. 6 *tad yathā ha vai suvarṇaṁ hiraṇyam agnau prāsyamānaṁ kalyāṇataraṁ-kalyāṇataraṁ bhavati* . . , and cf. Vedic Index, II, p. 505.

< √ *dhā + api* >

82. *yathā 'pihitāyāṁ dvāry advārā puraṁ prapitset* . . ., 'As if, the gate being closed, one would wish to enter a fortress in some other way than by the gate . . .' ÇB. 11. 1. 1. 3.

Cf. ÇB. 11. 1. 1. 2, below Ex. 136.

< √ *dhā + ā* >

83. *yasmin vai kasmiñç cā 'hite 'kṣa utsarjati tasyai 'va sā vāg bhavati*, 'If, after anything whatever has been loaded on (the cart), the axle creaks, that is his voice'. ÇB. 6. 8. 1. 11.

84. *yad agnāv āhite 'kṣa utsarjaty agner eva sā vāg bhavati*, 'If,

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after Agni has been placed on (the cart), the axle creaks, that is Agni's voice'. ÇB. 6. 8. 1. 11.

85. *etasyāṁ [samidhi] vā āhitāyām agnihotriṇe vīrduhas svadanti*, 'This (kindling stick) having been placed on (the fire), they sweeten the plants for the Agnihotrin'. K. 6. 5 (p. 53, 15).

< √ *dhā* + *upa* >

86. *etad vai prajāpatiṁ trivṛdvatyām upahitāyāṁ pañcadaçavatyāṁ mṛtyur asīdat*, 'When (the brick) containing the threefold (Stoma) had thus been laid down Death lay in wait for Prajāpati in (the brick) containing the fifteenfold (Stoma)'. ÇB. 8. 4. 4. 2.

87. *uta yasyai 'tāsū [iṣṭakāsu] 'pahitāsv āpo 'gniṁ haranty ahṛta evā 'syā 'gniḥ*, 'And if the waters (try to) seize anyone's fire after these (bricks) have been laid down, his fire remains unseized'. TS. 5. 3. 10. 2.

88. *yā vā anuṣṭup sā bṛhatī, catuṣpātsu vā eṣā paçuṣū 'pahiteṣu bṛhaty abhavat*, 'The Anuṣṭubh is (identical with) the Bṛhatī, for this (Anuṣṭubh) became the Bṛhatī when the fourfooted cattle had been deposited (on her)'. JB. 1. 285 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 110).

For *catuṣpātsu . . . upahiteṣu* Caland compares JB. 1. 120 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 28) *tasyāṁ [anuṣṭubhi] catuṣpadaḥ paçūn upādadhur: gāṁ cā 'çvaṁ cā 'jāṁ cā 'viṁ ca* and PB. 7. 4. 4 *paçūn vā asyāṁ tān upādadhuḥ*.

< √ *dhā* + *ni* >

89. *yan nihita eva sphye prokṣaṇīr āsādayet* . . ., 'If, while the (wooden) sword is (still) lying (on the ground), he were to set down the sprinkling water . . .' ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 20.

90. *sa nihite [some] juhoti*, 'He offers the oblation after (the Soma) has been deposited'. ÇB. 3. 6. 3. 12.

< √ *dhā* + *pari* >

91. *parihite prātaranuvāke yathāyatanam evo 'pāṅçvantaryāmau hutvā droṇakalāçe pavitraṁ prapīḍya nidadhāti*, 'When the morning litany has been completed, having offered the Upāṅçu and Antaryāma (cups) in due order, having pressed out the straining cloth, he puts it down on the Soma vessel'. ÇB. 11. 5. 1. 11.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

91 A. *parihita uktha ukthasaṁpadaṁ japati*, 'When the Uktha has been completed he mutters the Ukthasampad'. Ait. Ār. 5. 3. 1 (p. 155, 15 Keith). ⌋

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< √ *dhā* + *prati* >

92. *tā* [*prajāḥ*] *enam* [*prajāpatim*] *etasminn ātmanaḥ pratihite prāpadyanta*, 'These (creatures) entered this (Prajāpati) when this (part) of his self had been restored'. ÇB. 8. 2. 2. 5.

93. *etad vai prajāpatir etasminn ātmanaḥ pratihite 'kāmayata* . . ., 'Then Prajāpati, when this (part) of his self had been restored, desired . . .' ÇB. 8. 2. 2. 7.

94. *etad vai prajāpatir etasminn ātmanaḥ pratihite sarvāṇi bhūtāni garbhy abhavat*, 'Then Prajāpati, when this (part) of his self had been restored, became pregnant with all creatures'. ÇB. 8. 4. 2. 1.

95. *etad vai prajāpatim etasminn ātmanaḥ pratihite sarvataḥ pāpmo 'pāyatata*, 'Then, when this (part) of his self had been restored, evil beset Prajāpati on all sides'. ÇB. 8. 5. 1. 6.

< √ *nī* >

96. *sa yady anītāsu dakṣiṇāsu kalaço dīryeta* . . ., 'If the Soma vessel should break when the gift-cows have not (yet) been led up . . .' ÇB. 4. 5. 10. 7.

97. *nītāsu dakṣiṇāsu cātvāle kṛṣṇaviṣāṇāṁ prāsyati*, 'When the gift-cows have been led up he throws the horn of the black antelope into the pit'. TS. 6. 1. 3. 8.

< *nī* + *ā* >

98. *ānīte* [*kṣīre*] *japati*, 'When (the milk) has been poured in he mutters'. ÇB. 14. 2. 2. 4.

< *nī* + *ud* >

99. *yasyā 'gnihotram adhiçritam amedhyam āpadyeta kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ*; . . .; *sa yady ekasminn unnīte yadi dvayor eṣa eva kalpaḥ*, 'If anything sacrificially impure should fall into this Agnihotra when it has been placed on (the fire), what expiation is there? . . . And if (this happens i. e. if anything impure falls into the Agnihotra) after one (pot) has been filled up or after two (pots have been filled up) the procedure (for the expiation) is the same'. AB. 7. 5. 1.

More strongly than by the mere locative absolute the fact that the action expressed by the participle is antecedent to the action of the main verb is indicated by *ūrdhvam* with the ablative of the past participle at ÇB. 10. 1. 4. 11 *saṁcite 'gniḥ praṇīyate, praṇītād ūrdhvaṁ samidha āhutaya iti hūyante*, 'When

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(the fire-altar) has been completely built up Agni is brought forward; subsequent to his being brought forward the kindling logs (called) "Oblations" are offered'.

⌈ Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

<√ *1 pa* 'drink' + *ā*>

99 A. *upapurāṇe* (the Poona and Bibl. Ind. editions read *upa purāṇe* as two separate words; cf. the Remark) *nā ''pīte kakṣodake*, '.... (one should) not (study) when the water in the thicket has been sucked up (by the earth)'. Ait. Ār. 5. 3. 3 (p. 159, 6 Keith).

The style is Sūtra-like; the verb must be supplied from the preceding *athā 'taḥ svādhyāyadharmaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*; cf. above § 59, Ex. 59 A and Ex. 106 B. Keith renders: 'when the old water about the roots of the trees has been dried up', and in the Index, p. 379, col. 1 lists *upa ... ăpīte* under the √ *i*; but √ *i* + *upa-api* cannot possibly have the meaning of 'dry up'.

The Commentary states that the whole sentence refers to the time immediately following upon the full moon in the asterism Puṣya *(upa purāṇa ityādivākyena pauṣyāḥ paurṇamāsyā uparitanaḥ kāla upalakṣyate)*; that the sentence should be construed by assuming a tmesis (*tathā hi purāṇe kakṣodaka upāpīte* [so the Poona ed., the Bibl. Ind. ed. reads *upăpīte*] *sati nā 'dhīyīte 'ti vākyayojanā*); that by *kakṣa* should be understood a clump of creepers etc. *(kakṣaçabdena latādipuñjam abhidhīyate)*; then the Commentator continues: *tasya* [*kakṣasya*] *mūle vṛṣṭikālasaṁpāditam udakaṁ dravatvarūpeṇa* [so the Poona ed.; the Bibl. Ind. reads *dravarūpeṇa*] *kaṁ* [the Bibl. Ind. misprints *kiṁ*] *cit kālam anuvṛttaṁ sat pauṣādimāseṣu prāyeṇa çuṣyati tad idam atrā 'bhidhīyate; purāṇe pūrvasaṁpādite kakṣodake upāpīte* [so the Poona ed., the Bibl. Ind. reads again *upăpīte*] *latādimūlasamīpe vilīne çuṣke sati nā 'dhīyīta*, 'The water which has collected during the rain-time at the roots of this (thicket) and, having stayed for a certain time in liquid form, generally dries up in the months of Pauṣa etc., that must be here understood. When the old (water), i.e. the water which has before collected around the (roots of the) thicket has been sucked in (by the earth), (in other words) when (the water) about the roots of the creepers etc. has disappeared, dried up, then one should not study'.

Thus *nā ''pīte* stands for *na āpīte* as it is evidently taken by the Poona ed. which prints *nā ''pīte* with double avagraha-sign to indicate the elision of the long *ā*. For *āpītaṁ kakṣodakam* 'sucked in, dried up water' cf. (with the uncompounded root *pā*) *apītā āpaḥ* 'not sucked in, not dried up water' in LÇ. 3. 5. 15 *yām apītā upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ* (variant to AV. 9. 1. 9 *yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpaḥ*).

I have omitted the translation of *upapurāṇe* for which I cannot find a suitable rendering. As Keith remarks in his note (p, 303) a tmesis *upa ... āpīte*, which the commentary assumes would be very unusual, and the ἁπ. λεγ. *upapurāṇa* almost equally strange, though for the latter AV. *upottama*, PB. *upa-*

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kṣudra (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 237, § 98, f, γ) might be compared. Moreover the position of *upapurāṇe* in the clause militates against its being construed as qualifying adjective with *kakṣodake*; its position in the clause would rather seem to suggest that *upapurāṇe* stands parallel to *pūrvāhṇe* and *aparāhṇe* in the immediately following clauses *pūrvāhṇe na saṁbhinnāsu chāyāsv* (§ 59, Ex. 106 B.) *aparāhṇe nā 'dhyḻhe meghe* (§ 59, Ex. 59 A.), 'In the forenoon (he should) not (study) when the shadows meet, in the afternoon not when a cloud has risen'. ⌋

< √ *prī* + *ā* >

100. *tān* [*devān*] *āprīte paçau pura iva paryagner yūpaṁ prati purastād upāyan*, '(The Asuras) marched against these (gods) from the east in the direction of the sacrificial stake after the Āprī-verses had been recited over the victim (and) just before the carrying round of the fire'. AB. 2. 11. 1.

For *iva* = *eva* cf. above § 9, Ex. 21 Rem.

< √ *man* >

101. = Ex. 74 above.

< √ *muc* + *vi* >

102. *anyataro 'naḍvān yuktaḥ syād anyataro vimukto, 'tha rājānam upāvahareyuḥ | yad ubhayor vimuktayor upāvahareyuḥ pitṛdevatyaṁ rājānaṁ kuryuḥ | yad yuktayor ayogakṣemaḥ prajā vindet . . . | . . . te ye yukte 'nye vimukte 'nya upāvaharanty ubhāv eva te kṣemayogau kalpayanti*, 'One ox should (remain) yoked, the other one should be unyoked, then they should take king (Soma) down (from the cart); if they were to take (king Soma) down while both (oxen) are unyoked they would make king (Soma) having the Fathers for his divinity; if (they were to take king Soma down) while both (oxen) are yoked lack of rest at home connected with activity abroad would overtake (their) offspring, . . .; . . .; those who take down (king Soma) when one (ox remains) yoked (and) the other is unyoked arrange both for rest at home and for activity abroad'. AB. 1. 14. 1—4.

For *ayogakṣemaḥ* and *kṣemayogau* cf. below, Ex. 115, Rem.

For *ubhau* with *kṣemayogau* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, p. 160, § 67, c. With the paratactical clause *anyataro 'naḍvān yuktaḥ syād anyataro vimukto, 'tha rājānam upāvahareyuḥ* = 'They should take king (Soma) down (from the cart) while one ox should (remain) yoked (and) the other one be unyoked' cf. the similar paratactical arrangement at TS. 6. 2. 1. 1; K. 24. 8 (p. 98, 8) *vimukto 'nyo 'naḍvān bhavaty avimukto 'nyo, 'thā 'tithyaṁ gṛhṇāti* (K. *nirupyate*); MS. 3. 7. 9 (p. 88, 3) *yukto 'nyo 'naḍvān bhavati vimukto 'nyo, 'thā 'tithyaṁ nirvapati.*

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< √ yaj >

A. With the object of the thing offered.

103. *tasmāt prathame prayāja iṣṭe brūyāt* . . ., 'Therefore, when the first fore-offering has been offered, he should say . . .' ÇB. 1. 5. 4. 12.

In the subsequent sections 13—16 the participle is omitted.

104. *sa prathamāyāṁ vā hotrāyām iṣṭāyām uttamāyāṁ vā 'numantrayate*, 'After the first or the last Hotrā-oblation has been offered he thereupon utters the Mantra'. ÇB. 4. 2. 1. 33.

105. *iṣṭe ca sviṣṭakṛty ā 'nuyājānāṁ prasavād* [*vācaṁ yachati*], KB. 6. 13; GB. 2. 1. 1, see below § 62, Ex. 31 with the Remark.

106. *yat prayājeṣv iṣṭeṣu* (K. *yat prayājeṣv aniṣṭeṣu prāñ añgāras*) *skandati* . . ., 'If, after the fore-offerings have been made, anything be spilled . . . [If, while the fore-offerings have not (yet) been made, a coal should be spilled to the east . . .]'. TS. 2. 6. 1. 7; K. 35. 18 (p. 64, 11).

B. With the accusative of the divinity to which the offering is made.

107. *yat tāsu sarvāsv* [*devatāsu*] *iṣṭāsv athai 'tat paçce 'vā 'nuyajati* . . ., 'In that he makes an after-offering after these (divinities) have been offered to . . .' ÇB. 1. 8. 2. 7.

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, a.

< √ yaj + sam >

108. *yat tāsu sarvāsu* [*devatāsu*] *samiṣṭāsv athai 'taj* (4. 4. 4. 3 *athai 'tāni*) *juhoti* . . ., 'In that he offers this (oblation) [these (oblations)] after all these (divinities) have been sacrificed to together . . .' ÇB. 1. 9. 2. 26; 4. 4. 4. 3.

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, a.

< √ yat + sam >

With the accusative of content, cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 169, 17—34; p. 388, note 1.

109. *maitraṁ çvetam ālabheta saṁgrāme saṁyatte samayakāmaḥ*, 'He who desires a settlement should take (for slaughter) a white (victim) sacred to Mitra when battle is joined'. TS. 2. 1. 8. 4.

110. *agnaye kṣāmavate* (2. 2. 4. 5 *agnaye vājasṛte*; 2. 2. 8. 2 *indrāya manyumate manasvate*) *puroḍāçam aṣṭākapālaṁ* (2. 2. 8. 2 *ekādaçakapālaṁ*) *nirvapet saṁgrāme saṁyatte*, 'He should offer a

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cake on eight [on eleven] potsherds to Agni the Burnt [to Agni the Racer; to Indra the Wrathful, the Prudent] when battle is joined'. TS. 2. 1. 8. 4; 2. 2. 2. 4; 5; 2. 2. 8. 2.

111. *saṁgrāme saṁyatte hotavyāḥ*, '(The Rāṣṭrabhṛt-offerings) should be offered when battle is joined'. TS. 3. 4. 8. 3.

112. *etair* (9. 14 *caturhotrā*) *yājayed rājānaṁ saṁgrāme saṁyatte*, 'With these (Rāṣṭrabhṛt-offerings) [With the Caturhotṛ-rite] he should make the king sacrifice when battle is joined'. K. 9. 14 (p. 116, 6); 37. 12 (p. 93, 9).

MS. 1. 9. 6 (p. 137, 13), the parallel passage to K. 9. 14 (p. 116, 6), has: *saṁgrāmiṇam caturhotrā yājayet*.

113. *sa saṁyatte saṁgrāme chadirdarça etābhir evai 'tā atyāhvayiṣyāmī 'tarābhir itarāḥ*, 'Being such a one, when battle is joined, I will call within sight of the roofs the ones with these, the others with these (formulas)'. MS. 4. 2. 6 (p. 27, 17).

To the passages cited in pw. Nachträge 2, p. 286, col. 2; Nachträge 4, p. 299, col. 1; and Nachträge 6, p. 301, col. 2 s. *chadirdarça* and *achadirdarça* add TB. 3. 12. 5. 3 and TĀ. 2. 11. 1. For the compound cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 75, f; p. 177, 7.

< √ *yam* + *ud* >

114. *sa trayodaçyām āhutāyām udyatāyām abibhet*, 'When the thirteenth oblation had been raised up he became afraid'. K. 6. 2 (p. 50, 16).

< √ *yā* + *pra* >

115. *rudraḥ khalu vai vāstoṣpatir, yad ahutvā vāstoṣpatīyaṁ prayāyād rudra enaṁ bhūtvā 'gnir anūtthāya hanyād, vāstoṣpatīyaṁ juhoti, bhāgadheyenai 'vai 'naṁ çamayati, nā 'rtim ārchati yajamāno; yad yukte juhuyād yathā prayāte vāstāv āhutiṁ juhoti tādṛg eva tad, yad ayukte juhuyād yathā kṣema āhutiṁ juhoti tādṛg eva tad, ahutam asya vāstoṣpatīyaṁ syāt | dakṣiṇo yukto bhavati savyo 'yukto 'tha vāstoṣpatīyaṁ juhoty, abhayam evā 'kar aparivargam evai 'naṁ çamayati*, 'Rudra indeed is the Lord of the Homestead; if he should start on a journey without having offered the Vāstoṣpatīya-oblation, the fire, becoming Rudra and rising up against him, would harm him; he offers the Vāstoṣpatīya-oblation; he (thus) appeases him with his (own) share, the sacrificer does not incur misfortune; if he were to offer the oblation while (the cart) is

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yoked (i. e. while both draught animals are yoked to the cart) that is just as if one offers the oblation after home has been started from; if he were to offer the oblation while (the cart) is unyoked (i. e. while both draught animals are not yoked to the cart) that is as if one offers the oblation staying at home, his Vāstoṣpatīya-oblation would be (as good as) not offered (= futile, void); the right (draught animal) is yoked, the left one is unyoked, then he offers the Vāstoṣpatīya-oblation, thus he has brought about (= brings about) freedom from fear, he completely appeases him'. TS. 3. 4. 10. 3—4.

Cf. the parallel passage MS. 1. 5. 13, below, Ex. 118.

The Commentator explains (a) that the Vāstoṣpatīya is to be offered by one who intends to start on a journey but has not yet actually set out on it *(prayāsyatā hi vāstoṣpatīyaṁ hotavyam)*; (b) that the cart to which the right draught animal only is yoked is the symbol of such a person *(dakṣiṇabalīvarda ekasminn eva yukte tu prayāṇasya prasaktatvād anatītvāc cā 'yaṁ prayāsyan bhavati)*; (c) that the cart to which both draught animals yoked is the symbol of the fact that the journey is no longer merely intended but has already actually been begun *(ubhayayoge hi prayāṇasya niṣpannatvān nā 'yaṁ prayāsyan bhavati)*; (d) that, on the other hand, the cart to which no draught animals are yoked is the symbol of the fact that no journey is intended at all *(tayor ubhayor apy ayoge prayāṇaprasaṅgasyā 'bhāvān nai 'va prayāsyan bhavati)*; (e) 'If he were to make the offering subsequent to the pair of draught animals being yoked (to the cart) then (i. e.) to that extent the home (i. e.) the sacrificial place is (as good as) departed from; in as much as this (sacrificial place) is (as good as) departed from, it would be as if the oblation (took place) on a profane, non-sacrificial place. If (one were to say): "Then let him offer while the pair of draught animals is not yoked (to the cart)", that also would not be fitting, for it would be as if he offers while staying at home (for good) without ony intention of starting on a journey at all. In either case his Vāstoṣpatīya would be (as good as) not offered' *(yadi balīvardadvaye yukte sati paçcāj juhuyāt tadā tāvatai 'va vāstur yajñadeçaḥ prayāto bhavati, tasmin prayāte saty ayajñadeçe laukike yathā homas tathai 'tat syāt, tarhy ayukte balīvardadvaye juhotv iti cet tad apy asaṁgataṁ, yathā kṣeme sati prayāṇaprasaṅgam antareṇa juhoti tathai 'tat syād, ubhayathā 'py ahutam asya vāstoṣpatīyaṁ bhavet)*.

Following the Commentator's *vāstuḥ prayātaḥ* and *tasmin prayāte sati* I have rendered *prayāte vāstau* as absolute locative 'after home has been started from'.

Keith also accepts the Commentator's view but renders *prayāte vāstau* as conjunct locative with *juhuyāt*: 'as when one offers an oblation on a place one has left'.

For the peculiar use of the past participle *prayāta* in the sense of 'that from which one has departed' cf. (a) *upahūta* in the sense of 'that to which one has

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been invited' at VS. 8. 12 *tasya . . . upahūtasyo 'pahūto bhakṣayāmi* 'Of this (draught) to which invitation has been made I, being invited, drink' < so correctly Eggeling in note 4 to ÇB. 4. 4. 3. 11 'of that to which I am invited', while in the text he renders it by 'of the invited'; Griffith renders: 'Of that permitted do I partake permitted' following Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara who both gloss *upahūtasya* by *abhyanujñātasya* >; (b) *anupahūta* in the sense of 'that to which no invitation has been made' at JB. 2. 156. 2 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science, 15, p. 182 with the note p. 190) *tam ayam indraṁ somo rājā vito 'nupahūto 'hinot*, 'This king Soma, going in all directions, because no invitation for it had been made, hurt Indra'.

PW. and pw. take *(an)upahūta* in the sense of 'wozu (nicht) eingeladen worden ist' at TS. 1. 7. 1. 2 and ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 16, but it seems doubtful whether in these passages the word has not rather its ordinary meaning of '(un)invoked' (so Eggeling and Keith); cf. the context in ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 24 where *upo asmāñ iḍā hvayatām* is contrasted with *iḍo 'pahūta*, and the *tasmāc catur* [*iḍām*] *upahvayate* at the end of the paragraph.

(c) *abhakṣita* in the sense of 'that from which one has not drunk' at ÇB. 4. 3. 1. 21 *atha pratiprasthātā 'bhakṣitena pātreṇa | aindrāgnaṁ grahaṁ gṛhṇāti, tad yad abhakṣitena pātreṇai 'ndrāgnaṁ grahaṁ gṛhṇāti . . .*, 'Then the Pratiprasthātṛ-priest draws the Aindrāgna cup with a vessel from which one has not drunk (Eggeling; 'with the vessel not used for drinking')' etc.. and 4. 4. 1. 8 *athā 'bhakṣitena pātreṇa | vaiçvadevaṁ grahaṁ gṛhṇāti, tad yad abhakṣitena pātreṇa vaiçvadevaṁ grahaṁ gṛhṇāti . . .*, 'Then he draws the Vaiçvadeva cup with a vessel from which one has not drunk (Eggeling: 'with the same vessel, without drinking therefrom')' etc.; (d) *(a)vaṣaṭkṛta* in the sense of 'that over which the Vaṣaṭ-call has (not) been pronounced' at PB. 9. 6. 2 *avaṣaṭkṛto vā etasya somaḥ parāsicyate, . . ., vaṣaṭkṛta evā 'sya somo bhavati*, 'His Soma, not having the Vaṣaṭ-call pronounced over it, flows away, . . ., his Soma has the Vaṣaṭ-call pronounced over it'; cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 276, § 108, e, β.

A similar use of the gerundives is seen in *anapoddhārya* in the sense of 'that from which nothing may be omitted' at ÇB. 11. 1. 6. 35 *tā vā etāḥ | anapoddhāryā āhutayo bhavanti*, 'These same are oblations from which nothing may be omitted' (so Eggeling, and PW., pw. 'wovon nichts weggenommen werden darf'); and in *anaparudhya* in the sense of 'that from which one may not be driven away' (so rather than with Keith 'what cannot be taken away') at TS. 2. 8. 1. 5 *anaparudhyam evā 'vagacchati*, 'He attains that from which he may not be driven away'.

Caland (on ĀpÇ. 6. 28. 7) separating *prayāte* (which he takes as absolute locative) from *vāstau* (which he takes as conjunct locative with *juhuyāt*) renders: 'Wenn er die Spende darbrächte, nachdem angespannt worden ist, so würde es sein, als ob er nach dem Aufbruch in seiner Wohnung opferte; wenn er sie darbrächte, wenn nicht angespannt ist, so würde es sein, als ob er ruhig zu verweilen gedächte'. But this rendering fails to bring out the contrast between *prayāte vāstau* and *kṣeme* which the Commentary clearly defines.

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Excursus on the meaning and form of yogakṣema.

A. The meaning of *yoga* and *kṣema* in the Brāhmaṇas.

For the determination of the meaning of *yoga* and *kṣema* the following passages are of importance:

(1) MS. 3. 2. 2 (p. 16, 14) *anyedyuḥ prakrāmaty anyedyur upatiṣṭhate, yogakṣemaṁ vā etat prajānāṁ dādhāra, tasmād yāyāvarā anyāḥ prajāḥ kṣemyā anyā, atha yat prakramyo 'patiṣṭhate tasmād yāyāvaraḥ kṣemyam abhiprayāti tasmād yāyāvarasya kṣemyo 'nnaṁ babhūva,* 'On one day he strides forth, on the next day he stands worshipping; he thus establishes life at home connected with life on the road for the creatures; therefore some creatures are fond of wandering, others are stay-at-homes; in that, having strode forth he stands worshipping, therefore he who is fond of wandering comes to the stay-at-home (for support); therefore the stay-at-home is the food (= source of support) for him who is fond of wandering'. (2) TS. 5. 2. 1. 7 *pūrvedyur prakrāmaty uttaredyur upatiṣṭhate, tasmād yoge 'nyāsāṁ prajānām manaḥ kṣeme 'nyāsāṁ, tasmād yāyāvaraḥ kṣemyasye 'çe, tasmād yāyāvaraḥ kṣemyam adhyavasyati,* 'On one day he strides forth, on the next day he stands worshipping; therefore the mind of some creatures is (set) on a life on the road, (that) of others on a staying at home; therefore he who is fond of wandering lords it over the stay-at-home; therefore he who is fond of wandering settles down (for support) on the stay at home'. < In the last clause of TS. 5. 2. 1. 7 and of the next following passage K. 19. 12 (p. 14, 9) which is quoted by Pat. (p. 434, 13) to Pāṇ, 5. 4. 30, the ordinary meaning of √ *sā* + *adhi-ava* 'to select, choose, approve of' [so at K. 20. 1 (p. 18, 7 and 11); 23. 6 (p. 82, 15); ÇB. 10. 2. 3. 1; TS. 6. 1. 5. 1; TB. 3. 8. 1. 2; PB. 24. 18. 8; AB. 7. 20. 5 with *devayajanam*; MS. 2. 1. 1 (p. 2, 1) with *kṣetram*; ÇB. 3. 1. 1. 11 with *çālām*] does not fit; it must rather mean 'so settle down on' in the literal sense; cf. ÇB. 7. 1. 1. 1 *ned avasitān adhyavasyāni,* 'Lest I settle down on (top of) those who are (already) settled down'; if so taken *adhyavasyati* in TS. 5. 2. 1. 7 = K. 19. 12 (p. 14, 11) corresponds to *abhiprayāti* in MS. 3. 2. 2 (p. 16, 18), the sense being that he who leads a roaming life falls back for support on the thrifty stay-at-home. > (3) K. 19. 12 (p. 14, 8) *yat prakramān prakrāmati yāmaṁ*[1]

[1] The same contrast between *yāma* and *kṣema* which is found at K. 19. 12 (p. 14, 9) and MS. 3. 2. 2 (p. 16, 15) appears also in the Yajus VS. 16. 33 = TS. 4. 5. 6. 1 = MS. 2. 9. 6 (p. 125, 5) = K. 17. 4 (p. 257, 9—10) *námo yā́myāya ca kṣémyāya* [so, with abnormal paroxytone accent, probably through the influence of the preceding *yā́myāya*, cf. IF. 31, p. 60] *ca,* 'Obeisance to (the demon) who is connected with journeying and to him who is connected with staying at home'. In this Yajus the western translators, following the native commentators, connect *yā́mya* with the death-god Yama (Weber, Ind. Stud. 2, p. 38—39, 'dem im Tode und dem in der Rettung weilenden'; Griffith, 'to him who is allied to Yama, to him who prospers'; Eggeling, SBE. 43, p. 153, 'to him who is in Yama's (death's) power and to him who liveth in safety'; Keith, 'to him who dwelleth with Yama and to him at peace'), while Muir, OST. 4, p. 274, connects *yā́mya* with *yama*

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tena dādhāra, yad upatiṣṭhate kṣemaṁ tena; pūrvedyuḥ prakrāmaty aparedyur upatiṣṭhate, tasmād yāme 'nyāsāṁ prajānāṁ manaḥ kṣeme 'nyāsāṁ, tasmād yāyāvaraḥ kṣemyasye (read so for Schroeder's *kṣemasye*) *'çe, tasmād yāyāvaraḥ kṣemyam adhyavasyati,* 'In that he takes the strides forward thereby he establishes journeying, in that he stands worshipping (he establishes) life at home; he takes the strides forward on one day, he stands worshipping on the next day; therefore the mind of some creatures is (set) on journeying, (that) of others on staying at home; therefore he who is fond of wandering lords it over the stay-at-home; therefore he who is fond of wandering settles down (for support) on the stay-at-home'. (4) ÇB. 6. 7. 4. 9 *sa vai viṣṇukramān krāntvā 'tha tadānīm eva vātsapreṇo 'patiṣṭhate, yathā prayāyā 'tha tadānīm eva vimuñcet tādṛk tat, . . ., tasmād u he 'dam uta mānuṣo grāmaḥ prayāyā 'tha tadānīm evā 'vasyati. 10 tad vā ahorātre eva viṣṇukramā bhavanty ahorātre vātsapram, ahorātre eva tad yāty ahorātre kṣemyo bhavati, tasmād u he 'dam uta mānuṣo grāmo 'horātre yātvā 'horatre kṣemyo bhavati,* 'Having stridden the Viṣṇu-strides he thereupon stands worshipping (the fire) with the Vātsapra rite, that is even as one after he has journeyed forth would thereupon unyoke; . . .; and therefore also in ordinary life a troop of human villagers when they have journeyed forth thereupon unharness; now the Viṣṇu-strides are (equivalent to) day and night, (and) the Vātsapra rite is (equivalent to) day and night; it is thus for (the space of) a day and a night that he journeys, and for (the space of) a day and a night he rests; and therefore also in ordinary life a troop of human villagers when they have journeyed forth for (the space of) a day and a night rest for (the space of) a day and a night'. (5) AB. 1. 14. 1—4, see above Ex. 102. (6) JB. 3. 278 *prāyaṇīyenai 'vā 'hnā dvādaçāho yujyate daçamenā 'hnā vimucyate, yena vai yoktreṇā 'çvam açvataraṁ yuñjanti tenai 'vai 'nam punar vimuñcanti, tad yā amūḥ purastān nava stotrīyās tā evai 'tad upariṣṭāc; chamyā udasyanti, tasmāt paçur yathai 'va yujyate tathā vimucyate, tasmād u yogakṣemaḥ kalpate,* 'With the opening day the twelve-day rite is yoked, with the tenth day it is unharnessed; verily with the same yoke strap with which they yoke a horse (or) a mule with that they unharness it again; the same nine Stotrīya-verses which (are used) at the beginning these same (are also used) at the end; they throw out the yoke pins; therefore an animal is unharnessed exactly as it is yoked, and therefore life at home connected with life abroad is established'. Cf. for *tad yā amūḥ . . . udasyanti* PB. 15. 7. 6 *yā evā 'mūḥ prayañ chamyā avadadhāti tā etā udasyati.*

In all the preceding six passages *yoga* goes parallel to expressions of moving, yoking up, while *kṣema* is parallel to expressions of standing still, resting at home, unyoking [1]; thus MS. *prakrāmati, yāyāvaraḥ = yoga; upatiṣṭhate, kṣemyaḥ = kṣema;*

'restraint', rendering 'to him who exists in punishment and in prosperity'. For Rudra's connection with the road cf. Arbman, Rudra (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1922) p. 222 ff., especially p. 232 where however the epithet *yámya* is not discussed.

[1] Cf. the Yajus VS. 30. 14 (= TB.) *yogāya yoktāram . . . kṣemāya vimoktāram,* and below no. 11 (JB. 2. 202).

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TS. *prakrāmati, yoge, yāyāvaraḥ; upatiṣṭhate, kṣeme, kṣemyaḥ;* K. *prakrāmati, yāmam, yāme, yāyāvaraḥ; upatiṣṭhate, kṣemam, kṣeme, kṣemyaḥ;* ÇB. *krāntvā, prayāya, yāti; upatiṣṭhate, avasyati, kṣemyaḥ;* JB. *yujyate* = *yoga*; *vimucyate* = *kṣema*; AB. *vimuktaḥ, çālāsad* = *kṣema*; *yuktaḥ, cakriyaḥ* (Sāyaṇa glosses morphologically wrongly [Whitney, Gr. § 1214], but semantically correctly by *cakri çakaṭaṁ, tena yāntī 'ti çakaṭam āruhya gacchantyaḥ prajāç cakriyāḥ*) = *yoga*.

(7) In the following two passages *kṣema* goes parallel to *dhṛti* and √ *dhṛ*, while *yoga* is paralleled by √ *iṣ* 'seek, search for';

ÇB. 13. 1. 4. 3 *yat sāyaṁ dhṛtīr juhoti, kṣemo vai dhṛtiḥ*[1] *kṣemo rātriḥ, kṣemeṇai 'vai 'naṁ [açvam] dādhāra, tasmāt sāyaṁ manuṣyāç ca paçavaç ca kṣemyā bhavanty; atha yat prātar iṣṭibhir yajata icchaty evai 'naṁ [açvam] tat, tasmād divā naṣṭaiṣa*[2] *eti; yad v eva sāyaṁ dhṛtīr juhoti prātar iṣṭibhir yajate yogakṣemam eva tad yajamānaḥ kalpayate, tasmād yatrai 'tena yajñena yajante klptaḥ prajānāṁ yogakṣemo bhavati*, 'When he offers the Dhṛti-offerings in the evening he stays (Eggeling: keeps) this (sacrificial horse); dhṛti namely is (equivalent to) kṣema, (and) night is (equivalent to) kṣema; therefore both men and beasts stay at home (Eggeling: rest peacefully) in the evening; further, when he sacrifices with the Iṣṭi-sacrifices in the morning he seeks this (sacrificial horse); therefore during the day one goes seeking what is lost; inasmuch then as he offers the Dhṛti-offerings in the evening (and) sacrifices with the Iṣṭi-sacrifices in the morning, the sacrificer establishes rest at home connected with journeying abroad (Eggeling: security of possession); therefore where they sacrifice with this sacrifice rest at home connected with journeying abroad (Eggeling: security of possession) is established for creatures'. TB. 3. 9. 13. 2—3 *yat sāyaṁ dhṛtīr juhoty açvasya yatyai dhṛtyai* ‖ *yat prātar iṣṭibhir yajata açvam eva tad anvicchati; yat sāyaṁ dhṛtīr juhoty açvasyai 'va yatyai dhṛtyai, tasmāt sāyaṁ prajāḥ kṣemyā bhavanti; yat prātar iṣṭibhir yajata açvam eva tad anvicchati, tasmād divā naṣṭaiṣa*[3] *eti; yat prātar iṣṭibhir yajate sāyaṁ dhṛtīr juhoty ahorātrābhyām evai 'nam [açvam] anvicchaty, atho ahorātrābhyām evā 'smai yogakṣemaṁ kalpayati.* 'When he offers the Dhṛti-offerings in the evening, that is (done) for the holding (and) staying of the (sacrificial) horse; when he sacrifices with the Iṣṭi-sacrifices in the morning he thereby seeks after the (sacrificial) horse; when he offers the Dhṛti-offerings in the evening that is (done) for the holding (and) staying of the (sacrificial) horse; therefore creatures stay at home in the evening; when he sacrifices with the Iṣṭi-sacrifices in the morning he thereby seeks after the (sacrificial) horse; therefore during the day one goes seeking what

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[1] For the juxtaposition of *kṣema* and *dhṛti* cf. the Yajus VS. 18. 7 (= TS.; MS.; K.) *kṣemaç ca me dhṛtiç ca me.*

[2] Cf. K. 25. 7 (p. 111, 14) where PW. and Schroeder emend *naṣṭoṣam* of the cod. Ch. to *naṣṭaiṣam*; AB. 3. 9. 6 *naṣṭaiṣin* which Sāyaṇa derives from √ *2 iṣ* (*naṣṭaṁ vastu prayatnena tatra-tatrā 'nviṣyatī 'ti naṣṭaiṣī*).

[3] The Commentary glosses: *tasmāl loke 'pi naṣṭaiṣo naṣṭasya gavāder anveṣṭā puruṣo divai 'vā 'nveṣaṇārthaṁ saṁcarati.*

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is lost; in that he sacrifices with the Iṣṭi-sacrifices in the morning (and) offers the Dhṛti-offerings in the evening he seeks after this (sacrificial) horse by day and by night; moreover he establishes rest at home connected with journeying abroad for this (sacrificer)'.

(8) At TB. 3. 3. 3. 3—4 the yoking of the harness-straps *(yoktram eva yute)* is paralleled with *yoga*, while the sitting posture *(yad āste)* is paralleled with *kṣema* : *yad yoktraṁ sa yogo, yad āste sa kṣemaḥ // yogakṣemasya kḷptyai.* (9) At KB. 9. 4 (p. 42, 12) the formation of a lap is the consequence of sitting down to rest: *yadā vai kṣemo 'tho 'pasthaḥ*; cf. AB. 8. 9. 5 *upasthaṁ kṛtvā prāñ āsīnaḥ.* (10) At ÇB. 3. 5. 3. 20 the two Soma carts *(havirdhāne)* when they firmly rest upon the center or nave-board of the wheels are called the symbol *(rūpa)* of rest or repose *(kṣema)* : *nabhyasthe* [*havirdhāne*] *karoti, tad dhi kṣemarūpam*; cf. KÇ. 8. 4. 5 . . . *madhye phalake sthāpayet* . . . (11) Referring to the gift of a one-horse cart loaded with barley *(sthūri yavācitam)* to the Acchāvaka-priest (cf. TB. 1. 8. 2. 4; MS. 4. 4. 8 [p. 59, 7]; PB. 18. 9. 17) the JB. 2. 202 notes that the one-horse cart is a symbol *(rūpa)* of rest at home or repose *(kṣema)* : *atha yat sthūri yavācitam* (the ms. *spūryyavācitam*) *acchāvākāya bhavati dhīte 'va ha vā eṣā hotrā yātayāmnī yad acchāvākīyā, tāṁ etām eva yavair āpyāyayanti, tat sthūri bhavati kṣemasya rūpaṁ hotrā anuvimucyāntā iti*, 'Now as regards the fact that a one-horse cart is (given) to the Acchāvāka-priest; exhausted so to speak, spent is the Acchāvāka's priestly office; that same (priestly office) they replenish with the barley; it is a one-horse cart, the symbol of rest: "May the Hotrās be successively unharnessed"'. The *sthūri* appears to be taken as a symbol of *kṣema* because it is a vehicle suitable for use in the village only and not for travelling long distances on uneven or hilly ground (Comment. on TB. 3. 8. 21. 3 *yathā loke sthūriṇā sthūlabhārayuktena çakaṭādinā sama eva deçe gantuṁ çaknuyān na tu viṣame parvatārohaṇādau*).[1]

The foregoing passages establish, it seems to me, for *yoga* the general idea of 'active life away from home on a journey' and for *kṣema* 'reposeful life at home'. This general meaning may then be variously shaded by the context and the situation, e.g. RV. 4. 24. 4 *yoga* = 'Kriegsfahrt' (Geldner's RV. translation with note).

But I doubt that down to the time of the Brāhmaṇas the terms *yoga* and *kṣema* had already acquired the narrow and specific meanings which the concurrent testimony of the native commentators ascribes to them viz. 'acquisition of property' for *yoga*, and 'conservation of such acquisition' for *kṣema*[2], and

[1] Nothing as to the force of *kṣema* can be gleaned from the comment at ÇB. 13. 2. 9. 5; TB. 3. 9. 7. 2 on the Yajus VS. 23. 26 *çīte vāte punann iva.* The ÇB. explains *kṣemo vai rāṣṭrasya çītaṁ, kṣemam evā 'smai karoti*, and TB. *kṣemo vai rāṣṭrasya çīto vātaḥ, kṣemam evā 'varunddhe* (Comment. *çītavātasya tāpani-varakatvena kṣemarūpatvād yajamānaḥ kṣemam eva prāpnoti*).

[2] Cf. e.g. the glosses on RV. 7. 54. 3 and 7. 86. 8 *yogaḥ = aprāptasya prāpaṇam, kṣemaḥ = prāptasya rakṣaṇam*; on RV. 5. 37. 5 *yogaḥ = alabdhasya [dhan-*

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which the western translators generally accept even for the early language of the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas.

B. The nature of the compound *yogakṣemáḥ*.

(1) With the exception of RV. 10. 166. 5 (where the compound *yogakṣema* is used) the terms *yoga* and *kṣema* occur several times in the RV. in close juxtaposition, always in the order *kṣema*, *yoga* (cf. the compound *kṣemayoga* below, under 2), thus RV. 5. 37. 5 *puṣyāt kṣeme abhi yoge bhavāti*, 7. 54. 3 *pāhi kṣema uta yoge varaṁ naḥ* [= PG.; MG.; and cf. TS. 3. 4. 10. 1 (= ĀpMB.) *āvaḥ kṣema uta yoge varaṁ naḥ*]; 7. 86. 8 *çaṁ naḥ kṣeme çam u yoge no astu*; 10. 89. 10. *indraḥ kṣeme yoge havya indraḥ*; besides, with *prayuj* instead of *yoga*, 8. 37. 5. *kṣemasya ca prayujaç ca tvam īçiṣe*. Similarly AV. 19. 8. 2 *kṣemaṁ pra padye yogaṁ ca*, but immediately preceding with reversed order, *yogaṁ pra padye kṣemaṁ ca*.

(2) Parallel to this juxtaposition of *kṣema* and *yoga* a copulative compound (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 65, p. 155) with dual termination would be expected, at least for the post-Rigvedic language. But of such a formation I can cite but two examples: *yogakṣemābhyām* in the Yajus Kauç. 56. 13 *yogakṣemābhyāṁ tvā paridadāmi* and *kṣemayogau* at AB. 1. 14. 4 *ubhāv eva te kṣemayogau kalpayanti* (contrast, however, in 3 the singular [*ayogakṣemaḥ prajā vindet*] with privative *a*-, see below no. 3).

(3) In its stead, however, appears the compound *yogakṣemáḥ* with masculine singular termination. Its earliest occurence is at RV. 10. 166. 5 *yogakṣemaṁ va ādāyā 'haṁ bhūyāsam uttamaḥ.*[1] After the Rigvedic period we find it in the Yajuses VS. 22. 22 (= TS., MS., KAçv., ÇB., TB.) *yogakṣemo naḥ kalpatām*, AB. 8. 9. 12 *kalpatāṁ me yogakṣemaḥ*, Kauç. 114. 2 *yogakṣemaṁ dhenuṁ vājapatnīm*; ĀpÇ. 3. 14. 13 (= ĀÇ.) *yogakṣemasya çāntyai*. It is not infrequent in the prose of the Brāhmaṇas[2] and continues through the younger Upaniṣads into epic and classical literature.

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asya] *prāptiḥ, kṣemaḥ = prāptasya dhanasya rakṣaṇam*; on RV. 10. 166. 5 *yogaḥ = aprāptasya dhanasya prāptiḥ, kṣemaḥ = prāptasya rakṣaṇam*; on RV. 10. 89. 10 *yogaḥ = alabdhasya dhanasya lābhaḥ, kṣemaḥ = labdhasya dhanasya paripālanam*; on VS. 22. 22 *yogaḥ = alabdhalābhaḥ, kṣemaḥ = labdhasya paripālanam* (= Comment. on ṢB. 2. 8. 10 where *-lābhaḥ* should be read for *-lobhaḥ*); on AV. 19. 8. 2 *yogaḥ = alabdhavastuprāptiḥ, kṣemaḥ = labdhavastuparipālanam*; on AB. 1. 14. 4 *yogaḥ = aprāptasya dhanādeḥ saṁpādanam, kṣemaḥ = prāptasya rakṣaṇam*; on AB. 8. 6. 8 *yogaḥ = aprāptasya lābhasya prāptiḥ, kṣemaḥ = prāptasya vastuno rakṣaṇam*; on ÇB. 11. 5. 6. 4 *yogaḥ = aprāptasya phalasya prāptiḥ, kṣemaḥ = tasya paripālanam*; on Taitt. Up. 3. 10. 2 *yogaḥ = anupāttasyo 'pādānam, kṣemaḥ = upāttarakṣaṇam*, etc.

[1] With this appropriation of some one's else *yogakṣema* cf. K. 9. 13 (p. 115, 18) = MS. 1. 9. 5 (p. 136, 5) *nā 'syā 'nyo yogakṣemasye 'çe*.

[2] Add to the passages cited in PW. TB. 3. 8. 13. 3; JB. 1. 89 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 19, no. 13), and cf. JB. 2. 43 and 44 *yogakṣemin*.

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With the privative *a-* it occurs at ÇB. 11. 4. 2. 2 *ayogakṣemo yajamānam rcchet* and AB. 1. 14. 3 *ayogakṣemaḥ prajā vindet*; cf. below.

While one is tempted to take *yogakṣemáḥ* as a copulative compound[1] the formal difficulties which militate against such an interpretation are very considerable.

Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 165, § 70 gives a few instances of Dvandvas with masculine or feminine singular termination from the younger Upaniṣads, the Epic, and the inscriptions but expressly lists *yogakṣemáḥ* as a Tatpuruṣa (Altind. Gr. II, 1 p. 159, 16, § 67, b, α), following the PW.

Keith who discusses the possibility of interpreting *yogakṣemáḥ* as a copulative compound in JRAS. 1912, p. 1101—1102 cites three very problematic instances of early copulative compounds of this character, as follows:

(α) *ukṣavaçáḥ* TS. 2. 1. 7. 2; 6; ÇB. 4. 5. 1. 9. The dual *ukṣavaçaú* occurs as copulative compound (p. w. Nacht. III, p. 256, col. 3 'Stier und Geltkuh'; Keith 'ox and cow') at TS. 2. 1. 4. 4; for the masculine gender which the Commentary notes *(liñgavyatyayo draṣṭavyaḥ)* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 38, § 15, a. But the singular *ukṣavaçáḥ* is probably to be taken with Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 100, a, p. 250, 21 as 'ein die Art einer *vaçā* an sich tragender also nicht zeugender Ochse' cf. Pāṇ. 2. 1. 65 and the Commentary to TS. 2. 1. 7. 2 (p. 307, 1) *ukṣavaço vyarthavīryo vṛṣabhaḥ*. It should further be noted that the parallels K. 13. 8 (p. 190, 7) and MS. 2. 5. 7 (p. 56, 13) have *ukṣā* for TS. *ukṣavaçáḥ*, and that TS. *ukṣavaçaḥ* forms an item in a series consisting of single animals. (β) *ukṣavehát* ÇB. 12. 4. 4. 6. In this passage the householder invites a Brāhmaṇa who in anger leaves his house back by the offer of an *ukṣavehát (yathā brāhmaṇam āvasathavāsinaṁ kruddhaṁ yantam ukṣavehato 'pamantrayeta)*, and a comparison with AB. 1. 15. 6 where either an *ukṣan* or a *vehat* is killed as guest offering for a king or other worthy *(yathai 'vā 'do manuṣyarāja āgate 'nyasmin vā 'rhaty ukṣāṇaṁ vā vehataṁ vā kṣadante)* might suggest the possibility of interpreting ÇB. *ukṣavehát* as a copulative compound with disjunctive force (Whitney, Gr. § 1252, b; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 67, b, α, p. 159, 7 and § 69, a. note, p. 163, 3; Richter, IF. 9, p. 39; Liebich, Zwei Kapitel der Kāçikā, p. XII, 12; XIII, 11; 77, 7) = 'either an ox or a cow who is wont to miscarry'. But Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. § 100, a, p. 250, 16 classes *ukṣavehát* in the same category with *ukṣavaçá*, and takes it to mean 'an ox which has the characteristic mark of a *vehát*' = 'ein zeugungsunfähiger Stier' (so PW. with a query-mark, pw. without query mark, Monier-Williams). <The meaning 'a cow which miscarries, casts her calf' is established for *vehat* by the context at TS. 2. 1. 5. 3 *oṣadhībhyo vehatam ālabheta prajākāma, oṣadhayo vā etaṁ prajāyai paribādhante yo 'laṁ prajāyai san prajāṁ na vindata, oṣadhayaḥ khalu vā etasyai sūtum apighnanti yā vehad bhavaty, oṣadhīr eva svena bhāgadheyeno 'padhāvati, tā evā 'smai svād yoneḥ prajāṁ prajanayanti, vindate prajām*, 'He who desires offspring should

[1] So for instance Ludwig RV. 10. 166. 5 'tüchtigkeit in krieg und frieden'; Deussen and Max Müller Taitt. Up. 3. 10. 2 'Einnahme und Wohlstand', 'acquisition and possession'; Keith TS. 7. 5. 18. 1 'union and peace' (but cf. Keith's note).

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take for sacrifice to the plants a cow which is wont to cast her calf; it is the plants who hinder him from offspring who being capable of offspring does not obtain offspring; the plants indeed kill the foetus of a (cow) which casts her calf; so he has recourse to the plants with their own share, they produce offspring for him from his own womb, he obtains offspring', with the parallels K. 13. 4 (p. 184, 12) and MS. 2. 5. 4 (p. 51, 16), and by the concurrent testimony of the Commentators who gloss *vehat* by *garbhavināçinī*, *garbhaghātinī*. Eggeling renders it by 'a cow longing for a bull', probably on the authority of Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmani 1266 *vehad vṛṣopagā*; but for such an interpretation the older literature (including the Commentators) offers no support. There *vehat* is a cow who casts her calf, and thus practically a barren cow (cf. Whitney's note to AV. 3. 23. 1) >. Finally (γ) *kikidīvīvidīgayaḥ* KAçv. 10. 2 (p. 184, 13). Parallel to TS. 5. 6. 22 *chagalaḥ kalmāṣaḥ kikidīvir* (PW. s v.: 'prim. manu *kikidīvir*, secund. manu *kikidīvir*') *vidīgayas te tvāṣṭrāḥ* the KAçv. has *chagalaḥ kalmāṣaḥ kikidīvīvidīgayas tau tvāṣṭrau*; *kikidīvīvidīgayas* is the reading of the cod. Ch., and Schroeder notes: 'da hier nur zwei Tiere für Tvaṣṭar gezählt werden — der Bock und der Vogel — habe ich das seltsame Compositum stehen lassen'. The corresponding passage at TB. 3. 9. 9. 3 has *chagalaṁ kalmāṣaṁ kikidīviṁ vidīgayam iti tvāṣṭrān paçūn ālabhate* and ĀpÇ. 20. 22. 13 *chagalaḥ kalmāṣaḥ kikidīvir vidīgaya iti te trayas tvāṣṭrāḥ*. The Commentaries to TS. and TB. agree in glossing *kikidīviḥ* by *tittiriḥ* 'partridge'; *vidīgayaḥ* is glossed by the former with *kukkuṭaviçeṣaḥ* 'a kind of cock', by the latter with *çvetabakaḥ* 'a white heron'. Sāyaṇa on RV. 10. 97. 13 glosses *kikidīvinā* quite generally by *pakṣiṇā*. The Commentators to TS. 4. 2. 6. 4 and VS. 12. 87 explain it as an onomatopoetic formation from the sound *kiki* and the verb *dīvyati* (= *krīḍati* VS., = *vyavaharati* TS.), the former adds that *kikidīviḥ* is also the name of an illness which has its origin in the body-phlegm *(rogaviçeṣaḥ kikidīviḥ sa ca çleṣmajanyaḥ)*. It is impossible to determine the exact meaning of the two words with any degree of accuracy. But the *tau tvāṣṭrau* of KAçv. makes it certain that *kikidivīvidīgayas* cannot be construed as Dvandva, because in that case three animals (as in TS., TB., and ApÇ.) would result. The compound must refer to a single animal, and may possibly belong to the type of Tatpuruṣas discussed by Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 250, § 100, a.

Besides, the following two compounds not mentioned by either Wackernagel or Keith deserve to be noted:

(1) *itihāsapurāṇaḥ* at Chānd. Up. 7. 1. 4 *nāma vā ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmaveda ātharvaṇaç caturtha itihāsapurāṇaḥ pañcamo vedānāṁ vedaḥ*. All the editions and the mss. collated by Boehtlingk read here the masculine singular, and the *itihāsapurāṇam* in the corresponding passage Chānd. Up. 7. 1. 2 *ṛgvedaṁ bhagavo 'dhyemi yajurvedaṁ sāmavedam ātharvaṇam caturtham itihāsapurāṇaṁ pañcamaṁ vedānāṁ vedam* would then appear to have to be taken as accusative masculine. Boehtlingk in his edition of the Chānd. Up. corrects, without comment, *itihāsapurāṇaḥ* to the neuter *itihāsapurāṇam*, in pw. he notes 'Das mascul. Chānd. Up. 7. 1. 4 ohne Zweifel fehlerhaft'. But I cannot help feeling about this change as

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Lüders does about Boehtlingk's change of Chānd. Up. 4. 3. 2 *adhidaivatam* to *adhidevatam* and of Chānd. Up. 4. 4. 4. *somya* to *saumya* (Sitz.-Ber. kgl. preuß. Ak. d. W., 1906, p. 294; 1922, p. 229): they are corrections rather than emendations.

Of the native commentators Mitākṣara and Rāghavendra undoubtedly interpret the compound correctly as a Dvandva-Bahuvrīhi qualifying *vedaḥ*: 'Of the Vedas the fifth Veda viz. that which consists of Itihāsas and Purāṇas'. The former glosses (to 7. 1. 2): *itihāsapurāṇātmakaṁ pañcamaṁ vedaṁ vedānām*, the latter (to 7. 1. 2): *itihāsapurāṇam iti dvandvaikavadbhāvaḥ, . . ., itihāsapurāṇarūpavedam.* The type is discussed by Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 280, § 109, d. It is because they have thus explained the accusative masculine at 7. 1. 2 that the Commentators are silent about the nominative masculine at 7. 1. 4.

(2) *kṣayavṛddhiḥ*[1] at ṢB. 4. 6. 1 *athai 'ṣā candramasaḥ kṣayavṛddhir bhavati yadā vai candramāḥ kṣīyate cā 'pyāyate ca.* The Commentary notes: *yady api dvivacanena bhavitavyaṁ tathā 'pi bāhulakād ekavacanam,* and Eelsingh (Introduction, p. XXXV) 'een enkelvoudig dvandva met vrouwelike uitgang' with a reference to Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 70. The word is undoubtedly a real Dvandva with singular termination and should be added to Wackernagel's examples; but it is too late[2] to furnish an adequate parallel to the early *yogakṣemáḥ.*

The support for a masculine singular *yogakṣemáḥ* with Dvandva force thus appears to be exceedingly weak. Moreover the noun *ayogakṣemaḥ* (AB., ÇB.) is against such an interpretation, for the only Dvandva compound with privative *a-* is the neuter singular *ajñānādhyāpanam* 'failure to know and to instruct' at Gautama DhÇ. 21. 12 *ajñānādhyāpanād ṛtvigācāryau patanīyasevāyāṁ ca heyau* which Bühler renders: 'An officiating priest must be forsaken if he is ignorant (of the rules of sacrifice), a teacher if he does not impart instruction, and both if they commit crimes causing loss ot cast'.[3] Apte's text in the Ānandāçrama edition [3. 3. 12, p. 168] reads here *ajñānād anadhyāpanād ṛtvigācāryau . . . heyau,* and this reading is repeated in the Commentary: *ajñānād anadhyāpanād iti, yadi karmaṇi pravṛtta ṛtviñ mantrān karmapaddhatiṁ vā na jānāti sa ca ya ālasyādinā nā 'dhyāpayaty ācāryas tāv ubhau heyau tvājyau.*

The impossibility of construing *yogakṣemáḥ* as a Dvandva compound was pointed out in PW. which renders it as a Tatpuruṣa compound with genitival relation of the first member: 'Besitz des Erworbenen, Erhaltung des Vermögens'; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 159, 16, § 67, b, α follows the construction and rendering of the PW.; Eggeling translates it by 'security of possession, security

[1] The compound is not listed in pw.

[2] Neither *kṣaya* nor *vṛddhi* are used in the older Brāhmaṇas with reference to the waxing and waning of the moon.

[3] The Jātaka instance *amātāpitari saṃvaddho* 'nicht bei Vater und Mutter aufgewachsen' cited by Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 70, note, p. 165, 18 belongs to the examples collected by Wackernagel § 31, c, p. 78, where KB. 25. 15 (p. 119, 19) *aphālakṛṣṭāñç ca pratigṛhṇan* = *phālakṛṣṭāñç cā 'pratigṛhṇan* 'not accepting fruit that has grown on ploughed land' may be added.

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of property'; Apte by 'security of possession, keeping safe of property'. These translations are evidently based on the native commentators (above A), but it should be noted that according to them *yoga* does not mean 'the thing acquired' but 'the acquisition of new property', while *kṣema* does not mean 'conservation' but 'conservation of what has been acquired', so that the PW.'s 'Erhaltung des Vermögens' is covered by the meaning of *kṣema* alone, as taken by the native commentators.

Keith who renders *yogakṣemáḥ* at TS. 7. 5. 18. 1 by 'union and peace' adds in the note that Eggeling's rendering 'security of possession' "is quite possible and suits best the technical grammar, but the sense may well be 'peace consisting in union', not technically a Dvandva at all".

If we turn to the interpretation of *yogakṣemáḥ* by the native commentators there are a few passages in which they seem to have taken it as a copulative compound. The clearest case is the Commentator to Taitt. Up. 3. 10. 2 who, after first defining the two members of the compound (*yoga* and *kṣema*) separately, then continues *tau hi yogakṣemau*. Similarly Sāyaṇa on RV. 10. 166. 5 first defines the two members of the compound separately and then glosses *yogakṣemaṁ va ādāya* by *tad ubhayam ādāya yuṣmatto gṛhītvā*; and, almost verbatim alike the Commentary to ṢB. 2. 8. 10 first defines *yoga* and *kṣema* separately and then glosses *yogakṣemo brahmāṇam anu* by *tad ubhayam api brahmāṇam anugacchati*; in both instances the *ubhayam* seems to indicate that *yogakṣemáḥ* was regarded by the commentators as a real Dvandva.

But elsewhere the commentators explain *yogakṣemāḥ* by *yogasahitaḥ kṣemaḥ* (so on TS. 7. 5. 18. 1; TB. 3. 3. 3. 4; AB. 1. 14. 2; 8. 6. 8; 8. 9. 12) or *yogena yuktaḥ kṣemaḥ* (so on VS. 22. 22) which clearly shows that they regarded it not as an *ubhayapadārthapradhānaḥ samāsaḥ* (= a Dvandva compound having the same semantic stress on both its constituent members) but as an *uttarapadārthapradhānaḥ samāsaḥ* (= a Tatpuruṣa compound having the semantic stress on its last constituent member): '*kṣema* connected with or accompanied by *yoga*'. A type of compounds very similar to this is discussed by Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 244, § 98, c, viz. compounds where 'das Vorderglied überhaupt etwas für den Hintergliedsbegriff Charakteristisches, ihn Unterscheidendes gibt', as for instance *daçāpavitrám* (ÇB., ĀB., ĀpÇ.) 'a straining cloth with fringes'.

The relation of the Dvandva *yogakṣemaú* to the Tatpuruṣa *yogakṣemáḥ* is closely paralleled by the relation of the Dvandva *atharvāñgirasaḥ* 'the Atharvas and Añgirases = the Atharvaveda' to the Tatpuruṣa *atharvāñgirās* 'the Añgiras connected with the Atharva (-veda)' at Mbh. 5. 18. 5—8 *tataḥ sa bhagavāṅs tatra aṅgirāḥ samadṛçyata / athai 'va vedamantraiç ca devendraṁ samapūjayat // tatas tu bhagavān indraḥ saṁhṛṣṭaḥ samapadyata / varaṁ ca pradadau tasmā atharvāñgirase tadā: // atharvāñgiraso nāma vede 'smin vai bhaviṣyati / udāharaṇam etad dhi yajñabhāgaṁ ca lapsyase // evaṁ saṁpūjya bhagavān atharvāñgirasaṁ tadā / vyasarjayan mahārāja devarājaḥ çatakratuḥ //* 'Then there appeared the venerable Añgiras and honoured god Indra with Vedic Mantras; then the venerable

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Indra was pleased and granted thereupon a boon to this Aṅgiras who is connected with the Atharva(-veda): "In this Veda there will be (one Veda) called 'the Atharvas and the Aṅgiras (= the Atharvaveda)', for that is its appellation, and thou wilt obtain a share in the sacrifice". Then having thus honoured the Aṅgiras who is connected with the Atharva(-veda) the venerable Indra, the great king of the gods, dismissed him, O great king'.

The semantic shift by which *yogakṣemaú* (Dvandva with even semantic stress on both constituent members) was converted to *yogakṣemáḥ* (Tatparuṣa with semantic stress on the last constituent member) can be compared to the semantic shift which takes place when a sentence like 'Both mother and father went to the country' is changed to 'The father with the mother went to the country'.

A further semantic development shows a fading away of the individual force of the two constituent members *yoga* and *kṣema* and a unification of the meaning of the compound to the general idea of 'welfare, wellbeing, prosperity'.

< √ *yuj* >

116. = Ex. 102 above.

117. = Ex. 115 above.

118. *na sarveṣu yukteṣu hotavyam, vāstau juhuyān, nā 'yukteṣv, ayataṁ kriyate; sarvāṇy anyāni yuktāni syur, agniṣṭhasya dakṣiṇo yuktaḥ syāt savyasya yoktraṁ parihṛtam atha juhuyān, na vāstau juhoti, yatam utkriyate, tan na sūrkṣyaṁ, sarveṣv eva yukteṣu hotavyam*, 'The oblation should not be offered when all (the animals) are yoked, (for so) he would offer the oblation in the homestead; nor when all (the animals) are unyoked, (for) something unbridled is (thus) produced; all the other (animals) should be yoked, the right (animal) of the Agniṣṭha (-stake) should be yoked, (but) the yoke of the left one should be taken off, then he should offer the oblation, (for thus) he does not offer the oblation in the homestead (nor) is the bridling undone; this (rule, however), should not be attended to, (but) the oblation should be offered when all (the animals) are yoked'. MS. 1. 5. 13 (p. 82, 5).

Cf. the parallel passage TS. 4. 4. 10. 3—4, above Ex. 115.

< √ *yuj* + *ni* >

119. *niyukteṣu paçuṣu prokṣaṇīr adhvaryur ādatte*, 'After the victims have been tied (to the sacrificial stake) the Adhvaryu-priest takes the sprinkling water'. ÇB. 13. 2. 7. 1.

120. *ālabdhāya svāhe* (TS. 7. 4. 16. 1) *'ti niyukte [açve] juhoti,*

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'With (the formula) TS. 7. 4. 16. 1 he offers the oblation after (the horse) has been tied (to the sacrificial stake)' TB. 3. 9. 16. 2.

Cf. ĀpÇ. 20. 15. 6, below Ex. 236 Rem.

< √ *rabh* + *anu* — *ā* >

In the following passages (Ex. 121—123) the past participle *anvārabdha* has active meaning, cf. PW. s. *rabh* + *anu* — *ā,* col. 269, 13; Caland, ZDMG. 53, p. 215; below § 62, Ex. 35 and the Remark to § 23, Ex. 1, p. 38, 17 in the **Corrections and Additions.**

121. *anvārabdhe yajamāna ādhvarikaṁ yajur anudrutyā 'çvamedhikaṁ yajuḥ pratipadyate,* 'After the sacrificer has taken hold (of the Adhvaryu-priest) from behind, (the Adhvaryu-priest) quickly running over the Yajus which belongs to the Soma sacrifice commences the Yajus which belongs to the Açvamedha'. ÇB. 13. 2. 7. 1.

122. *atha hā 'sminn* [*hariçcandre*] *anvārabdhe* [*çunaḥçepaḥ*] *pūrvābhiç catasṛbhiḥ sasvāhākārābhir juhavāṁ cakāra,* "Then, after this (Hariçcandra) had taken hold (of him) from behind, he (= Çunaḥçepa) offered the oblation with the first four verses (viz. RV. 1. 28. 1—4) accompanied by the Svāhā-call'. AB. 7. 17. 1.

The parallel passage ÇÇ. 15. 23 reads: *athā 'hā 'sminn anvārabdha etasyai 'va sūktasya pūrvābhiç* etc. The Commentary to AB. glosses *anvārabdhe* by *upaspṛṣṭavati.*

123. *pariparetya gārhapatyam anvārabdhe* [*putre*] *juhoti,* 'Having walked round back to the Gārhapatya fire, after (the son) has taken hold (of the father), he (= the father) offers the oblation'. ÇB. 5. 4. 2. 9.

< √ *rabh* + *sam* — *anu* — *ā* >

In the following examples (Ex. 124—125) the past participle *samanvārabdha* has active meaning, cf. PW. s. *rabh* + *sam* — *anu* — *ā,* col. 269, 22.

124. *teṣu* [*ṛtvikṣu*] *samanvārabdheṣv ete āhutī juhoti,* 'After these (priests) have taken hold of each other from behind, he offers these two oblations'. ÇB. 4. 6. 9. 8.

125. *payaḥ samanvārabdheṣu* [*ṛtvikṣu*] *juhoti,* 'After (the priests) have taken hold of each other from behind he offers the milk'. ÇB. 12. 8. 1. 20.

< √ *labh* + *ā* >

126. *tasyai vā etasyā ekam evā 'devayajanaṁ yad ālabdhāyām*

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abhraḥ | bhavati, yad ālabdhāyām abhraḥ syād apsu vā praveçayat sarvāṁ vā prāçnīyāt, 'As regards this same (cow) there is but one (condition which makes it an) unsuitable sacrifice to the gods, viz. if there is a cloud (in the sky) after (the cow) has been taken (for slaughter); if there is a cloud (in the sky) after (the cow) has been taken (for slaughter), he should either throw her into the water or eat her whole'. TS. 3. 4. 3. 7—8.

Adevayajana is not registered in pw.

< √ *vac* >

127. *tasmin ho 'kta upāvaruroha*, 'After this had been said he stepped down'. ÇB. 10. 3. 3. 5.

128. *etasyām [ṛci] uktāyām utthāya sadaso 'dhi yajamānam abhyāyanti*, 'When this (verse) has been recited, having risen, they betake themselves from the Sadas to the sacrificer'. ÇB. 13. 5. 2. 16.

129. *tasya [çunaḥçepasya] ha sma ṛcy-ṛcy uktāyāṁ vi pāço mumuce; . . .; uttarasyām eva ṛcy uktāyāṁ vi pāço mumuce*, 'After each verse had been recited his (= Çunaḥçepa's) fetter was undone: . . .; when the last verse had been recited the fetter was (completely) undone'. AB. 7. 16. 13.

The parallel passage ÇÇ. 15. 23 reads *nitarāṁ pāço mumuce* for the first *vi pāço mumuce*, and *uttamāyāṁ ha sma ṛcy* for *uttarasyām eva ṛcy*, and Weber (Ind. Stud. 9, p. 316) suggests emending the AB. reading accordingly. The second edition of Boehtlingk's Chrestomathie reads *vitarāṁ pāço mumuce*.

Weber's conjecture *vipāço* (as compound) has crept into the PW. s. *vipāça*, but cf. PW. s. *muc* + *vi*, col. 818, 14.

130. *etad dha vā uvāca vāsiṣṭhas sātyahavyo : 'skān* (GB. *'skăn*) *soma ity ukte* : *mā sūrkṣata pracarata . . . iti*, 'Now, when the statement had been made: "The Soma hath been spilled", Vāsiṣṭha Sātyavaha said: "Pay no heed to it, proceed . . ."'. K. 34. 17 (p. 47, 18); GB. 2. 2. 10 (p. 174, 16).

The direct discourse *askăn somaḥ* is the subject of the Absolute Locative.

Askān somaḥ refers to the formula *brahman somo 'skān* (GB.; Vait. *'skău*) K. 34. 18 (p. 48, 21); GB. 2. 2. 12 (p. 177, 4); Vait. 16. 15; ĀpÇ. 14. 28. 6.

For the variation between the first (Whitney, Gr. § 833, a) and the fourth (Whitney, Gr. § 890, b) aorist cf. KÇ. 25. 12. 9 *askăn parjanyaḥ pṛthivīm*, but TB. 3. 7. 10. 3 etc. *askān dyāuḥ pṛthivīm*; ÇB. 12. 4. 17; KÇ. 25. 2. 5 *askānn adhita prājani*, but ÇÇ. 3. 20. 4, in the same formula, *askān*, and so also TB. 3. 7. 10. 4 etc. *askān ajani prājani*; TB. 3. 7. 10. 3 *askān ṛṣabho yuvā gāḥ*, but KÇ. 25. 12. 9 *askăn gām ṛṣabho yuvā*.

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< √ *vac* + *anu* >

131. *sa [agniḥ] yady ekasyām [ṛci] evā 'nūktāyām jāyeta yadi dvayor, atho : 'ta bruvantu jantava* (RV. 1. 74. 3) *iti jātāya jātavatīm abhirūpām anubrūyāt,* 'If this Agni should be generated after one or two (Rakṣoghnī-verses, RV. 10. 118) have been recited, then he (= the Hotṛ-priest) should recite for (Agni) when he is generated (the verse) RV. 1. 74. 3 which contains (the word) "generated" (and) is (therefore) appropriate'. AB. 1. 16. 13.

< √ *vac* + *pra* >

132. *tam evam etam bhakṣam provāca rāmo mārgaveyo viçvantarāya sauṣadmanāya / tasmin ho 'vāca prokte : sahasram u ha brāhmaṇa tubhyam dadmaḥ . . . iti,* 'Rāma Mārgaveya explained this Soma draught to Viçvantara Sauṣadmana; after it had been explained he said: "We give thee, O Brāhmaṇa, a thousand cows . . ."' AB. 7. 34. 7—8.

⌜ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

132 A. *atho ha prokte 'çane brūyāt: . . .; sa yathā prokte 'çane çreyānsam pariveṣṭavai brūyāt tādṛk tat,* 'When the meal has been announced he should say: . . .; as if, when the meal has been announced, one would direct a superior to be served (first), even so is this'. JUB. 2. 15. 3.

132 B. *prokte japati . . .,* 'After it has been explained he mutters . . .'. Ait. Ār. 5. 1. 5 (p. 148, 10 Keith).

Prokte refers to the explanation given to the Prastotṛ-priest in the preceding sentence: *prastotāram samçāsti* etc. ⌟

< √ *vad* >

133. *udite brahmodye prapadyā 'dhvaryur hiraṇmayena pātreṇa prājāpatyam mahimānam graham gṛhṇāti,* 'After the theological discussion has been held the Adhvaryu-priest, having entered (the Havirdhāna-shed) draws the Mahiman-cup sacred to Prajāpati with a golden vessel'. ÇB. 13. 5. 2. 23.

< √ *vad* + *pra* >

134. *tasmān mahati rātryā [prātaranuvākaḥ] anūcyaḥ / purā vācaḥ pravaditor anūcyaḥ / yad vāci proditāyām anubrūyād anyasyai 'vai 'nam uditānuvādinam kuryāt,* 'Therefore (the morning litany) should

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be recited in the dead of night; it should be recited before speech is spoken; if he were to recite it after speech has been spoken he would make him (= the sacrificer) speak that which another has spoken before'. AB. 2. 15. 8—10.

For *purā vācaḥ pravaditoḥ* (also at TS. 2. 2. 9. 5; 6. 4. 3. 1—2; MS. 4. 5. 3, p. 66, 12—13) cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 431, 19—21.

< √ *vap* + *sam* — *ā* >

135. *tān etān saṁbharān saṁbhṛtyau 'dumbaryāṁ pātryāṁ vā camase vā samāvapeyus, teṣu samopteṣu dadhi madhu sarpir ātapavarṣyā āpo 'bhyānīya pratiṣṭhāpyai 'tām āsandīm abhimantrayeta*, 'Having collected these (sacrificial) ingredients they should mix them in a vessel of Udumbara-wood or in a cup; after they have been mixed, having poured curds, honey, clarified butter, (and) rain water which has fallen while the sun shines on them (and) having put them down, he should address the throne with a Mantra'. AB. 8. 17. 1.

For the accusative *āpaḥ* cf. Whitney, Gr. § 393, a; Lanman, Noun-Inflection, p. 483, 1—4; Aufrecht, AB., p. 428, 16 (the form *tanvaḥ*, AB. 1. 24. 5, is there erroneously given as accusative; it is nominative). Cf. the accusative *āpaḥ* TB. 3. 2. 8. 2, above § 31, Ex. 8, for *ăpaḥ* of the parallel texts MS. and K.

< √ 1. *vṛ* 'close' + *vi* >

136. *yathā vivṛtāyāṁ dvāri dvārā puraṁ prapadyeta* . . ., 'As one would enter a stronghold by the gate, after the gate has been opened . . .'. ÇB. 11. 1. 1. 2.

Cf. above Ex. 82.

< √ *vṛt* + *ā* >

137. *āvarvṛtatīr adha nu dvidhārā* (RV. 10. 30. 10) *ity āvṛttāsv* (Aufrecht misprints *ăvṛttāsv*) *ekadhanāsu* (KB. omits *ekadhanāsu*) [*anvāha*], '(He recites the verse) RV. 10. 30. 10 when the Ekadhanā-water has been turned (= brought) hither'. AB. 2. 20. 3; KB. 12. 1 (p. 53, 9).

The Commentary to AB. glosses *āvṛttāsv ekadhanāsu* by *yadā jalasamīpād āvartante.*

< *vṛh, bṛh* + *ā* >

138. *tasyām* [*iṣṭakāyām*] *ābṛḍhāyām agnir vyavaçaçāda*, 'After this brick had been pulled out the fire-altar fell down'. ÇB. 2. 1. 2. 16.

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139. *tad yathai 'tasyām āvṛḍhāyām asurāḥ pāpīyāṅso bhavanto 'pābhrañçantai 'vam asya sapatno bhrātṛvyaḥ pāpīyān bhavann apabhrañçate*, 'Just as the Asuras, when this (brick) had been pulled out, growing weaker, (finally) perished, even so his rival (and) enemy, becoming weaker, (finally) perishes'. MS. 1. 6. 9 (p. 101, 7).

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

< √ *vraçc* + *pari* >

139 A. = above Ex. 38 B. ⌋

< √ *çaṅs* >

140. *sa ya enaṁ çaste tūṣṇīṁçaṅsa upa vā vaded anu vā vyāharet taṁ brūyāt* . . ., 'If, after the Silent Çaṅsa has been recited, any-one should speak ill of him or curse him he should say to him: . . .'. AB. 2. 31. 6.

141. *prātar vāva vayam adye 'maṁ [yajñam] çaste tūṣṇīṁçaṅse saṁsthāpayāmaḥ*, 'This morning, after the Silent Çansa has been recited, we finish this (sacrifice)'. AB. 2. 31. 6.

141 (a) *yac chaste [avanayet]*, K. 28. 1 (p. 153, 8), see below Ex. 245.

(b) *çaste vai vāg eva pariçiṣyate*, JB. 2. 39, see above Ex. 61.

142. *yañ çasyamāne [avanayet] yuvānaḥ pramīyeran, yañ çaste bahiḥ prāṇān dadhyāt sakṛñ çastāyāṁ madhyato 'vanīyaḥ*, 'If he were to pour it out while the Çastra is being recited the youth would perish; if (he were to pour it out) after the Çastra has been recited he would place the breaths outside; at once after (the verse) has been recited it should be poured out in the middle'. MS. 4. 6. 6 (p. 88, 15).

With MS. *madhyato 'vanīyo, madhyato vā etat prajānām āyur dadhāti*, 'It should be poured out in the middle, thus he places life into the middle of the creatures', cf. TS. 6. 5. 2. 3 *madhyato 'vanīya ity āhur madhyamena hy āyuṣo bhuñkte*, '"In the middle it should be poured out", they say, for with the middle one enjoys life'.

< √ *çaṅs* + *sam* >

143. *sa ha vāva tām ārtim ṛchati ya evaṁ vidvān saṁçaste tūṣṇīṁ-çaṅsa upa vā vadati anu vā vyāharati, tasmād evaṁ vidvān saṁ-çaste tūṣṇīṁçaṅse no 'pavaden nā 'nuvyāharet*, 'He who knowing

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thus speaks ill of him (= the Hotṛ-priest) or curses him after the Silent Çaṅsa has been completely recited suffers that misfortune; therefore one knowing thus should not speak ill of him or curse him after the Silent Çaṅsa has been completely recited'. AB. 2. 31. 6.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

< √ *çiṣ* + *pari* >

143 A. *pañcaviṅçasya stomasya tisṛṣv ardhatṛtīyāsv ardhatrayodaçāsu vā pariçiṣṭāsu prathamaṁ pratihāraṁ prabrūtād iti / ardhatrayodaçāsu pravācayate 'ti jātūkarṇyaḥ*, '"He should recite the first Pratihāra of the Pañcaviṅçastoma when either three or two and a half or twelve and a half (verses) remain"; Jātūkarṇya (holds): "Make him recite it when twelve and a half (verses remain)"'. Ait. Ār. 5. 1. 5 (p. 148, 8 Keith). ⌋

< √ *çrā* 'boil' >

144. *çṛtāsu vapāsu svāhākṛtibhiç caritvā pratyañcaḥ pariparetya sadasi brahmodyaṁ vadanti*, 'After the omentum has been roasted, having proceeded with the Svāhā-consecrations, returning to the rear (of the sacrificial ground), they hold a theological discussion in the Sadas'. ÇB. 13. 5. 2. 11.

< √ *çri* 'resort' + *adhi* >

145. *teṣāṁ yady adhiçrite 'gnihotre 'ntareṇa kaç cit saṁcaret* . . ., 'If any one of these (animals) should run about between (the sacrificial fires) after the Agnihotra has been placed on (the fire) . . .'. ÇB. 12. 4. 1. 4.

146. *yasyā 'gnihotre 'dhiçrite çvā 'ntarā dhāvati* . . ., 'If, after anyone's Agnihotra has been placed on (the fire), a dog runs between (the sacrificial fires) . . .' TB. 1. 4. 3. 6.

147. *yad adhiçrite 'gnihotre* (JB. omits *'gnihotre*) *yajamāno mrīyeta* . . ., 'If the sacrificer should die after the Agnihotra has been placed on (the fire) . . .' ÇB. 12. 4. 2. 5; JB. 1. 57. 1 (JAOS. 23, p. 338).

148. *ya āhitāgnir adhiçrite 'gnihotre sāṁnāyye vā haviṣṣu vā mriyeta kā tatra prāyaçcittiḥ*, 'If an Agnihotrin should die after the Agnihotra or the Sāṁnāyya(-milk) or (other) offerings have

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been placed on (the fire), what expiation is there in that case?' AB. 7. 2. 2.

⌈ **Addition from the Prose of the AV.**

148 B. *tad yasyai 'vaṁ vidvān vrātya uddhṛteṣv agniṣv adhiçrite 'gnihotre 'tithir gṛhān āgacchet* . . ., 'Now to whosesoever house a Vrātya knowing thus may come as guest when the fires have been taken up (and) the Agnihotra has been placed (on the fire) . . .' AV. 15. 12. 1. ⌋

149. *nimrukte sūrye vāg yantavyā 'tho duhyamānāyām atho adhiçrite*, 'When the sun has set speech should be restrained, also when (the cow) is being milked, also when (the Agnihotra) has been placed on (the fire)'. MS. 1. 8. 4 (p. 119, 11).

< √ *çri* 'resort' + *pari* >

150. *pariçrite* [*graham*] *gṛhṇāti*; . . .; *yat pariçrita ādityaṁ* [*graham*] *gṛhṇāti rudram eva yajñād antardadhāti*, 'After a covering has been made he draws (the cup); . . .; in that he draws the Āditya (-cup) after a covering has been made he (thereby) excludes Rudra from the sacrifice'. K. 28. 6 (p. 160, 10 and 12).

151. *pariçrite* [*prācīnavañçaçāle*] *yājayanti*, 'After (the hall with beams pointing to the east) has been covered they make (him) sacrifice'. K. 22. 13 (p. 68, 6).

Pariçrite might be construed here as conjunct locative: 'They make (him) sacrifice in the covered (hall); but the absolute locative is not impossible, cf. the parallel passages TS. 6. 1. 1. 1 *prācīnavañçaṁ karoti*; . . .; *pariçrayati*; MS. 3. 6. 1 (p. 60, 6) *pariçrayanto 'tirokān kurvanti*. See above § 57, Ex. 25.

Elsewhere *pariçrite* is certainly to be construed as conjunct locative: TS. 2. 2. 2. 3 *pariçrite yājayed rakṣasām ananvavacārāya*, 'He should make (him) sacrifice in a place which is closed in, in order to prevent the Rakṣases from following'; K. 10. 5 (p. 130, 1) *pariçrite yajeta rakṣasām antarhityai*, 'He should sacrifice in a place which is enclosed, in order to exclude the Rakṣases'; K. 11. 5 (p. 149, 15) *pariçrite yajeta brahmavarcasasya parigṛhītyai*, 'He should sacrifice in a place which is enclosed for the sake of encompassing theological renown'; MS. 2. 1. 5 (p. 7, 3) *pariçrite yajeta tejasaḥ parigṛhītyai*, 'He should sacrifice in a place which is enclosed for the sake of encompassing splendour'; K. 36. 12 (p. 78, 17) *pariçrite yājayanti*, 'They make (him) sacrifice in an enclosed place'; TĀ. 5. 2. 12 *uddhate sikatopopte pariçrite nidadhāti*; TĀ. 5. 3. 1 *pariçrite karoti.*

< √ *çri* 'resort' + *sam-pari* >

152. *anagnaṁbhāvukā hi hotuç ca yajamānasya ca bhāryā bhavanti*

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yatrai 'vaṁ vidvān etayā [ṛcā] havirdhānayoḥ saṁpariçritayoḥ paridadhāti, 'Where one knowing thus concludes with this (verse) after the two Soma-carts have been completely covered up, neither the Hotṛ-priest's nor the sacrificer's wives are likely to become naked'. AB. 1. 29. 20.

< √ *çru* >

153 = Ex. 74 above.

< √ *sad* + *upa* >

154. *bahiṣpavamānam upasanneṣu* (var. lect. *upasanteṣu* and *upasarpante*) *brūyād yaṁ* (var. lect. *yad*) *brāhmaṇaṁ çucim iva manyeta*: . . ., 'After they have seated themselves at the Bahiṣpavamāna he should say to a Brāhmaṇa whom he may consider pure, as it were: . . .'. JB. 1. 89 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 18).

Caland renders: 'Wenn sie (= der Adhvaryu, die drei Sänger, der Opferherr und der Brahman, cf. Caland-Henry, L'Agniṣṭoma, § 134, e; Caland, Auswahl, p. 17, no. 10, note 2) sich zum Bahiṣpavamānalob hingesetzt haben, rede er einen Brahmanen, den er als rein ansieht, an: . . .'

< √ 1 *sā* 'bind' + *vi* >

155. *samayāviṣite sūrye ṣoḍaçina(ḥ) stotram upākaroti*, 'When the sun has half set he makes the arrangement for the Stotra of the Ṣoḍaçin'. TS. 6. 6. 11. 6.

Cf. the paratactical construction AB. 5. 24. 10 *samayāviṣitaḥ sūryaḥ syād atha vācaṁ visṛjeran*, 'The sun should be half set, then they should release speech'. The phrase *āditye viṣito bhavati* occurs at JB. 1. 194 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 77).

< √ *sic* + *ā* >

156. *yathā 'māpātram udaka āsikte vimrityed* (GB. Bibl. Ind. ed. with the mss. *nirmṛjyed*, Gaastra emends to *nirmṛtyed*) *evaṁ hai 'va te* (GB. *evaṁ yajamānā*) *vimrityeyuḥ* (GB. Bibl. Ind. ed. with the mss. *nirmṛjyeran*, Gaastra emends to *nirmṛtyeran*), 'As a vessel made of unbaked clay would dissolve (= go to pieces) when water has been poured into (it), even so they [even so the sacrificers] would dissolve (= go to pieces)'. ÇB. 12. 1. 3. 22; GB. 1. 4. 13 (p. 104, 13).

The reading of ÇB. makes it well nigh certain that *nirmrityed* and *nirmrityeran* should be read in GB. The rare √ *mrit*, of which only ÇB. 3. 2. 1. 31 *mrityet*; 9. 5. 2. 14 *vi* . . . *mrityet*; and ĀpÇ. 3. 19. 7 *asaṁmletya* [1] (cf. Wackernagel, Altind.

[1] So also, according to Caland's note, Bhāradvāja ÇS.; Hiraṇyak. ÇS. and Vaikhānasa ÇS.

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Gr. I, § 191, c, p. 215, 34) are quotable, was changed, perhaps by a mere graphic blunder *(ty : jy)*, to the more familiar √ *mṛj.*

For the confusion of *ri* and *ṛ* cf.

krimiḥ TS. 5. 5. 11. 1; SMB. 2. 7. 1; *krime* TĀ. 4. 36. 1; ĀpÇ. 15. 19. 5; *krimayaḥ* AV. 2. 32. 3; 5. 23. 10

kṛmiḥ VS. 24. 30; MS. 3. 14. 11 (p. 174, 9); KAçv. 7. 1 (p. 179, 8); cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 29, p. 33, 26

krivim RV. 1. 30. 1

kṛvim SV. 1. 214; cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr., I, § 29, p. 33, 24

patatriṇau VS. 18. 52; MS. 2. 12. 3 (p. 146, 8); ÇB. 9. 4. 4. 4; *patatriṇaḥ* VSK. 20. 3. 2; K. 18. 15 (p. 275, 19)

patatṛṇaḥ TS. 4. 7. 13. 1

sridhaḥ TS. 4. 1. 7. 2; VS. 27. 6; K. 18. 16 (p. 276, 17)

sṛdhaḥ AV. 2. 6. 5; MS. 2. 12. 5 (p. 149, 4); cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr., § 29, p. 33, 24

āpaprivan RV. 1. 73. 8 = 10. 139. 2; VS. 17. 59; TS. 4. 6. 3. 3; K. 18. 3 (p. 267, 14); ÇB. 9. 2. 3. 17

āpapṛvan MS. 2. 10. 5 (p. 137, 11, where, however the Pp.-ms. reads *āpaprivan*)

tvaṣṭrimantaḥ MS. 1. 2. 4 (p. 13, 11, with the var. lect. *tvaṣṭrīmantaḥ*); 3. 7. 7 (p. 84, 9, without var. lect.); 4. 9. 6 (p. 127, 3, with the var. lect. *tvaṣṭrīmantaḥ*)

tvaṣṭṛmantaḥ VS. 37. 20; K. 2. 5 (p. 11, 8; but the Kap. S. parallel has *tvaṣṭrīmantaḥ*); 24. 4 (p. 93, 20); ÇB. 14. 1. 4. 16

jāgriyāma TS. 1. 7. 10. 1 [cf. AB. 8. 28. 19 *jāgriyāt* (which Boehtlingk, Berichte d. k. sächs. Ges. d. W., 1909, p. 414 emends to *jāgṛyāt*; Aufrecht, AB., p. 431, 17 lists it as 'grammatisches Ungethüm') and GB. 2. 5, 5 (p. 153, 12 Bibl. Ind., but Gaastra p. 232, 2 reads *jāgṛyād* with var. lect. of one ms. *jāgniyād* [with *n* for *r*]) *jāgriyāt* where the parallel passage KB. 17. 9 (p. 78, 11) reads *jāgṛyuḥ*].

jāgṛyāma VS. 9. 23; VSK. 10. 5. 1; MS. 1. 11. 4 (p. 165, 3, where, however, the Pp.-ms. reads *jāgriyāma*); cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. § 29, p. 33, 29 and § 180, b, p. 199: Bartholomae ZDMG. 50, p. 714.

Similarly, with the additional confusion of *ç* and *s*:

pariçritaḥ AG. 2. 8. 16

parisṛtaḥ MG. 2. 11. 12.

Cf. KB. 18. 1 (p. 79, 3) where the cod. M. reads *sṛtam* while the other mss. and e Commentary have *çritam.*

The change of voice in GB. *nirmrityet* but *nirmrityeran* is noteworthy; cf. TB. 1. 8. 1. 1 *abhigāyati* but 2 *abhigāyate* (below, § 62, Ex. 20).

The √ *mrit* with the prefix *nis* occurs only in this passage of GB. and as basis of the derivative (Whitney, Gr. § 1180, c) *nirmretuka* at PB. 13. 9. 16 *yatra vā āpo vī 'va vartante tad oṣadhayo jāyante 'tha yatrā 'vatiṣṭhante nirmretukās* (so PW. and pw. as the reading of their ms.; the Bibl. Ind. both in text and

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commentary has *nirmṛtukās*[1]) *tatra bhavanti*, 'Where the waters turn away, as it were, there plants grow, but where they (= the waters) stand still they (= the plants) decay (rot)'; where the Commentary glosses *nirmretukāḥ* by *nirgamanaçīlāḥ*.

< √ *su* >

157. = Ex. 77 above.

158. *tad āhur: yanti vā ete yajñād ye bahirvedi sute dhāvayanty, etāvān vāva yajño yāvān antarvedy, ai 'va vedyantād dhāveyur iti*, 'Now they say: "Those who cause to run (the race) outside of the Vedi after (the Soma) has been pressed, depart from the sacrifice; for the sacrifice extends as far as (the space) within the Vedi; they should run (the race) exactly from the borderline of the Vedi".' JB. 2. 193.

For the passage immediately preceding see below Ex. 188.

159. *atha vai sute pravargya ity ācakṣate stute bahiṣpavamāne, tad açvinau devā upāhvayantai, 'tasmin kāla āgnīdhrīye pravṛñjyuḥ*, 'Now, after (the Soma) has been pressed, they call it "the Pravargya", (viz.) when the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted; (for) then did the gods invite the two Açvins. At that time they should put the Pravargya on the Āgnīdhra-fire'. KB. 8. 7 (p. 39, 1).

The reading of the var. lect. *upāhvayantai 'tasmin* adopted by the Ānand. ed. is preferable to *upāhvayanta etasmin* of Lindner's text.

Keith renders: 'Now they say: "After the pressing should it be put on the fire"; when the Bahiṣpavamāna (Stotra) has been sung they invoke [reading with Lindner's text *upāhvayante*] the two Açvins, the gods [taking *devā* as = *devau*]; at this moment should they put it on the Agnīdh's fire.' But *stute bahiṣpavamāne* ends the first clause; the second clause begins with *tad* 'at that time', viz. 'after the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted' and refers to the legend ÇB. 4. 1. 5. 13; cf. Ex. 168—172 below.

So correctly Caland who (on ĀpÇ. 15. 18. 11) renders: 'Er soll ans Feuer gesetzt werden, nachdem der Soma gekeltert ist, so sagt man, und zwar nach Beendigung des Bahiṣpavamāna. Die Götter luden ja die Açvins [read so for die Asuras] zu diesem Zeitpunkte (zum Somatrunke) ein. Zu diesem Zeitpunkte soll er aufs Āgnīdhrafeuer gesetzt werden'.

Both Keith and Caland take *pravargyaḥ* as equivalent to *pravṛjyaḥ*[2], and it

[1] Cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I § 18, p. 31, 16, who further refers to Keçavaçikṣā Kielhorn, Ind. Ant. 5, p. 194 and to MS. 1. 6. 12 (p. 106, 4) *māturbhrātrebhyaḥ* (Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 49, d, a, note; p. 114, 29 and § 103, a, p. 236, 6).

[2] Cf. e.g. *pravṛjyaḥ* at ĀpÇ. 15. 18. 13 *yadā purastād aruṇā syād atha pravṛjyaḥ* (Comment. *pravargya iti çeṣaḥ*), 'When in the morning (the sky) is ruddy then (the Pravargya) should be put on the fire'.

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is true that a gerundival *pravargya* is supported by *parivargya* AV. 9. 2. 14 *dveṣyo mitrāṇāṁ parivargyaḥ svānām* 'to be hated by his friends, to be avoided by his own (kin)'; cf. Whitney, Gr. § 1213, b for similar formations.

But the difficulty in Keith's and Caland's renderings, which made me hesitate to follow them, is the use of *ācakṣate* with *iti* in the sense of *āhuḥ* introducing a direct discourse (Keith: 'Now they say'; Caland: 'so sagt man'). The ordinary meaning of √ *cakṣ* + *ā* with *iti* is 'to call or name something', cf. the examples in the Excursus below, A, b. The older prose furnishes, as far as I am aware, only one instance of *ācakṣate* with *iti* introducing a direct discourse, viz. Chānd. Up. 6. 8. 1 *tasmād enaṁ svapitī 'ty ācakṣate*, 'Therefore one says of him: "He sleepeth"'. But this is really equivalent to: 'Therefore one calls this state "sleep"'; cf. ÇB. 10. 5. 2. 14 *svāpyayo ha vai, taṁ svapna ity ācakṣate parokṣam.* The direct discourse was apparently chosen in the Chānd. Up. because the author was at a loss how to express his etymology *(svam apīto bhavati)* in any other way, a difficulty which the author of the ÇB. solved by the creation of the nonce-word *svāpyaya.* I have therefore adhered in my translation to the ordinary meaning of *ity ācakṣate*: 'Now they call it "the Pravargya", and its proper time is after the pressing of the Soma and more particularly after the chanting of the Bahiṣpavamāna, because it was at that time that the gods invited the two Açvins to participate in the Soma; at that time then they should put the Pravargya on the Āgnīdhra-fire'. But I admit that Keith's and Caland's rendering is tempting.

Excursus on the Construction of √ cakṣ + ā and other Verbs of Naming and Calling.[1]

A. The √ *cakṣ* + *ā* shows three constructions: (a) twice the logical predicate is put in the accusative; (b) as a general rule the logical predicate is put in the nominative in a paratactical clause with *iti*; (c) twice these two constructions are fused, the logical predicate being put in the accusative with *iti.*

(a) AB. 6. 3. 4 *kasmād enaṁ pumāṅsaṁ santaṁ strīm ivā 'cakṣate* 'Why do they call this (Subrahmaṇyā-priest), though he is a man, a woman (i. e. by a female appellation)?'; ÇĀ. 4. 5; KUB. 2. 5 [*saṁyamanaṁ prātardanam*] *āntaram agnihotram ācakṣate*, 'They call (the Restraint of Pratardana) the inner Agnihotra'.

(b) ÇB. 2. 1. 2. 4 *sapta ṛṣīn u ha sma vai pura ṛkṣā ity ācakṣate*, 'They formerly used to call (the constellation of) the Seven Sages "The Bears"; ÇB. 2. 1. 2. 11 *tā etat parokṣam ācakṣate phalgunya iti*, 'Cryptically they call them "Phalgunīs"; ÇB. 2. 4. 4. 1 *utai 'nam eke vasiṣṭhayajña ity ācakṣate*, 'And some call it "The Vasiṣṭha-sacrifice"'; ÇB. 3. 1. 3. 3 *yāṅs tv etad devā ādityā ity ācakṣate* . . .; 'But those whom they call, "The Āditya gods" . . .'; ÇB. 3. 1. 4. 1 *tata etāny avāntarām* [*yajūṅṣi*] *ācakṣata audgrabhaṇānī 'ti*, 'Hence they call these intermediate (Yajuses) "The Audgrabhaṇas"'; ÇB. 3. 1. 4. 2 *tāny ādhītayajūṅṣī 'ty ācakṣ-*

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[1] In the following lists of examples ambiguous neuter forms, which formally may just as well be accusatives as nominatives, are classed as nominatives.

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ate, 'They call them "The Adhītayajuses"'; ÇB. 3. 3, 3. 9 *tām etat parokṣam aje 'ty ācakṣate*, 'Cryptically they thus call her "Ajā"'; ÇB. 3 8. 1. 4 *asiṁ vai çāsa ity ācakṣate*, 'They call the knife "Çāsa"; ÇB. 4. 4. 3. 13 *yān eke 'psusomā ity ācakṣate*, 'Which some call "The Apsusoma (-vessels)"'; ÇB. 4. 5. 7. 3 *tā hai 'ke yajñatanva ity ācakṣate*, 'Some call these (expiatory formulas) "The Bodies of the Sacrifice"'; ÇB. 4. 6. 7. 11 *indra iti hy etam ācakṣate*, 'For they call him "Indra"'; ÇB. 6. 1. 1. 2 *tam indra ity āçakṣate*, 'They call him "Indra"'; ÇB. 14. 6. 11. 2 *taṁ vā etam indhaṁ santam indra ity ācakṣate parokṣene 'va* (Kāṇva recension, BĀU. 4. 2. 2 *parokṣenai 'va*; for *iva* = *eva* cf. above § 9, Ex. 21 Remark), 'Him who is (really i. e. esoterically) Indha they cryptically call "Indra"'; ÇB. 5. 3. 5. 8; 9 *tāny etāny agnināmānī* (9 *ādityanāmānī*) *ity ācakṣate*, 'They call these same (oblations) "The Agni-named Ones" ["The Āditya-named Ones"]'; ÇB. 6. 1. 1. 11 *tam agnir ity ācakṣate*, 'They call him "Agni"'; ÇB. 6. 7. 2. 6 *yad enam agnir ity ācakṣate* . . ., 'In as much as they call him "Agni" . . .'; ÇB. 6. 1. 1. 11 *tam açva ity ācakṣate*, 'They call it "Horse"'; ÇB. 6. 1. 2. 3 *tam açme 'ty ācakṣate*, 'They call it "Stone"'; ÇB. 6. 1. 2. 13; 21 *etaṁ prajāpatiṁ santam agnir ity ācakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Prajāpati they call "Agni"'; ÇB. 6. 7. 1. 23 *tām ukhe 'ty ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Ukhā (pan)"'; ÇB. 7. 4. 1. 10 *taṁ rukma ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Rukma (gold plate)"'; ÇB. 7. 4. 1. 13 *tat puṣkaram ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Puṣkara (lotus flower)"'; ÇB. 7. 4. 1. 16 *tad dhiraṇyam ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Hiraṇya (gold)"'; ÇB. 7. 4. 2. 12 *tāṁ dhūrve 'ty ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call this (brick) "Dhūrvā"'; ÇB. 7. 5. 1. 22 *tam udumbara ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Udumbara"'; ÇB. 7. 5. 1. 22 *tad ulūkhalam ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Ulūkhala (mortar)"'; ÇB. 8. 2. 2. 3 *etām āçvinī citir ity ācakṣate*, 'They call this (layer) "The Layer of the Açvins"'; ÇB. 8. 2. 2. 8 *yad* [*tān*] *devā ity ācakṣate* . . ., 'Inasmuch as they call (them) "Devas (gods)"'; ÇB. 8. 2. 3. 14 *jīrṇaṁ paçuṁ vayasā 'pta ity ācakṣate*, 'They call a worn out animal "One seized by old age"';

With *vayasā 'ptaḥ* cf. *vayasā 'nvitaḥ* (Mbh.) and *vayasā 'tītaḥ* (R.), PW. s. 2 *vayas*, col. 693, 22—23 [Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 89, a, p. 212].

ÇB. 8. 3. 4. 1 *yad vā urvarayor asaṁbhinnaṁ bhavati khila ity ācakṣate*, 'What portion of two fields is not contiguous they call "Khila"'.[1]

The parallel passage KB. 30. 8 (p. 145, 14) has here the accusative *khilam* with *iti*, see below under (c).

ÇB. 8. 4. 4. 11 (bis); 8. 5. 4. 3 *taṁ puṇyalakṣmīka ity ācakṣate*, 'They call him "Possessed of a Lucky Mark"'; ÇB. 8. 6. 2. 13 *tām atichandā ity ācakṣate*, 'They

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[1] Eggeling: 'What (unploughed piece of ground lies) between two cultivated fields is called khila'; Keith: 'That which is not in contact in two fields they call khila'; Pischel (Ved. Stud. 2, p. 205): 'Was von zwei Getreidefeldern abgetrennt ist, heißt khila'; Oldenberg (Rigveda Noten, 1, p. 385, to RV. 6. 28. 2): 'Die Stelle zwischen zwei Feldern, wo diese nicht unmittelbar zusammenstoßen, heißt khila'.

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call this (brick) "The Atichandas"'; ÇB. 9. 1. 1. 2; 7 *tac chatarudriyam ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Çatarudriya"'; ÇB. 9. 1. 2. 22 *taṁ vetasa ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Vetasa (bamboo)"'; ÇB. 9. 1. 2. 22 *tā avakā ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call them "Avakās (lotuses)"'; ÇB. 9. 1. 2. 36 *tad rathantaram ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Rathantara"'; ÇB. 9. 3. 2. 1; 4 *tasmād enāṁ vasor dhāre 'ty ācakṣate*, 'Therefore they call it "The Shower of Wealth"'; ÇB. 10. 4. 3. 21 *tān nu sarvān ekam ivai 'vā 'cakṣate 'gnir iti*, 'They call all these (fires) "Agni", as if they were one (and the same)'; ÇB. 10. 5. 1. 3 *tā u sarvā iṣṭakā ity evā 'cakṣate ne 'ṣṭaka iti ne 'ṣṭakam iti vāco rūpeṇa*, 'Now in conformity with the form (= gender) of Vāc (speech) they call all these (bricks) "Iṣṭakās (with feminine gender)", not "Iṣṭakă (with masculine gender)" nor "Iṣṭakă (with neuter gender)"'; ÇB. 10. 5. 2. 14 *taṁ svapna ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Svapna (sleep)"'; ÇB. 10. 6. 2. 2 *tā āhutaya ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call them "Āhutis (oblations)"'; ÇB. 11. 1. 5. 2—3 *eteno hai 'tad upatapad ācakṣate çvalucitam ity, etaṁ hai 'vai 'tad ācakṣate | çaçaç cāndramasa iti*, 'Therefore they call this burning pain "The Dog's Clutch"; and they call him "The Moon's Hare"'; ÇB. 11. 2. 4. 2 *etasya hy anu pūrṇaṁ paurṇamasī 'ty ācakṣate*, 'For in accordance with the filling up of this (moon) they call it (= the night of the full moon) "Paurṇamasī"'; ÇB. 13. 5. 4. 7 *krivaya iti ha vai purā pañcālān ācakṣate*, 'For formerly they called the Pañcālas "Krivis"';

Cf. Ludwig, RV. translation, vol. III, p. 265—266; Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 83, 33; 118, 19; 254, 11.

ÇB. 13. 8. 1. 1 (bis) *tac chmaçānam ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call it "Çmaçāna (burial ground)"; ÇB. 14. 1. 1. 13 *taṁ maghavān ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call him "Maghavān"'; TB. 1. 5. 9. 2; 3. 12. 2. 1; 3. 12. 4. 1 *tā iṣṭaya ity ācakṣate parokṣam*, 'Cryptically they call them "Iṣṭis (oblations)"' ; TB. 2. 3. 11. 1—4 *taṁ vā etaṁ daçahūtaṁ* (2 *saptahūtaṁ*; 3 *ṣaḍḍhūtaṁ*; *pañcahūtaṁ*; 4 *caturhūtaṁ*) *santaṁ daçahote* (2 *saptahote*, 3 *ṣaḍḍhote*; *pañcahote*; 4 *caturhote*) *'ty ācakṣate*, 'They call this which is (really) the Daçahūta [etc.] "The Daçahotṛ (-section)" [etc.]'; TB. 2. 3. 11. 4 *tasmān nu hai 'nāñç caturhotāra ity ācakṣate*, 'Therefore they call these "The Caturhotṛs"'; PB. 10. 2. 2 *taṁ jyotiṣṭomo 'gniṣṭoma ity ācakṣate*, 'They call it "The Jyotiṣṭoma", "The Agniṣṭoma"'; JB. 3. 149 *tad v evā 'cakṣate vasiṣṭhasya pippalī* (the ms. *pirpalā*) *'ti*, 'They call this (Sāman) "Vasiṣṭha's Pippali"'; AB. 1. 2. 5 *kasmāt taṁ hote 'ty ācakṣate*, 'Why do they call him "Hotṛ (-priest)"?'; AB. 1. 2. 7 *hote 'ty enam ācakṣate ya evaṁ veda*, 'Him who knows thus they call "Hotṛ (-priest)"'; AB. 2. 1. 8 *bilvaṁ jyotir iti vā ācakṣate*, 'They call the Bilva (-tree) "Jyotis (light)"'; AB. 2. 19. 1—2 *taṁ [kavasam ailūṣam] sarasvatī samantaṁ paryadhāvat | tasmād dhā 'py etarhi parisārukam ity ācakṣate yad enaṁ sarasvatī samantam parisasāra*, 'The Sarasvatī surrounded this (Kavasa Ailūṣa) on all sides; therefore they even now call this (place) "Parisāruka", because the Sarasvatī surrounded him on all sides'; AB. 3. 25. 1 *tad etat sauparṇam ity ākhyānavida ācakṣate*, 'Therefore the story-experts call this "The Suparṇa-story"'; AB. 3. 33. 5 *taṁ etaṁ mṛga ity ācakṣate*,

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'They call this (constellation) "The Deer"'; AB. 3. 33. 6 *tan mādușaṁ san mānușam ity ācakṣate*, 'This which is (really) Mādușa they (cryptically) call "Mānușa"'; AB. 3. 43. 1—3 *tam agnistomaṁ* (2 *catustomaṁ*; 3 *jyotistomaṁ*) *santam agniṣṭoma* (2 *catuṣṭoma*; 3 *jyotiṣṭoma*) *ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇa*, 'That which is really Agnistoma [etc.] they cryptically call "Agniṣṭoma" [etc.]'; AB. 4. 7. 1 *tasyā etat sahasraṁ vahatum anvākarod yad etad āçvinam ity ācakṣate*, 'He (= Prajāpati) prepared this set of a thousand (verses), viz. what they call "The Āçvina-çastra", as dowry for her (= his daughter)'; AB. 4. 8. 4; 6 *tasmād etad āçvinam ity ācakṣate*, 'Therefore they call it "The Āçvina-çastra"';

The parallel passage KB. 18. 1 (p. 79, 2) reads *athā 'çvinam ity ākhyāyate*.

AB. 4. 8. 6 *kasmād etad āçvinam ity ācakṣate*, 'Why do they call it "The Āçvina-çastra?'; AB. 4. 10. 15 *citaidham uktham iti ha sma vā etad ācakṣate yad etad āçvinam*, 'They used to call this Āçvina-çastra "The Funeral Uktha"'; AB. 4. 22. 1 *tasmād* [*ardham*] *uttara ity ācakṣate*, 'Therefore they call (this half) "The Latter (Half)"'; AB. 4. 24. 8; 9 *kasmād* (9 *tasmād*) *etāṁ bṛhatī 'ty ācakṣate*, 'Why [therefore] do they call it "The Bṛhatī"'; AB. 5. 14. 2 *tasmād dhā 'py etarhi pitaraṁ putrā niṣṭhāvo 'vavadite 'ty evā 'cakṣate*, 'Therefore even now sons call their father "Umpire" (and) "Final Adjudicator"';

For *niṣṭhāva* instead of *niḥṣṭhāva* (pw.) cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 342, § 287, b.

AB. 5. 15. 1; 6. 30. 5 *tāny etāni sahacarāṇī 'ty ācakṣate nābhānediṣṭhaṁ vālakhilyā vṛṣākapiṁ evayāmarutam*, 'These, viz. the Nābhānediṣṭha, the Vālakhilyas, the Vṛṣākapi, (and) the Evayāmarut they call "Accompaniments"';

The parallel passage GB. 2. 6. 9 (p. 256, 8) reads *tāni vā etāni sahacarāṇī 'ty ācakṣate yan nābhānediṣṭho vālakhilyo vṛṣākapir evayāmarut*.

AB. 5. 31. 3 *tasmād enaṁ* [*ādityam*] *prāṇa ity ācakṣate*, 'Therefore they call this (Āditya) "Breath"'; AB. 6. 12. 2; 3; KB. 16. 1 (p. 69, 12) *kasmād ārbhavaḥ* AB. 6. 12. 3 and KB. *athā 'rbhavaḥ*) *pavamāna ity ācakṣate*. 'Why [So then] do they call (this Stotra) "The Ārbhava Pavamāna"'; AB. 6. 13. 2 *yad evai 'nāḥ saṁpragīrya hotrā ity ācakṣate tena samāḥ*, 'Inasmuch as, calling them by a collective name, they call (all) these "Hotrās", therefore they are alike'; AB. 7. 30. 3 *nyubjā iti hā 'py enān* [*nyagrodhān*] *ācakṣate kurukṣetre* ' For they still call these (Nyagrodha-trees) in Kurukṣetra "Nyubjas"'; AB. 7. 30. 4 *taṁ nyagrohaṁ santaṁ nyagrodha ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇa*, 'This (tree) which is (really) the Nyagroha they cryptically call "The Nyagrodha"'; AB. 8. 14. 2; 3 *samrāḷ ity* (3 *bhoja ity* [read so for *bhoje 'ty* of Aufrecht's text and that of the Ānand. ed.]; *svarāḷ ity*; *virāḷ ity*; *rāje 'ty*) *enān abhiṣiktān ācakṣate*, 'They call these (kings) when they have been consecrated "Samrāj" ["Bhoja"; "Svarāj"; "Virāj"; "Rājan"]'; KB. 8. 7 (p. 39, 1) *atha vai sute pravargya ity ācakṣate*, 'Now they call it "The Pravargya" after (the Soma) has been pressed'; KB. 24. 3 (p. 109, 5) *tān vai svarasāmāna ity ācakṣate*, 'They call them "Svarasāmans"'; GB. 1. 1. 1 (p. 1, 8) *taṁ vā etaṁ suvedaṁ santaṁ sveda ity ācakṣate*, 'That which is (really) Suveda they call "Sveda (sweat)"'; GB. 1. 1. 7 (p. 6, 10) *taṁ vā etaṁ varaṇaṁ santaṁ varuṇa ity āçakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Varaṇa they call "Varuṇa"'; GB. 1. 1. 7 (p. 6,

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12) *taṁ vā etaṁ mucyuṁ santaṁ mṛtyur ity ācakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Mucyu they call "Mṛtyu (death)"'; GB. 1. 1. 7 (p. 6, 16) *taṁ vā etam aṅgarasaṁ santam aṅgirā ity ācakṣate* 'Him who is (really) Aṅgaras they call "Aṅgiras"'; GB. 1. 1. 13 (p. 10, 16) *tad vai yajñasya viriṣṭam ity ācakṣate*, 'They call this "The Torn (Part) of the Sacrifice"'; GB. 1. 1. 39 (p. 31, 10) *puriçayaṁ santaṁ prāṇaṁ puruṣa ity ācakṣate*, 'They call the breath which is (really) Puriçaya (resting in the stronghold) "Puruṣa"'; GB. 1. 2. 10 (p. 44, 1) *tāsāṁ* [*nadīnām*] *samudram abhipadyamānānāṁ chidyate nāmadheyaṁ, samudra ity ācakṣate*, 'Of these (rivers) as they flow into the ocean the (individual) appellation is cut off; they call (them simply) "Ocean"'; GB. 1. 2. 10 (p. 44, 6) *teṣāṁ* [*vedānām*] *yajñam abhipadyamānānāṁ chidyate nāmadheyaṁ, yajña ity ācakṣate*, 'Of these (Vedas) as they approach the sacrifice the (individual) appellation is cut off; they call (them simply) "Sacrifice"; GB. 1. 2. 21 (p. 59, 5) *taṁ vā etam āglāhataṁ santam āglāgṛdha ity ācakṣate*; . . .; *ya eṣa brāhmaṇo gāyano* (Bibl. Ind. inserts *vā*) *nartano vā bhavati tam āglāgṛdha ity ācakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Āglāhata (?) they call "Āglāgṛdha"; . . .; they call a Brāhmaṇa who sings or dances "Āglāgṛdha"; GB. 1. 2. 21 (p. 57, 13) *taṁ vā etaṁ rasaṁ santaṁ ratha ity ācakṣate*, 'That which is (really) Rasa (sap) they call "Ratha (chariot)"'; GB. 1. 3. 19 (p. 88, 5) *kasya svid dhetor dīkṣita ity ācakṣate*, 'For what reason do they call him "Dīkṣita (consecrated)"?'; GB. 1. 3. 19 (p. 88, 7) *taṁ vā etaṁ dhīkṣitāṁ santaṁ dīkṣita ity acakṣate*, 'Him who is (really) Dhīkṣita (from *dhiyaṁ kṣiyati*) they call "Dīkṣita (consecrated)"'[1]; GB. 1. 4. 23 (p. 110, 16) *taṁ vā etaṁ spṛçyaṁ santaṁ pṛṣṭhya ity ācakṣate*, 'That which is (really) Spṛçya they call "Pṛṣṭhya"'; GB. 2. 2. 6 (p. 171, 8) *tad etad devamithunam ity ācakṣate*, 'They call this "The Divine Union"'; GB. 2. 5. 15 (p. 241, 13) *tāny etāny ahīnasūktānī 'ty ācakṣate*, 'They call these same "The Complete Hymns"; GB. 2. 6. 14 (p. 266, 6) *tad devanītham ity ācakṣate*, 'They call this "The Devanītha"'; GB. 1. 2. 10 (p. 43, 14) *tad yāḥ prācyo nadyo vahanti yāç ca dakṣiṇācyo yāç ca pratīcyo yāç co 'dīcyas tāḥ sarvāḥ pṛthaññāmadheyā* (so Gaastra's edition; the Bibl. Ind. *pṛthaññāmadheyīr*; the mss. °*dheyor*, °*dhyeyār*, and °*dherī*) *ity ācakṣate*, 'The rivers which flow to the east, to the south, to the west, to the north,—all these they call "(Rivers) having Distinct Names"'; JUB. 1. 20. 4 *tad antarikṣam iti parokṣam ācakṣate*; JUB. 1. 24. 2 *tad akṣaram iti parokṣam ācakṣate*; JUB. 2. 8. 7 *tam agastya iti parokṣam ācakṣate*; Ait. Ār. 1. 4. 1 (p. 93, 12 Keith) *tā* [*ṛcaḥ*] *ācakṣate yathāchandasam uṣṇiha iti*; Ait. Ār. 2. 1. 4 (p. 103, 2 Keith) *tasmāt prapade ity acakṣate çaphāḥ khurā ity anyeṣāṁ paçūnām*; Ait. Ār. 2. 1. 6 (p. 105, 4 Keith) *tasmāc chandāṅsī 'ty ācakṣate*; Ait. Ār. 2. 2. 1 (p. 108, 4 Keith) *tasmāc chatarcina* (p. 108, 6 *madhyamā*; p. 108, 8 *gṛtsamada*; p. 108, 10 *viçvāmitra*; p. 108, 13 *vāmadeva*; p. 108, 15 *ātraya*) *ity ācakṣata etam eva santam*; Ait. Ār. 2. 2. 9 (p. 109, 2 Keith) *tasmād bharadvāja* (p. 109, 4 *vasiṣṭha*; p. 109, 7 *pragāthā*; p. 109, 9 *pāvamānya*; p. 109, 11 *kṣudrasūktā*; p. 109, 12 *sūktam*; p. 109, 15 *ṛg*; p. 109, 17 *ardharca*; p. 109, 19 *padam*; p. 110, 2 *akṣaram*) *ity ācakṣata etam eva santam*; Ait. Ār. 2. 4. 3 (p. 121, 3 Keith) = Ait. Up. 1. 3. 14 *tasmād idaṁdro nāme, 'daṁdro*

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[1] Cf. ÇB. 3. 2. 2. 30.

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ha vai nāma, tam idaṁdraṁ santam indra (Röer's text *indram*) *ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇa*; Ait. Ār. 3. 2. 3 (p. 135, 7 Keith) *etam eva brahme 'ty ācakṣate*; Chānd. Up. 1. 3. 2 *svara itī 'mam ācakṣate pratyāsvara ity amum*; Chānd. Up. 1. 3. 6 *vāg gīr, vāco hi gira ity ācakṣate*; Chānd. Up. 4. 15. 2 *etaṁ samyadvāma ity ācakṣate*; Chānd. Up. 5. 1. 15 *na vai vāco na cakṣūṅṣi na çrotrāṇi na manāṅṣī 'ty ācakṣate, prāṇā ity evā 'cakṣate* [cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt., p. 600, 4—9]; Chānd. Up. 6. 8. 3; 5 *tad yathā gonāyo 'çvanāyaḥ puruṣanāya ity evaṁ tad apa* (5 *tat teja*) *ācakṣate 'çanāye 'ti*; Chānd. Up. 7. 24. 2 *go-açvam iha mahime 'ty ācakṣate*; Chānd. Up. 8. 5. 1—3 *yad yajña* (2 *yat sattrāyaṇam*; 3 *yad anāçakāyanam* and *yad araṇyāyanam*) *ity ācakṣate brahmavarcasam eva tat*; Çāṅkh. Ār. 10. 1 (p. 317, 17 of Keith's ed. of the Ait. Ār.) *athā 'to 'dhyātmikam āntaram agnihotram ity ācakṣate.*

(c) KB. 30. 8 (p. 145, 14) *yad vā urvarayor asaṁbhinnaṁ bhavati khilam iti vai tad ācakṣate*, 'What portion of two fields is not contiguous they call Khila';

The parallel passage ÇB. 8. 3. 4. 1 has the nominative *khila iti*, cf. above under (b).

GB. 1. 1. 13 (p. 10, 13) *tān vā etān parirakṣakān sadaḥprasarpakān ity ācakṣate dakṣiṇāsamṛddhān*, 'These same guards they call Sadaḥprasarpakas, (they are) thriving through gifts';

Dakṣiṇāsamṛddhān stands like an after-thought outside of the *iti*-clause. Röer's text reads at Ait. Up. 1. 3. 14 = Ait. Ār. 2. 4. 3 (p. 121, 3 Keith) *tam idaṁdraṁ santam indram* [instead of *indra*, cf. Ait. Ār., above under (b)] *ity ācakṣate.*

B. The √ *ah* has always the paratactical construction, viz. the nominative with *iti.*

At AB. 3. 33. 1 *prajāpatir vai svāṁ duhitaram abhyadhyāyad divam ity anya āhur uṣasam ity anye*, the accusatives *divam* and *uṣasam* do not, of course, depend on *āhuḥ* but on *abhyadhyāyat*: 'Prajāpati had designs on his own daughter, on Heaven (as) some say, on the Dawn (as) others (say)'.

ÇB. 2. 1. 1. 7 *purīṣya iti vai tam āhuḥ*, 'They call him "Purīṣya"'; ÇB. 6. 1. 1. 10 *tasmād anūcānam āhur agnikalpa iti*, 'Therefore they call a Vedic scholar "Agni-like"'; ÇB. 8. 4. 1. 9 (bis); 10 (bis); 11 (bis); 12 (bis); 13; 14—21; 22 (bis); 23—25 *yat tam āhā 'çur* (10 *āha bhānta*; 11 *āha vyome*; 12 *āha dharuṇa*; 13 *āha pratūrtir*; 14 *āha tapa*; 15 *āhā 'bhīvarta*; 16 *āha varca*; 17 *āha saṁbharaṇa*; 18 *āha yonir*; 19 *āha garbhā*; 20 *āhau 'ja*; 21 *āha kratur*; 22 *āha pratiṣṭhe*; 23 *āha bradhnasya viṣṭapam*; 24 *āha nāka*; 25 *āha vivarta*; 26 *āha dhartram*) *iti*, 'Inasmuch as he calls this (9—14; 20—22; 26 Stoma; 15—19; 21; 23—25 year) "The Swift One" ["The Bright One"; "Space"; "The Upholder"; "Speed"; "Heat"; "Victorious Assault"; "Splendour"; "Array"; "Womb"; "Embryos"; "Strength"; "Design"; "Foundation"; "Range of the Ruddy One"; "Firmament"; "Revolving (Sphere)"; "The Stay"]'; TS. 2. 4. 3. 2; 3 *tasmād etāṁ gāyatrī 'tī* (3 *saṁvarga itī*) *'ṣṭim āhuḥ*, 'Therefore they call this offering "The Gāyatrī" ["The Gatherer"], cf. the parallel passages K. 10. 7 (p. 133, 18) *sai 'ṣā gāyatrī*

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nāme 'ṣṭir atho āhuḥ kṣatrasya saṁvarga iti, and MS. 2. 1. 11 (p. 13, 16) *sai 'ṣā gāyatrī 'ṣṭir atho āhū rāṣṭrasya saṁvarga iti*; TS. 7. 1. 10. 3 *atho enaṁ vācaspatir ity āhuḥ*, 'And they also call him "Lord of Speech"'; TB. 1. 1. 2. 4 *aryame 'ti tam āhur yo dadāti*, 'They call him who gives "Aryaman"'; TB. 2. 3. 5. 4 *āryā vasatir iti vai tam āhur yaṁ praçaṅsanti*, 'One whom they laud they call "Aryan Abode"; TB. 1. 3. 2. 3 *taṁ [yajñam] vā etaṁ vājapeya ity āhuḥ*, 'They call this same (sacrifice) "The Vājapeya"'; TB. 2. 1. 2. 2 *tasmād yasya dakṣiṇataḥ keçā unmṛṣṭās tāṁ* (so, with *ā*) *jyeṣṭhalakṣmī prājāpatye 'ty āhuḥ*, 'Therefore, if one's hair is brushed up on the right side, they call this (mark) "Prajāpati's Excellent Mark"'; MS. 1. 8. 1 (p. 115, 16) *tasmād yasya dakṣiṇataḥ keçā unmṛṣṭās tăm* (so, with *ă*) *āhur jyeṣṭhalakṣmī 'ti*, 'Therefore they say of one whose hair is brushed up on the right side: "An Excellent Mark"; MS. 2. 5. 3 (p. 50, 17) *tasmād etăṁ* (so, with *ă*) *sāhasrī lakṣmīr ity āhuḥ*, 'Therefore they say of him: "A Lucky Mark Connected with a Thousand"';

The reading *tām* in TB. 2. 1. 2. 2 schould probably be changed to *tăm* as in the two MS. parallels. Then √*ah* is not so much 'to call, name a person' as 'to say of (= concerning) a person': 'They say of such an one: "(That is) Prajāpati's Excellent Mark"', as in the MS. parallels.

The Commentary to TB. gives a mythological explanation of *jyeṣṭhalakṣmī*.

PB. 10. 1. 3; 6; 9; 12; 15; 18; 21 *tam [stomam] u pratiṣṭhe 'ty* (6 *v ojo balam ity*; 9 *u prajāpatir ity*; 12 *u devatalpa ity*; 15; 21 *u puṣṭir ity*; 18 *u nāka ity*) *āhuḥ*, 'And they call this (Stoma) "The Foundation" ["Vigour (and) Strength"; "Prajāpati"; "The Couch of the Gods"; "Success"; "The Firmament"]'; PB. 11. 10. 12; 13. 11. 12; 14. 9. 18; 15. 3. 36 *tad [sāma] u sīdantīyam* (13. 11. 12 *dīrgham*; 14. 9. 18 *dhūraṁ same 'ty*; 15. 3. 36 *saṁvad*) *ity āhuḥ*, 'And they call this (Sāman) "Sīdantīya" ["Dīrgha"; "Dhūraṁ Sāma"; "Saṁvat"]'; PB. 25. 12. 3 *yam āhur aryamnaḥ panthā ity eṣa vāva devayānaḥ panthāḥ*, 'The (path) which they call "Aryaman's Path" that is the path which leads to the gods'; MS. 1. 6. 3 (p. 91, 13) *purīṣī 'ti vai gṛhamedhinam āhuḥ*. 'They call one who offers the Gṛhamedha "Rich in Possessions"'; MS. 2. 5. 8 (p. 58, 10); 9 (p. 59, 12) *vṛtratūr iti hy etam āhur yaḥ svārājyaṁ gachati*, 'Him who attains sovereignty they call "Slayer of Vṛtra"'; MS. 3. 7. 3 (p. 77, 11) *tasmāt paçavā iti jagatīm āhuḥ*, 'Therefore they call the Jagatī "Cattle"'; KB. 2. 8 (bis p. 6, 21; 7, 2) *taṁ [agnim*; in the second instance *sūryam] jyotiḥ santaṁ jyotir ity āha*, 'He calls this (Agni, [Sūrya]) who is light "Light"'; KB. 14. 5 (p. 64, 12) *atha vaiçvadevīṁ purorucaṁ çaṅsati, sā ṣaṭpadā bhavati, tām ṛtava* (read so with cod. M. for Lindner's *tvă ṛtava*; the ms. L. has *tvām ṛtava*) *ity āhuḥ*, 'He then recites the Puroruc-stanza addressed to the All Gods; that consists of six Pādas; they call it "The Seasons"';

Because the six Pādas are identified with the six seasons.

GB. 1. 2. 5 (p, 37, 14) *apy apakīrtitam ācāryo brahmacārī 'ty eka āhuḥ*, 'Some call even an ill-famed (man) "Teacher" and "Student"'.

In all these examples √*ah* is not really and primarily 'to call, name' but it literally means 'to say of (= concerning) a person: "—"'; thus ÇB. 2. 1. 1. 7 *purīṣya iti vai tam āhuḥ*, 'They say with regard to him: "(He is) Purīṣya"', cf.

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the direct discourse at KB. 12. 6 (p. 57, 7) *ya eṣa [paçuḥ] ālabhyate tam etam: aindrāgnaḥ syād iti hai 'ka āhuḥ*, 'Now with regard to this (victim) which is taken (for slaughter) some say: "It should be sacred to Indra and Agni"'.

Instead of having an object accusative depend on √ *ah* it is also possible to frame the sentence so as to incorporate the object accusative in the direct discourse and make it its subject, thus AB. 4. 5. 5 *apiçarvarāṇi khalu vā etāni chandāṅsī 'ti ha smā 'ha*, 'He said: "These metres are indeed the Nightly Ones"' = 'He called these metres "The Nightly Ones"'.

C. The √ *vad* has always the paratactical construction, viz. the nominative with *iti*.

√ *vad*. TS. 5. 1. 5. 7 *ṛṣabha iti hy etam [agnim] ṛṣayo 'vadan*, 'For the sages called this (Agni) "The Ass"' (with reference to VS. 11. 46 *nānadad rāsabhaḥ patvā*); TB. 1. 8. 8. 1 *sarvā enaṁ prajā rāje 'ti vadanti*, 'All creatures call him "King"'; PB. 12. 10. 24 *annaṁ vai devāḥ pṛçnī 'ti vadanti*, 'The gods call food "The Speckled One"'; PB. 18. 8. 7 *sarvā enaṁ vāco rāje 'ti vadanti*, 'All voices call him "King"'; PB. 19. 1. 2 *taṁ tu vai rāje 'ti vadeyuḥ*, 'They should call him "King"'; PB. 14. 9. 2 *devaṁ vā etaṁ mṛgayur iti vadanti*, 'They call this god "The Hunter"';

The independence of the *iti*-clause is seen at AB. 6. 21. 6; GB. 2. 6. 3 (p. 247, 2) *tā [triṣṭubhaḥ] hai 'ke purastāt pragāthānāṁ çaṅsanti dhāyyā iti vadantaḥ*, 'Some recite these (Triṣṭubhs) before the Pragāthas, saying: "They are Dhāyyas"'.

D. The √ *mantray* + *ā* has the paratactical construction, viz. the nominative with *iti*.

PB. 13. 3. 24 *sa [çiçur āṅgirasaḥ] pitṝn putrakā ity āmantrayata, taṁ pitaro 'bruvann: adharmaṁ karoṣi yo naḥ pitṝn sataḥ putrakā ity āmantrayasa iti*, 'This (Çiçu Āṅgirasa) addressed the Fathers as "Little Sons"; the Fathers said to him: "Thou dost wrong in that thou addressest us who are the Fathers as "Little Sons"'.

E. The √ *vac* has (a) twice the paratactical construction, viz. *iti* with the nominative; elsewhere (b) the logical predicate is put in the accusative.

(a) KB. 13. 4 (p. 58, 24) *atha soma iti vai paçum avocāmai 'vaṁ puroḍāçān*, 'We have called the victim "Soma" and so (also) the sacrificial cakes';

Literally: 'We have said of the victim: "(It is) Soma" etc.' Cf. for the independence of the *iti*-clause AB. 4. 8. 3 *na ha taṁ [indram] dadhṛṣatur: apodihī 'ti vaktum*, '(The two Açvīns) did not dare to say to this (Indra): "Get out of the way"'.

Ait. Ār. 3. 2. 3 (p. 134, 9—14 Keith); Çāṅkh. Ār. 8. 3 (p. 313, 2—6 of Keith's ed. of the Ait. Ār.) *çarīrapuruṣa iti yam avocāma sa* (Çāṅkh. Ār. omits *sa*) *ya evā 'yaṁ daihika ātmā*; . . .; *chandaḥpuruṣa iti yam avocāmā 'kṣarasamāmnāya eva* (Çāṅkh. Ār. *avocāma yena vedān veda*); . . .; *vedapuruṣa iti yam avocāma yena vedān veda* (Çāṅkh. Ār. omits this clause); . . . *mahāpuruṣa iti yam avocāma saṁvatsara eva*.

Contrast, with the logical predicate in the accusative, according to (b), Ait.

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Ār. 3. 2. 2 (p. 133, 12 Keith) *yāny akṣarāṇy avocāmā 'hāni tāni, yān ūṣmaṇo 'vocāma rātrayas tā, yān saṁdhīn avocāma 'horātrāṇāṁ te saṁdhayaḥ.*

(b) ÇB. 13. 1. 3. 4; TS. 6. 4. 5. 2 *etāṁ ha vāva sa yajñasya saṁsthitim uvāca,* 'This he called the establishment of the sacrifice'; TB. 3. 8. 6. 5 *etāṁ ha vāva so 'çvamedhasya saṁsthitim uvāca,* 'This he called the establishment of the Açvamedha'; TS. 7. 4. 5. 4; 7. 5. 4. 2 *etāṁ ha vā udañkaḥ çaulbāyanaḥ sattrasya ṛddhim uvāca yad daçarātrāḥ,* 'This, viz. the ten-nights rite, Udañka Çaulbāyana called the prosperity of the Sattra';

Sattrasya ṛddhiḥ with reference to VS. 8. 52 *sattrasya ṛddhir asi*; cf. ÇB. 4. 6. 9. 11, above § 27, Ex. 8.

ÇB. 14. 9. 1. 5 (= BĀU. 6. 1. 5 Mādhy. = 6. 2. 3 Kāṇva) *taṁ ho 'vāce: 'ti vāva kila no bhavān purā 'nuçiṣṭān avoca iti,* 'He (the son) said (to his father): "In this way then hast thou, Reverend Sir, declared us (= me) heretofore (well) instructed!"'

For the plural *nas* = *mām* cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 134, p. 204, 12. *Bha(ga)vān* with the second person of the verb occurs apparently only in this passage, where, however one ms. of the Kāṇva recension has the var. lect. *avocad*; the regular third person at ÇB. 10. 5. 6. 3; 14. 5. 4. 3 BĀU. 1. 4. 3); 14. 7. 3. 4 (BĀU. 4. 5. 4, where the Kāṇva recension has the var. lect. *bhagavān vettha*); 14. 6. 11. 1 (BĀU. 4. 2. 1).

GB. 1. 1. 31 (p. 23, 2) *duradhīyānaṁ vā ayaṁ bhavantam avocat,* 'This (man) hath called your Reverence ill-instructed'; GB. 1. 2. 10 (p. 43, 6) *sa ha svenā 'timānena mānuṣaṁ vittaṁ ne 'yāya, taṁ māto 'vāca: ta evai 'tad annam avocan . . . iti,* 'He through selfconceit had nothing to do with human sustenance; his mother said to him: "They have called (= call) this food"'.

F. The √*brū* (a) twice appears to have the logical predicate in the accusative; (b) elsewhere it takes the paratactical construction, viz. the nominative with *iti.*

(a) ÇB. 8. 1. 3. 5 *tad yathā pituḥ putram evaṁ trīṇi prathamāny āha*; . . .; *tad yat tatrā 'pi yathā pituḥ putram evaṁ brūyād yathā patiṁ santaṁ putraṁ brūyāt tādṛk tat,* 'Now as of a father's son he speaks of the first three (bricks); . . .; but if he were to speak of them on this occasion also as of a father's son that would be as if one were to call one a son while he is (really) a husband';

But *yathā patiṁ santaṁ putraṁ brūyāt* should perhaps be better rendered here: 'As if one were to speak of one who is (really) a husband as a son'.

Çāñkh. Ār. 7. 8 (p. 308, 13 in Keith's ed. of the Ait. Ār.) and 7. 9 (p. 308, 23) *prāṇo vañça iti vidyāt sa ya enaṁ prāṇaṁ vañçaṁ bruvan param upavadet . . .,* and *sa yadi prāṇaṁ vañçaṁ bruvantaṁ param upavadet . . .,* 'He should know: "Breath is the Beam"; if anyone calling Breath the Beam should rebuke another. . .', and 'If anyone should rebuke another who calls Breath the Beam . . .'

Cf. Keith's note to Ait. Ār. 3. 1. 4 (p. 243, note 5). But this passage also should perhaps better be rendered: 'speaking of Breath as the Beam'.

(b) ÇB. 3. 2. 1. 40 *rājanyaṁ vai vaiçyaṁ vā brāhmaṇa ity eva brūyāt,* 'He

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should call (= address) a Rājanya or a Vaiçya "Brāhmaṇa"'; GB. 1. 2. 12 (Gaastra, p. 45, 14; erroneously numbered 11 in the Bibl. Ind. because 7 is counted twice on p. 29) *tad yathā ha vā idaṁ yajamānaç ca yājayitāraç ca divaṁ brūyuḥ pṛthivī 'ti pṛthivīṁ vā dyaur iti brūyus tad anyo nā 'nujānāti*, 'If the sacrificer and (the priests) who sacrifice for him were here to call the sky 'earth', or i they were to call the earth 'sky', then another (person) does not (cannot) understand (them)'; GB. 1. 2. 12 (p. 46, 1) *hote 'ty eva hotāraṁ brūyād vāg iti vācaṁ brahme 'ti brahma deva iti devam, adhvaryur ity evā 'dhvaryuṁ brūyāt prāṇāpānāv iti prāṇāpānau brahme 'ti brahma deva iti devam, udgāte 'ty evo 'dgātāraṁ brūyāc cakṣur iti cakṣur brahme 'ti brahma deva iti devam, brahme 'ty eva brahmāṇam brūyān mana iti mano brahme 'ti brahma deva iti devam*, 'He should call the Hotṛ-priest Hotṛ, speech speech, the Brahman Brahman, the god god; he should call the Adhvaryu-priest Adhvaryu, in-breathing (and) out-breathing in-breathing (and) out-breathing, the Brahman Brahman, the god god; he should call the Udgātṛ-priest Udgātṛ, sight sight, the Brahman Brahman, the god' god; he should call the Brahman-priest Brahman, mind mind, the Brahman Brahman, the god god'; K. 37. 14 (p. 94, 17) *tad yady enaṁ yātudhāna iti brūyur nā 'pahnuvīta* (Schroeder's emendation for *'pahnavīta*), 'Now if they should call him a Yātudhāna-demon he should not demur'.

Schroeder's emendation of *apahnavīta* to *apahnuvīta* is certainly justified, cf. K. 34. 2 (p. 37, 7) *ni . . . hnuvate*; forms with *a* found in the Brāhmaṇas are very doubtful: AB. 1. 26. 5 *nihnavate*[1]; AB. 7. 14. 4 (in a Çloka) *tad ahaṁ nihnave tubhyam*, where the parallel passage ÇÇ. 15. 24 reads *nihnuve*; but cf. AÇ. 4. 5. 7; 8. 13. 27 *nihnavante*; and PW. cites *nihnavanti* from Mbh.; cf. Aufrecht. AB., p. 429, 12; Liebich, Pāṇini, p. 77.

In these passages also √ *brū* is not really 'call' but 'say to a person'; thus *hote 'ty eva hotāraṁ bruyāt* is literally: 'He should say to the Hotṛ-priest: "Hotṛ"'; cf. ÇB. 1. 4. 1. 35 *ned aram ity ātmānaṁ bravāṇi*, 'Lest I should say to myself: "Enough"'; and at KB. 6. 2—9, after the demand *nāma me (dvitīyaṁ, tṛtīyaṁ, caturthaṁ, pañcamaṁ, ṣaṣṭhaṁ, saptamaṁ, aṣṭamaṁ me nāma) kuru*, 'Give me a name [a second . . . eighth name]', the story continues: *sa vai tvam ity abravīd bhava eve 'ti (çarva eve 'ti; paçupatir eve 'ti; ugra eva deva iti; rudra iti; īçāna iti; açanir iti)*, 'He said to him: "Thou art Bhava [etc.]"'.

G. Similar paratactical constructions with *iti* and the nominative are found with 1. √ *vid*.

PB. 20. 15. 10; 11 *antarikṣam ity antarikṣaṁ viduḥ* and *dyaur iti divam viduḥ*, 'They know the atmosphere [the sky] as "atmosphere" ["sky"]'.

2. √ *vid* + *pari*.

ÇB. 7. 2. 1. 11 *nirṛtir iti tvā 'haṁ pariveda sarvataḥ*, 'I know thee as "Nirṛti" everywhere'.

This passage paraphrases VS. 12. 64 *nirṛtiṁ tvā 'haṁ pariveda viçvataḥ*, but the parallel passages AV. 6. 84. 1; TS. 4. 2. 5. 3, and K. 16. 12 (p. 234,

[1] ĀpÇ. 11. 1. 12 to which Sāyaṇa refers reads *nihnuvate*.

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16) read the nominative in this Mantra: *nirṛtir iti tvā 'haṁ pariveda sarvataḥ* (TS. and K. *viçvataḥ*).

3. √ *ās* + *upa* (cf. Oldenburg, Lehre der Upanishaden, p. 349, note 101).

ÇB. 10. 5. 2. 20 *tam etam agnir ity adhvaryava upāsate yajur iti*, 'Him the Adhvaryu-priests worship as "Agni", as "Yajus"; ÇB. 14. 5. 1. 2—13 (BĀU. 2. 1. 2—13) *atiṣṭhāḥ sarveṣāṁ bhūtānāṁ mūrdhā rāje 'ti* (3 *atiṣṭhā bṛhan pāṇḍaravāsāḥ somo rāje 'ti*; 4 *tejasvī 'ti*; 5 *pūrṇam apravartī 'ti*; 6 *indro vaikuṇṭho 'parājitā sene 'ti*; 7 *viṣāsahir iti*; 8 *pratirūpa iti*; 9 *rociṣṇur iti*; 10. *dvitīyo 'napaga iti*; 11. *asur iti*; 12 *mṛtyur iti*; 13 *ātmanvī 'ti*) *vā aham etam upāse*, 'I worship him as "The Lord, the Head of all Creatures, the King" ["The Great Lord, Clad in White and Yellow Robe, Soma, the King"; "The Luminous One"; „Fullness, the Immeasurable"; "Indra Vaikuṇṭha, the Invincible Army"; "The Powerful One"; "The Counterimage"; "The Shining One"; "The Second, who never turns away"; "Life"; "Death"; "Possessed of the Self"]'; ÇB. 4. 6. 10. 3; 6; 9; 12; 15; 18 (= BĀU. 4. 1. 3; 6; 9; 12; 15; 18 Mādhy. = 3; 2; 4; 5; 6; 7 Kāṇva) *priyam ity* (6 *prajñe 'ty*; 9 *satyam ity*; 12 *ananta ity*; 15 *ānanda ity*; 18 *sthitir ity*) *enad [brahma] upāsīta*, 'He should worship this (Brahman) as "The Dear" ["Knowledge"; "Truth"; "The Endless One"; "Bliss"; "Immobility"]'; JUB, 1, 49. 1 *so [prajāpatiḥ] 'bravīt: puruṣaḥ prajāpatis sāme 'ti mo 'pāddhvam . . . iti*; 4 *taṁ [prajāpatim] puruṣaḥ prajāpatis sāme 'ty upāsata*; . . ,; *sa yo ha . . . puruṣaḥ prajāpatis sāme 'ty upāste* . . .; JUB. 2. 4. 4 *sa ya evam etam [prāṇam] ābhūtir ity upāste* . . .; 5 *sa ya evam etaṁ saṁbhūtir ity ūpaste* . . .; 6 *sa ya evam etaṁ prabhūtir ity upāste* . . .; JUB. 4, 21. 6 *tadvanam ity upāsitavyam*;

Contrast, without *iti*, JUB. 3. 3. 2. 6 *so 'rūkṣa upāsitavyaḥ*.

Ait. Ār. 2. 1. 4 (p. 103, 5 Keith) *udaraṁ brahme 'ti çārkarākṣyā upāsate hṛdayaṁ brahme 'ty āruṇayaḥ*; Ait. Ār. 2. 1. 8 (p. 107, 8 Keith) *taṁ bhūtir iti devā upāsāṁ cakrire . . . abhūtir ity asurāḥ*; Ait. Ār. 2. 6 (p. 123, 1 Keith) = Ait. Up. 3. 1. 1 *ko 'yam ātme 'ty upāsmahe*; Chānd. Up. 1. 3. 8 *upasaraṇānī 'ty upāsīta*; Chānd. Up. 2. 1. 4 *sa ya etad evaṁ vidvān sādhu sāme 'ty upāste* . . .; Chānd. Up. 3. 13. 1 *tad etat tejo 'nnādyam ity upāsīta*; 2 *tad etac chrīç ca yaçaç ce 'ty upāsīta*; 3 *tad etad brahmavarcasam annādyam ity upāsīta*; 4 *tad etat kīrtiç ca vyuṣṭiç ce 'ty upāsīta*; 5 *tad etad ojaç ca mahaç ce 'ty upāsīta*; 8 *tad etad dṛṣṭaṁ ca çrutaṁ ce 'ty upāsīta*; Chānd. Up. 3. 14. 1 *taj jalān* (cf. Oldenberg, Lehre der Upanishaden, p. 350, note 116 with the references) *iti çānta upāsīta*; Chānd. Up. 3. 19. 4 *sa ya etam evaṁ vidvān ādityaṁ brahme 'ty upāste* . . ,; Chānd. Up. 4. 5. 3; 6. 4; 7. 4; 8. 4 *sa ya etam evaṁ vidvāṅç catuṣkalaṁ pādaṁ brahmaṇaḥ prakāçavān* (6. 4 *brahmaṇo 'nantavān*; 7. 4 *brahmaṇo jyotiṣmān*; 8. 4 *brahmaṇa āyatanavān*) *ity upāste* . . .; Chānd. Up. 5. 10. 1 *ye ce 'me 'raṇye çraddhā tapa ity upāsate* . . .; 3 *atha ya ime grāma iṣṭāpūrte dattam ity upāsate* . . .; Chānd. Up. 7. 1. 5; 2. 2; 3. 2; 4. 3; 5. 3; 6. 2; 7. 2; 8. 2; 9. 2; 10. 2; 11. 2; 12. 2; 13. 2; 14. 2 *sa yo nāma* (2. 2 *vācam*; 3. 2 *mano*; 4. 3 *yaḥ saṁkalpam*; 5. 3 *yaç cittam*; 6. 2 *dhyānam*; 7. 2 *vijñānam*; 8. 2 *balam*; 9. 2 *'nnam*; 10. 2 *'po*; 11. 2 *yas tejo*; 12. 2 *ya ākāçam*; 13. 2 *yaḥ svaram*; 14. 2 *ya āçām*) *brahme 'ty upāste*;

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ÇA. 4. 6; KUB. 2. 6 *tad ṛg ity upāsīta . . . tad yajur ity upāsīta . . . tat sāme 'ty upāsīta . . . tac chrīr ity upāsīta . . . tat teja ity upāsīta.*

Contrast the double accusative without *iti* at Chānd. Up. 5. 12. 1—17. 1 *kaṁ tvam ātmānam upāssa iti, divam* (13. 1 *ādityam*; 14. 1 *vāyum*; 15. 1 *ākāçam*; 16. 1 *apa*; 17. 1 *pṛthivīm*) *eva . . . iti ho 'vāca.*

JUB. 2. 9. 10 *bahuputra eṣa udgītha ity evo 'pāsitavyam* shows the direct discourse.

4. √ *yaj*

The passage KB. 8. 2 *somaṁ santaṁ viṣṇuṁ* (so Lindner's text, the cod. M. reads *viṣṇur*) *iti yajati* is discussed under **"Accusative"**.

H. Verbs of calling and naming in the middle voice and with reflexive meaning have the predicate noun in the nominative without *iti*.

The nominative is normal here as the predicate noun refers to the subject of the clause and consequently agrees with it in case, cf. *sarve* at ÇB. 3. 1. 2. 3 *tad dhai 'ke sarva eva vapante,* 'Now some shave themselves all over'. Cf. Whitney, Gr. § 268, a; Weber, Ind. Stud. 9, p. 295; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 64, p. 104, 3—9; and compare the similar construction of Latin *ipse* in agreement with the subject, e. g. Nepos, Milt. 7 *itaque cum ipse pro se dicere non posset verba fecerunt eius amici*; and see above § 59, Ex. 175 Rem. (in fine). When the subject is in the vocative case the predicate noun is in the same case; thus, in the Subrahmaṇyā-formula ÇB. 3. 3. 4. 19; ṢB. 1. 1. 21; JB. 2. 79 (JAOS. 18, p. 35); TĀ. 1. 12. 3; LÇ. 1. 3. 1 *kauçika brāhmaṇa gautama* (in JB. only one ms. reads *gautama*, the rest *kauçika*) *bruvāṇa*, 'O thou Brāhmaṇa Kauçika who callest thyself Gautama'. Cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 46, p. 76, 38; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 82, b, note, p. 194.

1. With √ *brū.*

ÇB. 1. 6. 1. 8 *ābhakto ha vai tasyāṁ puṇyakṛtyāyāṁ bhavati yām asya samāno bruvāṇaḥ karoti*, 'For he obtains a share in that meritorious deed which he performs while he calls himself his equal'; ÇB. 14. 6. 1. 3 (= BĀU. 3. 1. 3 Mādhy. = 2 Kāṇva) *kathaṁ nu no brahmiṣṭho bruvīta*, 'How may he call himself most brahman-inspired amongst us?'; ÇB. 14. 8. 15. 11 (= BĀU. 5. 15. 11 Mādhy. = 5. 14. 8 Kāṇva) *yan nu ha tad gāyatrīvid abrūthāḥ*, 'Since thou callest thyself a Gāyatrī-expert'; PB. 13. 12. 8 *tasmād ye ca parāñco gotamād ye cā 'rvāñcas ta ubhaye gotamarṣayo bruvate*, 'Therefore both those who precede Gotama and those who follow him call themselves Gotama-sages';

For the meaning of *gotamarṣi* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 100, b, p. 251, *brahmarṣi*, *rājarṣi*.

For the hiatus in the compound cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 267, c, p. 316.

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ṢB. 1. 1. 24 *sa yat tad gotamo vā bruvāṇaç cacāra* . . ., 'Inasmuch as he went either calling himself Gotama . . .'; ÇB. 2. 1. 2. 14 *sa [indraḥ] brāhmaṇo bruvāṇa ekeṣṭakāṁ prabadhye 'yāya*, 'This (Indra), calling himself a Brāhmaṇa, came taking one brick'; TB. 1. 1. 2. 5 *sa indro brāhmaṇo bruvāṇa iṣṭakām upādhatta*, 'This Indra, calling himself a Brāhmaṇa, put down a brick'; MS. 4. 8. 1 (p. 107, 6) *tam [manum] indro brāhmaṇo bruvāṇa upait*, 'Indra, calling himself a Brāhmaṇa, approached this (Manu)'; JB. 1. 288 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 114—115; quater) *ahaṁ te vakṣyāmi tvaṁ tu bruvāṇā*, 'I (= the Gāyatrī) will carry it for thee (= the Triṣṭubh, etc.) calling myself (by the name which) thou (hast)'; Chānd. Up. 4. 4 2 *sa satyakāma eva jābālo bravīthāḥ*, 'Call thyself then simply Satyakāma, the son of Jabālā'; Chānd. Up. 5. 3. 4 *atha nu kim anuçiṣṭo 'vocathā, yo hī 'māni na vidyāt kathaṁ so 'nuçiṣṭo bruvīta*, 'How now hast thou called thyself instructed? How, indeed, may one call himself instructed who does not know these (things)?'

In the later language *-bruvāṇa* is used as the second member of compounds, cf. e.g. the Epic *brahmabruvāṇa*, Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 82, b, p. 193; but such compounds are not found in the earlier language; the compound *gautamabruvāṇá* which Whitney quotes (Gr. § 1273, d appears to be an error due to a misinterpretation of *gautama bruvāṇa* of the Subrahmaṇyā-formula.

2. With √ *vac*.

TS. 6. 2. 4. 2; 3 *durge vai hantā* (3 *durgād vā āhartā*) *'vocathāḥ*, 'Thou hast called thyself a slayer in an inaccessible (place) [a fetcher from an inaccessible (place)].'

3. The middle of the √ *vad* does not occur in the sense of 'to call oneself'; it is erroneously rendered so by Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 104, 10 and p. 252, 8 where *saṁgrahītāro vadante* is rendered by 'sie geben sich für Wagenlenker aus'. But AB. 2. 25. 6 *turīye hai 'va saṁgrahītāro vadante 'munai 'vā 'nūkāçena yad ada indraḥ sārathir iva bhūtvo 'dajayat* means 'The charioteers lay claim to one fourth (of the booty) basing their claim on the fact that Indra on that occasion having become the charioteer [this alludes to RV. 4. 46. 2; 48. 2 *niyutvāṅ indrasārathiḥ*] won the victory'. The correct translation is given by Weber, Ind. Stud., 9, p. 253, 'So beanspruchen die Wagenlenker ein Viertel.'

The √ *vad* here is used in the sense of √ *vad* + *vi* 'to dispute about, lay claim to, something'; cf. ÇB. 1. 4. 5. 8 *athā 'to manasaç cai 'va vācaç cā 'haṁbhadra uditam*, 'A dispute about supremacy arose between Mind and Speech,' [In the similar passage Chānd. Up. 5. 1. 6 *prāṇā ahaṁçreyasi vyudire*, 'The organs of sense disputed about supremacy', the √ *vad* + *vi* is actually used]; ÇB. 1. 4. 5. 8 *manaç ca ha vai vāk cā 'haṁbhadra ūdāte*, 'Mind and Speech disputed about supremacy'; TS. 2. 1. 9. 3—4 *devā vai puṣṭiṁ nā 'vindan / tāṁ mithune 'paçyan, tasyāṁ na samarādhayan, tāv açvināv abrūtām: āvayor vā eṣā, mai 'tasyāṁ vadadhvam iti*, 'The gods did not find prosperity; they saw it in (sexual) union; they could not agree about it: these two Açvins said: "Verily, it is ours; do not claim it".'

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Similarly the simple √*vad* is used in the sense of √*vad* + *sam* 'to hold a discussion about' at TB. 1. 1. 3. 11 *devā vai brahmann avadanta*, 'The gods had a discussion about the Brahman', and at MS. 2. 4. 4 (p. 41, 19) *tasmin vā avadetām*, 'These two had a discussion about this'.

4. But the middle of √*dhā* with *nāmā*, 'to assume a name' construes the logical predicate paratactically in the nominative with *iti*.

GB. 1. 5. 8 (p. 122, 12) *sa rājasūyene* (also *sa vājapeyene; so 'çvamedhene; sa puruṣamedhene; sa sarvamedhene*) *'ṣṭvā rāje 'ti* (also *samrāḍ iti; svarāḍ iti; virāḍ iti; sarvarāḍ iti*) *nāmā 'dhatta*, 'He, having sacrificed with the Rājasūya [Vājapeya; Açvamedha; Puruṣamedha; Sarvamedha], assumed the name (title) of Rājan [Samrāj; Svarāj; Virāj; Sarvarāj]'.

This it the only example noted; in fact √*dhā* with *nāma* occurs but once again in a corrupt passage of MS. 3. 8. 10 (p. 109, 12) *ta etāni dvitīyāni nāmāny adhatta* (var. lect. *adhata*) *mañgalechāyai* (var. lect. *mañgachāyai*), the sense of which Roth (MS. vol. IV, p. 310) correctly renders by 'Sie nahmen diese zweiten (anderen) Namen an fausti ominis caussa'. Roth regards *adhatta* as a third person plural; it is, however, more likely an error for *adadhata* (cf. the var. lect.)

< √ *su* + *pra* >

The noun *some* must be supplied throughout.

160. *na prasthitam ity āha, prasute prasthitam iti*, 'He does not (then) say: "(Give the order for) the prepared (Soma)"; (but) after (the Soma) has been pressed (he says): "(Give the order for) the prepared (Soma)".' ÇB. 3. 8. 2. 27; 3. 8. 3. 29.

Prasthitam refers to the formula: *prasthitam* (scil. *preṣya*) KÇ. 6. 6. 26 etc

161. *atha yadi prasuta āhavanīyo 'nugachet* . . ., 'If, after (the Soma) has been pressed, the Āhavanīya-fire should go out . . .' ÇB. 6. 6. 4. 14.

162. *kāmaṁ prasute 'çnīyāt*, 'After (the Soma) has been pressed, he may eat if he pleases'. KB. 7. 3 (p. 29, 21).

163. *sa ha prasute 'cchāvākīyāṁ cakāra*, 'After (the Soma) has been pressed he performed the function of the Achāvāka-priest'. KB. 28. 4 (p. 136, 5).

164. *tasmād etenai* [*mantreṇa*] *'vā prasute prapadyeta*, 'Therefore he should proceed (to the bath) with this (Mantra) after (the Soma) has been pressed'. ṢB. 3. 1. 8.

< √ *sṛj* + *vi* >

165. *dīkṣaṇīyāyāṁ saṁsthitāyāṁ sāyaṁ vāci visṛṣṭāyāṁ vīṇāgaṇagina upasametā bhavanti*, 'When the initiation-offering has been

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completed (and) after speech has been released in the evening, master lute-players are assembled'. ÇB. 13. 4. 4. 2.

166. *tam te tathā saṁgāyanti | ahar-ahar vāci visṛṣṭāyām agnīṣomīyāṇām antataḥ saṁsthāyāṁ parihṛtāsu vasatīvarīṣu*, 'They thus sing of this (sacrificer) day after day, when speech has been released (and) finally at the completion of the offerings to Agni and Soma, when the Vasatīvarī water has been carried round'. ÇB. 13. 4. 4. 3.

167. *atha paçukāmas sāyaṁ paçuṣu sametesv agnihotraṁ juhuyād, brahma vā agnihotraṁ, brahmaṇai 'va tat paçūn parigṛhṇāty, avisṛṣṭeṣu prātar, brahma vā agnihotraṁ, brahmaṇai 'va tat paçūn parigṛhṇāti*, 'He who is desirous of cattle should offer the Agnihotra in the evening when the cattle have come together; for the Agnihotra is (identical with) the Brahman; by means of the Brahman he thus encloses the cattle; (and) in the morning (he should offer the Agnihotra) when the cattle have not (yet) been dismissed (for pasture); for the Agnihotra is (identical with) the Brahman; by means of the Brahman he thus encloses the cattle'. JB. 1. 5.

< √ *stu* >

168. *tāv ājagmatur devān yajñaṁ tanvānānt stute bahiṣpavamāne*, 'These two approached the gods as they were preparing the sacrifice, after the Bahiṣpavamāna had been chanted'. ÇB. 4. 1. 5. 13.

169. *tasmād eṣa stute bahiṣpavamāne graho gṛhyate, stute hi bahiṣpavamāna āgachatām*, 'Therefore this cup is drawn after the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted; for the two approached (the gods) after the Bahiṣpavamāna had been chanted'. ÇB. 4. 1. 5. 15.

170. *tasmād bahiṣpavamāne stuta āçvino [grahaḥ] gṛhyate*, 'Therefore the Āçvina-cup is drawn after the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted'. TS. 6. 4. 9. 2.

171. *tasmād bahiṣpavamāne stuta āçvinau [grahau] gṛhyete*, 'Therefore the two Āçvina-cups are drawn after the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted'. MS. 4. 6. 2 (p. 80, 6).

Caland, WZKM. 23, p. 57 plausibly emends *āçvinau gṛhyete* to *āçvino gṛhyate* the Āçvina-cup is drawn'; cf. Ex. 170 above and Ex. 172 below.

172. *tasmāt stute bahiṣpavamāna* (Schroeder's emendation for *tute bahiṣpavamānā*) *āçvino [grahaḥ] gṛhyate*, 'Therefore the Āçvina-

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cup is drawn after the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted'. K. 27. 4 (p. 143, 13).

173. *stute bahiṣpavamāne 'çvam āstāvam ākramayanti*, 'After the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted they make the horse step on the place for chanting'. ÇB. 13. 5. 1. 16.

174. *bahiṣpavamāne stute | āha* (GB. *stuta āha*) . . .; 'After the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted he says: . . . .'. TS. 6. 3. 1. 1—2; GB. 2. 2. 16 (p. 182, 3).

175. *yad bahiṣpavamāne stuta āha* . . ., 'In that, after the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted, he says: . . .'. MS. 3. 8. 10 (p. 110, 8).

176. *tasmād brahmā stute bahiṣpavamāne vācaṁyamaḥ syād* (the mss. have *vācoyamyam* for *vācaṁyamaḥ syād*) *o 'pāñçvantaryāmābhyām, atha ye pavamānā o 'dṛcas teṣv, atha yāni ca stotrāṇi ca çastrāṇi cā* (the mss., omitting *ca*, have *çastrāṇy ā*) *vaṣaṭkārāt teṣu*, 'Therefore the Brahman-priest should restrain his speech after the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted up to the (drawing of the) Upāñçu and Antaryāma cups; and further during (the Stotras) which (are called) the Pavamānas (he should restrain his speech) up to the end; and further during the Stotras and Çastras (he should restrain his speech) up to Vaṣaṭ-call'. GB. 1. 3. 3 (p. 66, 13).

Cf. the parallel passage, AB. 5. 33. 4 above Ex. 41.

For the impossible *vācoyamyam* of the mss. Gaastra (p. 31, 3) doubtingly conjectures *vācaṁ yacchet*, but *vācaṁyamaḥ syāt* is perhaps graphically an easier emendation. For *vācaṁyama* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 87, a, γ, p. 206, 23.

Is *vācoyama* perhaps a blundering analogy formation after the model of *vācoyukti* (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, § 89, c, p. 213, 22 and § 99, c, β, p. 247, 42)?

177. = Ex. 159, above.

178. *tasmād brahmā stute bahiṣpavamāne vācayati*, 'Therefore the Brahman-priest gives permission to speak after the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted'. GB. 1. 5. 11 (p. 128, 14).

179. *stute mādhyandine pavamāne* [*dadhigharmeṇa carati*], '(He proceeds with the Gharma of whey) after the midday Pavamāna has been chanted'. ÇB. 14. 3. 1. 29.

180. *stute pavamāne dadhigharmeṇa caranti*, 'They proceed with the Gharma of whey after the Pavamāna has been chanted'. KB. 15. 1 (p. 65, 11); 29. 2 (p. 139, 4).

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181. *yat pavamāne stute 'gnayo vihriyante . . .*, 'In that the fires are taken apart after the Pavamāna has been chanted . . .'. MS. 3. 8. 10 (p. 109, 17).

182. *atha stute pavamāne paçunā caranti*, 'Then, after the Pavamāna has been chanted, they proceed with the victim'. KB. 16. 1 (p. 69, 8); 30. 1 (p. 142, 15).

183. *sa stute pavamāna etaṁ japaṁ japet*, 'After the Pavamāna has been chanted he should mutter this Japa'. KB. 12. 5 (p. 55, 16).

184. *pavamāne stuta ājyaṁ çaṅsaty ājye stute praügam*, 'After the Pavamāna has been chanted he recites the Ājya(-çastra); when the Ājya(-çastra) has been chanted (he recites) the Praüga(-çastra)'. KB. 14. 4 (p. 63, 24).

185. *stute stome daçamaṁ* [*graham*] *gṛhṇāti*, 'After the Stoma has been chanted he draws the tenth (cup)'. AB. 3. 1. 1.

186. *ekasyāṁ stotriyāyām astutāyāṁ pādāv upāvaharati*, 'When one (verse) belonging to the Stotra remains unchanted (= before the last verse of the Stotra has been chanted) he takes down his feet'. PB. 5. 5. 7.

187. *yady ekasmin paryāye 'stute 'bhivyuchet pañçadaçabhir hotre stuyuḥ pañcabhiḥ-pañcabhir itarebhyo, yadi dvayoḥ paryāyayor astutayor abhivyuched dhotre ca maitrāvaruṇāya ca pūrve stuyur brahmaṇe cā 'chāvākāya co 'ttare, yadi sarveṣu paryāyeṣv astuteṣv* (var. lect. *paryāyeṣu stuteṣv*) *abhivyuchet ṣaḍbhir hotre stuyus tisṛbhis-tisṛbhir itarebhyaḥ*, 'If day should break while one Stoma-round remains unchanted they should perform the Stoma with fifteen (verses) for the Hotṛ-priest (and) with five (verses) each for the other (priests); if day should break while two Stoma-rounds remain unchanted they should chant the first two (verses) for the Hotṛ-priest and the Maitrāvaruṇa-priest, (and) the last two (verses) for the Brahman-priest and the Achāvāka-priest; if day should break when all the Stoma-rounds remain unchanted they should perform the Stoma with six (verses) for the Hotṛ-priest (and) with three (verses) each for the other (priests)'. JB. 1. 348.

Cf. Caland on ĀpÇ. 14. 23. 12—14.

188. *tad āhus: tisṛṣv evā 'stutāsu dhāveyus, trayo vai prāṇāpānavyānās, teṣāṁ saṁtatyā avyavachedāye 'ty; atho āhur: ekasyām eva stutāyāṁ dhāveyuḥ, ko hy evai 'ṣa yat prāṇo 'pāno vyāna iti;*

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tad u vā āhus: sarvāsv evā 'stutāsu dhāveyur (the ms. *dhāver*) *etayor ājyor asaṁsargāye 'ti*, 'Now they say: "They should run (the race) when three (verses) remain unchanted, in order that these three, viz. in-breathing, out-breathing, and through-breathing, may be firmly held together and that there may be no separation from them"; again they say: "They should run (the race) when one (verse) remains unchanted, for in-breathing, out-breathing, and through-breathing are (identical with) Ka (= Prajāpati)"; still further they say: "They should run (the race) when all (the verses) remain unchanted in order that these two races may not be fused together".' JB. 2. 193.

The noun is omitted in the following two passages:

189. (a) *atha stuta etāṁ vācaṁ vadati*, 'When the chant has been completed he utters this speech'. ÇB. 4. 2. 5. 11.

(b) *prāṇam eva nā 'tiṣṭuvanti, stute vai prāṇa eva pariçiṣyate.* JB. 2. 39, above Ex. 61.

< √ *stu* + *pra* >

190. *bahiṣpavamāne prastute brūyāt* ..., 'After the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted he should say: ...' K. 34. 18 (p. 48, 13).

191. *bahiṣpavamāne prastute* ... *upary-upari brahmāṇam atīkṣeta*, 'After the Bahiṣpavamāna has been chanted ... he should gaze upward beyond the Brahman-priest'. K. 34. 18 (p. 48, 19).

192. *rathantare prastute brūyāt* ...; *bṛhati prastute brūyāt* ..., 'After the Prastāva of the Rathantara(-Sāman) [of the Bṛhat (Sāman)] has been finished he should say ...'. JB. 1. 129 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 33).

Cf. below § 62, Ex. 76: [*rathantare*] *prastūyamāne.*

193. *rathantare prastute ho ity uktvā 'dim ādadīta*; ...; *bṛhati prastuta ā ity uktvā 'dim ādadīta*, 'After the Prastāva of the Rathantara(-Sāman) has been finished he should commence the Ādi having said: "Ho"; ...; after the Prastāva of the Bṛhat (-Sāman) has been finished he should commence the Ādi having said "Āḥ".' JB. 1. 130 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 34).

For √ *dā* + *ā* with *ādim* cf. Whitney, JAOS. 11, p. cxLvııff.; for *ādi* as a subdivision of the Sāman cf. JUB. 1. 11. 7 etc. (see the Index, p. 248) and JB. 1 178 *ṣaḍbhir akṣarair ādim ādatte.*

194. *rathantare prastute pṛthivīṁ hastābhyāṁ gacchet*, 'After the

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Prastāva of the Rathantara-(Sāman) has been finished he should touch the earth with both hands'. JB. 1. 130 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 34).

Pṛthivīṁ hastābhyāṁ gacchet is a curious expression if it is intended to mean 'he should touch *(upaspṛçet)* the earth with both hands' (cf. ÇB. 1. 2. 4. 7 *nā 'tmānam upaspṛçati na pṛthivīm*; AB. 3. 31. 14; 3. 38. 12 *upaspṛçan bhūmim*). Cf. *pṛthivīm, antarikṣam, diçaḥ paçūn, divam,* and *ṛtūn manasā gacchet* in the following Ex. 195.

195. *gāyatryāṁ prastutāyāṁ gāyatram eva gāyan pṛthivīṁ manasā gacchet; . . .; triṣṭubhi prastutāyāṁ* (the mss. *stutāyāṁ*) *gāyatram eva gāyann antarikṣaṁ manasā gacchet; . . .; jagatyāṁ prastutāyāṁ gāyatram eva gāyan diçaḥ* (the mss. *diça* and *diçaṁ*) *paçūn manasā gacchet; . . .; anuṣṭubhi prastutāyāṁ gāyatram eva gāyan divaṁ manasā gacchet; . . .; paṅktyāṁ prastutāyāṁ gāyatram eva gāyann ṛtūn manasā gacchet*, 'After the Gāyatrī [the Triṣṭubh; the Jagatī; the Anuṣṭubh; the Paṅkti] has been chanted, while he sings in the Gāyatrī-metre, he should go with his mind to (= fix his mind on?) the earth [the atmosphere; the quarters (and) cattle; the sky; the seasons]'. JB. 1. 104.

196. *mano vai retasyā prāṇo gāyatrī cakṣus triṣṭup çrotraṁ jagatī vāg anuṣṭub, retasyāyāṁ prastutāyāṁ yasya kāmayeta | tasya manasā mano dhyāyed; gāyatryāṁ prastutāyāṁ yasya kāmayeta tasya prāṇena prāṇaṁ dhyāyet; triṣṭubhi prastutāyāṁ yasya kāmayeta tasya cakṣuṣā cakṣur dhyāyed; jagatyāṁ prastutāyāṁ yasya kāmayeta tasya çrotreṇa çrotraṁ dhyāyed; anuṣṭubhi prastutāyāṁ yasya kāmayeta tasya vācā vācaṁ dhyāyet; . . .; athai 'tā devadhuraç ca manuṣyadhuraç ca saṁdadhāti; mano vai manuṣyadhūr āpo devadhū, retasyāyāṁ prastutāyāṁ manasā 'pas saṁdadhyāt; . . .; prāṇo vai manuṣyadhūr vāyur devadhūr, gāyatryāṁ prastutāyāṁ prāṇena vāyuṁ saṁdadhyāt; . . .; cakṣur vai manuṣyadhūr ādityo devadhūs, triṣṭubhi prastutāyāṁ cakṣuṣā 'dityaṁ saṁdadhyāt; . . .; çrotraṁ vai manuṣyadhūr diço devadhūr, jagatyāṁ prastutāyāṁ çrotreṇa diças saṁdadhyāt; . . .; vāg vai manuṣyadhūḥ pṛthivī devadhūr, anuṣṭubhi prastutāyāṁ vācā pṛthivīṁ saṁdadhyāt*, 'The Retasyā (verse) is (identical with) the mind, the Gāyatrī (with) breath, the Triṣṭubh (with) sight, the Jagatī (with) hearing, the Anuṣṭubh (with) speech; after the Retasyā [the Gāyatrī; the Triṣṭubh; the Jagatī; the Anuṣṭubh] has been chanted, he should meditate with the mind [breath; sight; hearing; speech] on the mind [breath; sight; hearing; speech] of him whom

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he may desire; . . .; furthermore he puts the divine and the human Dhūrs together; mind [breath; sight; hearing; speech] is the human Dhūr, the waters [the wind; the sun; the quarters; the earth] are [is] the divine Dhūr; after the Retasyā [the Gāyatrī; the Triṣṭubh; the Jagatī; the Anuṣṭubh] has been chanted he should put together the waters [the wind; the sun; the quarters; the earth] with the mind [breath; sight; hearing; speech]'. JB. 1. 269—270.

197. *prastute purā 'deḥ sa nārakaḥ*, '(The interval) after the Prastāva has been chanted (and) before the Ādi is one hell'. JB. 1. 325 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 124).

For the hypostasis of the absolute locative cf. above § 59, Ex. 8, Remark.

< √ *stṛ* >

198. *stīrṇe barhiṣi samiddhe devebhyo juhavāni*, 'After the sacrificial strew has been strewn I will offer to the gods in the kindled (fire)'. ÇB. 4. 2. 5. 11.

199. = above § 57, Ex. 18 (K. 25. 8, p. 113, 12).

< √ *sthā* + *nis* >

200. *ni(ḥ)ṣṭhiteṣu pānnejaneṣu mahiṣīm açvāyo 'panipādayanti*, 'After the water for washing the feet has been made ready they make the queen lie down by the horse'. ÇB. 13. 5. 2. 2.

< √ *han* >

201. *sa ho 'vaca: hato vṛtro, yad dhate kuryāta tat kurute 'ti*, 'He said: "Vṛtra is slain; do ye what ye would do if he were slain".' ÇB. 4. 1. 3. 4.

Eggeling renders: 'Do ye with the slain what ye list'; better Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 388, 35 'Was ihr tun würdet, wenn er tot wäre, das tut'.

202. *sa vai tvaṣṭā putre hate somam āharad ṛta indram*, 'After (his) son had been slain Tvaṣṭṛ offered Soma, excluding Indra'. MS. 2. 4. 1 (p. 38, 7).

The parallel passages express the idea of *putre hate* usually by the compound *hataputra* or *putrahata* (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 302, § 116, a); thus TS. 2. 5. 2. 1 *tvaṣṭā hataputro vīndraṁ somam āharat*;

For *vīndra* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 285, § 110, b, ι, who compares AB. 7. 27. 1 *viçyaparṇo yajñaḥ*, 'a sacrifice from which the Çyaparṇas were excluded'.

JB. 2. 154. 5 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 181) *sa tvaṣṭā hataputro 'pendraṁ somam ājahre*;

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Apendra belongs to Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 282, § 110, b, β. In connection with *apadeva* and contrasted with *sendra* it occurs also at JB. 3. 160 *teṣām apendro 'padevo yajño 'bhavat; . . .; sendro nas sadevo yajñas syāt; . . .; tata eṣa sendras sadevo yajño 'bhavat; . . .; sendro hā 'sya sadevo yajño bhavati ya evaṁ veda.*

K. 12. 10 (p. 172, 11) *sa tvaṣṭā putrahato vīndraṁ somam āharat;* ÇB. 12. 7. 1. 1; 12. 8. 3. 1 *taṁ tvaṣṭā hataputro 'bhyacarat.* At ÇB. 1. 6. 3. 6; 5. 5. 4. 7 the idea is expressed by a direct discourse: *sa tvaṣṭā cukrodha: kuvin me putram abadhīd iti so 'pendram eva somam ājahre.*

< √ *han* + *apa* >

203. *yaḥ prathamas tamasy apahate sūryasya raçmir yūpasya caṣāle 'vātanot* (Schroeder's text erroneously omits the avagraha) *sā 'vir vaçā 'bhavat,* 'The first ray of the sun which, after darkness had been dispelled, spread over the top of the sacrificial stake became a barren ewe'. MS. 2. 5. 2 (p. 48, 19).

The parallel passages K. 12. 13 (p. 175, 6) and TS. 2. 1. 2. 2 have nothing syntactically comparable. Cf. Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 7, who queries whether at K. 12. 13 (p. 175, 7) *cātvālam* should be corrected to *caṣālam.*

204. *prātaḥ puro 'dayād apahate tamasi tasmin kāle juhuyāt,* 'In the morning before sunrise when darkness has been dispelled, — at that time he should make the offering'. KB. 2. 9 (p. 8, 9).

For the resumption by *tasmin kāle* cf. above § 56.

< √ *hu* >

205. *atha hute 'gnihotra upatiṣṭhate,* 'Now after the Agnihotra has been offered he worships (the fires)'. ÇB. 2. 4. 1. 1.

206. *yasyā 'gnir uddhṛto 'hute 'gnihotra udvāyati . . .,* 'If anyone's fire after it has been taken out (of the Gārhapatya-fire) goes out while the Agnihotra has not (yet) been offered . . .'. TS. 2. 2. 4. 7.

207. *yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre pūrvo 'gnir anugachet . . .; yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre pūrvo 'gnir anugachati . . .; yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre 'paro 'gnir anugachet . . .,* 'If, while the Agnihotra has not (yet) been offered, anyone's first [second] fire should go out [goes out]'. MS. 1. 8. 8 (p. 127, 7; 18; p. 128, 1; 3).

208. *yadi sāyam ahute 'gnihotre* (Schroeder's emendation for *'gnihotra*) *pūrvo 'gnir anugachet . . .; yadi prātar ahute* (Schroeder's emendation for *āhute*) *'gnihotre 'paro 'gnir anugachet . . .,* 'If, in the evening [in the morning], the first [second] fire should go out while the Agnihotra has not (yet) been offered . . .' K. 6. 6. (p. 53, 3; 6).

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209. *tasmāt sāyam ahute 'gnihotre 'gnihotriṇā nā 'çitavyaṁ tasmād u prātar ahute nā 'çitavyam*, 'Therefore the Agnihotrin is not permitted to eat in the evening when the Agnihotra has not (yet) been offered, and therefore he is not permitted to eat in the morning before the Agnihotra has (yet) been offered'. MS. 1. 5. 7 (p. 75, 3).

210. *etasyām āhutyāṁ hutāyām agnir devebhya udakrāmat*, 'After this oblation had been offered Agni departed from the gods'. ÇB. 6. 3. 1. 22.

211. *etad vā eṣa* [*agniḥ*] *etasyām āhutyāṁ hutāyāṁ prādīpyata*, 'Then, when this oblation has been offered, this (fire) blazed forth'. ÇB. 9. 2. 3. 37.

212. *yat pūrvasyām āhutyāṁ hutāyām athā 'gnir anugachet* . . . 'If, after the first oblation has been offered, the fire were to go out . . .'. ÇB. 12. 4. 3. 1.

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, a.

213. *yat pūrvasyām āhutau hutāyām aṅgārā anugacheyuḥ* . . ., 'If, after the first oblation has been offered, the coals should go out . . .'. JB. 1. 56. 3 (JAOS. 23, p. 338).

214. *yadi* (TB. *yat*) *pūrvasyām āhutyāṁ hutāyām uttarā 'hutiḥ skandet* . . ., 'If, after the first oblation has been offered, the second oblation should be spilled . . .'. K. 35. 19 (p. 66, 3); TB. 3. 7. 2. 4.

215. *yat pūrvasyām āhutau hutāyāṁ yajamāno mriyeta* . . ., 'If, after the first oblation has been offered, the sacrificer should die . . .'. JB. 1. 57. 3 (JAOS. 23, p. 339).

The parallel passage ÇB. 12. 4. 2. 5 has nothing syntactically comparable.

216. *tāṁ* [*gām*] *tasyām evā 'hutau hutāyāṁ brāhmaṇāya dadati*, 'They give this (cow) to a Brāhmaṇa after this oblation has been offered'. JB. 1. 58. 1 (JAOS. 23, p. 340).

The parallel passage ÇB. 12. 4. 1. 10 has the simple locative without participle: *tāṁ tasyām āhutyāṁ brāhmaṇāya dadyāt.*

217. *vettha yatithyām āhutyāṁ hutāyām āpaḥ . . . vadantī3*, 'Dost thou know after the offering of which libation the waters . . . speak?' ÇB. 14. 9. 1. 3 (= BĀU. 6. 1. 3 Mādhy. = 6. 2. 2 Kāṇva).

218. *ahutāsu vā aham āhutiṣu devatā havyaṁ gamayāmi*, 'I will cause the offering to go to the gods before the oblations have (yet) been offered'. MS. 1. 4. 10 (p. 58, 7); K. 32. 7 (p. 25, 23).

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219. *ahutāsv evā 'syā 'hutiṣu devatā havyaṁ gachati*, 'His offering goes to the divinities before the oblations have (yet) been offered'. MS. 1. 4. 10 (p. 58, 8); K. 32. 7 (p. 26, 1).

220. *sāyamāhutyāṁ hutāyāṁ jaghanena gārhapatyam udaṅ vāvātayā saha saṁviçati*, 'After the evening-oblation has been offered he, having his face turned to the north, lies down with the favourite wife behind the Gārhapatya-fire'. ÇB. 13. 4. 1. 9.

221. *prātarāhutyāṁ hutāyām adhvaryuḥ pūrṇāhutiṁ juhoti*, 'After the morning-oblation has heen offered the Adhvaryu-priest offers a full oblation'. ÇB. 13. 4. 1. 10.

222. *etāni* (4. 5. 8. 15 omits *etāni*) *vaçāyai vā vapāyāṁ hutāyāṁ dadyād udavasanīyāyāṁ ve 'ṣṭau*, 'He should make a present of these (garments) either after the omentum of the barren cow has been offered or at (= after) the concluding ceremony'. ÇB. 4. 5. 8. 15; 5. 3. 5. 26.

223. *tad dhai 'ke vapāyāṁ hutāyāṁ dakṣiṇā nayanti*, 'Now some lead up the gift-cows after the omentum has been offered'. ÇB. 11. 7. 2. 4.

224. *vaiçvadevasya* (2 *aindrāgnasya*; 3 *kāyasya*) *vapāyāṁ hutāyāṁ tad anv itarā juhuyuḥ*, 'When the omentum of (the victim) sacred to the All Gods [to Indra and Agni; to Ka] has been offered, —after that they should offer the other (omenta)'. ÇB. 13. 5. 3. 1—3.

For *tad anu* cf. above § 7, b.

225. *açitavyaṁ vapāyāṁ hutāyām*, 'Eating is permitted after the omentum has been offered'. AB. 2. 9. 6.

226. *teṣāṁ* [*devānām*] *vapāyām eva hutāyāṁ svargo lokaḥ prākhyāyata*, 'After just the omentum had been offered by these (gods) the heavenly world become apparent'. AB. 2. 13. 6.

227. *hutāsu vapāsu prapadyā 'dhvaryū rajatena pātreṇa prājāpatyaṁ mahimānam uttaraṁ grahaṁ gṛhṇāti*, 'After the omenta have been offered the Adhvaryu-priest, entering (the Soma-shed) draws the second Mahiman-cup sacred to Prajāpati in a silver vessel'. ÇB. 13. 5. 3. 7.

228. *prātaḥsavane hutāsu vapāsv evam eva tṛtīyasavane huteṣu haviḥṣu / triṇavam aṣṭamam ahar bhavati*, 'When at the morning pressing the omenta have been offered (and), in like manner, when

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at the third pressing the offerings have been offered, the eighth day is a Triṇava-day'. ÇB. 13. 7. 1. 9—10.

229. *huteṣu dākṣiṇeṣu dakṣiṇā nīyante*, 'After (the offerings) connected with the sacrificial fees have been offered the gift-cows are led up'. KB. 15. 1 (p. 65, 17); 29. 2 (p. 139, 12).

230. *nā 'hutayor upāñçvantaryāmayor hotā vācaṁ visṛjeta | yad ahutayor upāñçvantaryāmayor hotā vācaṁ visṛjeta . . .; tasmān nā 'hutayor upāñçvantaryāmayor hotā vācaṁ visṛjeta*, 'The Hotṛ-priest [If the Hotṛ-priest; Therefore the Hotṛ-priest] should not release speech before the Upāñçu and the Antaryāma cups have been offered'. AB. 2. 21. 1—2.

231. *huta eva vaisarjine | rājānaṁ praṇayati*, 'When the Vaisarjina-offering has been offered he leads the king (Soma) forward'. ÇB. 4. 6. 8. 6—7; 11—12; 16—17.

232. *yad idaṁ ghṛte hute pratī 'vā 'rcir ujjvalati* (also *çoṇam ivā 'rcir ujjvalati* and *suvarṇam ivā 'rcir ujjvalati*) . . ., 'When here, after ghee has been offered, the flame flares up, so to speak [burns red, as it were; burns golden, as it were] . . .' K. 8. 9 (p. 92, 21; p. 93, 4 and 8).

233. *vāstu hi tad yajñasya yad dhuteṣu haviḥṣu*, 'For (the time) when the oblations have been offered that is the place of the sacrifice'. ÇB. 1. 7. 3. 7.

For the hypostasis of *huteṣu haviḥṣu* cf. above § 59, Ex. 8, Remark.
Cf. TS. 3. 1. 10. 3 *vāstu vā etad yajñasya kriyate yad grahān gṛhītvā bahiṣpavamānaṁ sarpanti*, 'In that they creep toward the Bahiṣpavamāna after the cups have been drawn thereby the place of the sacrifice is prepared'.

The subject of the locative absolute is wanting in the following examples (Ex. 234—236):

234. *atha prātar hute vā 'hute vā yatarathā kāmayeta so 'syā aniraçitāyai kumbhyai darvyo 'pahanti*, 'Now in the morning either after (the Agnihotra) has been offered or before (it) has been offered, whichever way he may prefer, he cuts out (the remainder) with the Darvi-spoon from this vessel after (its contents) have been eaten up'. ÇB. 2. 5. 3. 17.

235. *hutāya svāhe* (TS. 7. 4. 16. 1) *'ti hute juhoti*, 'With (the formula) TS. 7. 4. 16. 1 he offers an oblation after the offering has been made'. TB. 3. 9. 16. 2.

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Cf. ĀpÇ. 20. 15. 6 *upākṛtāya svāhe 'ty upākṛte* [*açve*] *juhoty, ālabdhāya svāhe 'ti niyukte, hutāya svāhe 'ti hute.* And cf. above Ex. 45.

236. *yad dhuta ādadhyāt* . . ., 'If he were to load (the cart) after the oblation has been offered . . .' TS. 3. 4. 10. 4.

236 A. At K. 6. 3 (p. 52, 5) Schroeder's text reads: *yadi pura upasannam ahute skandet* . . .; but Caland, on ĀpÇ. 9. 6. 5, is certainly right in emending *ahute* to *ahutaṁ*, 'If (the milk) after it has been set down in front (of the Āhavanīya-fire) should get spilled before it is offered . . .'

< √ *hṛ* + *ā* >

237. *sa prātaḥsavane* (2. 6. 1 *mādhyandine savane*; 2. 7. 1 *tṛtīyasavane*) *savanamukhīyeṣv* [*camaseṣu*] *āhṛteṣū 'pahavam icchate*, 'He seeks for an invitation at the morning pressing [at the midday pressing; at the third pressing] after (the vessels) which are employed at the beginning of the pressing have been brought'. ṢB. 2. 5. 1; 2. 6. 1; 2. 7. 1.

238. *tam* [*agnim*] *āhṛte nirmanthanti*, 'They churn this (fire) after (the dead sacrificer) has been brought (home)'. ÇB. 12. 5. 1. 3.

< √ *hṛ* + *ud* >

239. *yad āhavanīya uddhṛte gārhapatyo 'nugachet* . . ., 'If, after the Āhavanīya-fire has been taken out (of the Gārhapatya-fire) the Gārhapatya-fire should go out . . .' JB. 1. 61. 3 (JAOS. 23, p. 243).

Cf. the parallel passage ÇB. 12. 4. 3. 6, above § 59, Ex. 72.

⌈ **Addition from the Prose of the AV.**

239 A. = Ex. 148, above. ⌋

< √ *hṛ* + *pari* >

240. *taṁ te tathā saṁgāyanti | ahar-ahar vāci visṛṣṭāyām agnīṣomīyāṇām antataḥ saṁsthāyāṁ parihṛtāsu vasatīvarīṣu . . . | prajāpatinā sutyāsv evam evā 'har-ahaḥ parihṛtāsv eva vasatīvarīṣū 'davasānīyāyām antataḥ saṁsthitāyām*, 'They thus sing of this (sacrificer) day after day, when speech has been released (and) finally at the completion of the offering to Agni and Soma when the Vasatīvarī-water has been carried round, . . .; on the Sutyā-days (they sing of him) along with Prajāpati, in exactly the same way, day after day, when the Vasatīvarī-water has been carried round (and)

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when the Udavasānīyā-oblation has finally been completed'. ÇB. 13. 4. 4. 2—4.

241. = § 59, Ex. 200.

< √ *hṛ* + *pra* >

242. = § 59, Ex. 222 and 227.

243. *yat prahṛteṣu paridhiṣu hāriyojanaṁ juhoti* . . ., 'In that he offers the Hāriyojana-cup after the enclosing sticks have been thrown into (the fire) . . .' K. 28. 9 (p. 163, 18).

244. = § 59, Ex. 229 and 230.

< √ *hvā (hū)* + *ā* >

245. *āhūta ukthe* (Schroeder's emendation for *ukte*; the Kap. S. parallel has *ukthye*) *'vanayet* . . .; *yad āhūte 'vanayet* . . .; *yac chaste* . . ., 'When the Uktha has been recited by way of invitation, he should pour it out . . .; if he were to pour it out after (the Uktha) has been recited by way of invitation . . .; if (he were to pour it out) after the Çastra has been recited . . .'. K. 28. 1 (p. 153, 7 and 8).

< √ *hvā (hū)* + *upa* >

246. *upahūtāyām iḍāyām apa upaspṛçya māhendraṁ grahaṁ gṛhṇāti*, 'After the Iḍā has been invoked, touching water, he draws the Māhendra-cup'. ÇB. 5. 2. 2. 19; 21; 5. 4. 4. 25.

247. *sa vā iḍāyām upahūtāyām ājagāma*, 'He came after the Iḍā had been invoked'. KB. 28. 4 (p. 136, 1).

248. *atha vā etarhy upahūtāyām iḍāyāṁ puroḍāçasyai 'va barhiṣado mīmāṅsā*, 'Now after the Iḍā has been invoked, there is doubt concerning the cake which is placed on the sacrificial strew'. TB. 3. 3. 8. 5.

For *barhi(ḥ)ṣad* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 342, 6, § 287, a; II, 1, p. 125, 27, § 55, b, α; Oldenberg, Rig-Veda Noten, I, p. 191 (to RV. 2. 3. 3); Prolegomena, p. 49, Anm. 1; Arnold, Vedic Metre, p. 143.

249. *puroḍāçeḍāyāṁ evo 'pahūtāyāṁ dakṣiṇā nayet*, 'After the Iḍā of the Cake has been invoked he should lead up the gift-cows'. ÇB. 11. 7. 2. 5 (bis).

B. The Accompanying Participle is a Present Participle.

§ 61. The Verb is Intransitive.

< √ 1 *as* 'to be' >

1. *tasmād etad* [*payaḥ*] *āmāyāṁ gavi satyāṁ çṛtam, agner hi*

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retas, tasmād yadi kṛṣṇāyāṁ yadi rohiṇyāṁ çuklam eva bhavati. ÇB. 2. 2. 4. 15, see above § 57, Ex. 4.

2. *tasmād u kṣatriyasyai 'va vaçe sati vaiçyaṁ paçava upatiṣṭhante,* 'And therefore cattle are at the disposal of the Vaiçya (only) as long as the Kṣatriya pleases'. ÇB. 1. 3. 2. 15.

For *vaçe sati* cf. TS. 6. 3. 2. 6 *sve vaçe bhūte,* above § 59, Ex. 110, Remark. *upatiṣṭhante* = 'serve, are of use' cf. its connection with √ 2 *bhuj* 'enjoy': TS. 2. 1. 4. 8 *bhuñjaty enaṁ viḍ upatiṣṭhate*; MS. 4. 3. 6 (p. 45, 8) *vīrasthā vā anye paçavo 'vīrasthā anye, ye purastāt puroḍāçās te vīrasthā, ye paçcāt puroḍāçās te 'vīrasthā, ye purastāt puroḍāçā bhuñjatas ta upatiṣṭhante*; MS. 4. 7. 4 (p. 99, 2); MS. 1. 10. 7 (p. 147, 5); K. 36. 1 (p. 69, 9) *bhuñjanta enaṁ [yajamānam] paçava* (MS. *paçavā*) *upatiṣṭhante*; K. 28. 9 (p. 164, 10) *saṁçārukā enaṁ [yajamānam] bahavaḥ paçavo bhuñjanta upatiṣṭhante*; K. 28. 9 (p. 164, 8); TS. 6. 5. 9. 4 *saṁçārukā enaṁ alpāḥ paçavo* (TS. *alpā enaṁ paçavo*) *bhuñjanta upatiṣṭheran, . . ., asaṁçārukā enaṁ bahavaḥ paçavo* (TS. *bahava enaṁ paçavo*) *bhuñjanta upatiṣṭheran*; TS. 6. 5. 9. 4 *bahava evai 'naṁ paçavo bhuñjanta upatiṣṭheran.* And cf. MS. 4. 3. 8 (p. 48, 3) *sūtamukhā vai viṭ kṣatram upatiṣṭhate*; TS. 2. 3. 9. 3; 3. 4. 8. 2 *tān [sajātān] eva avarunddhe* (3. 4. 8. 2 *adhidevana evā 'smai sajātān avarunddhe*) *ta enam avaruddhā upatiṣṭhante*; TS. 3. 5. 7. 3; 3. 5. 9. 1; MS. 2. 5. 1 (p. 47, 9) *sarvāṇy enaṁ [yajamānam] paçūnāṁ rūpāṇy* (TS. *sarvāṇy evai 'naṁ paçūnāṁ rūpāṇy*) *upatiṣṭhante.*

3. *sūryo ha vā agnihotram . . . / sa yat sāyam astamite juhoti: ya idaṁ tasminn iha sati juhavānī 'ty, atha yat prātar anudite juhoti: ya idaṁ tasminn iha sati juhavānī 'ti, tasmād vai: sūryo 'gnihotram ity āhuḥ,* 'The Agnihotra is (identical with) the sun . . .; when he offers it in the evening after (the sun) has set (he does so thinking): "I will offer it while he who is (identical with) this (Agnihotra) is here"; and when he offers it in the morning before sunrise (he does so thinking): "I will offer it while he who is (identical with) this (Agnihotra) is here"; therefore they say: "The Agnihotra is (identical with) the sun"'. ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 1—2.

4. *tad etad* (the second time *tasmād*) *etad anatirātre sati rātre rūpaṁ kriyate,* 'In this way [therefore] while it is not an over-night-rite it is (yet) performed in the manner of a night-rite'. ÇB. 5. 1. 3. 2 (bis).

5. *tad yad āçvine paçau saty* (13 *tad yat sārasvate paçau saty*; 14 *tad yad aindre paçau saty*; 15 *tad yad aindre puroḍāçe saty*; 16 *tad yat sāvitre puroḍāçe saty*; 17 *tad yad vāruṇe puroḍāçe saty*) *athai 'tā devatā saha yajati . . .,* 'In that he sacrifices to all these divinities in common while the victim is sacred to the Açvins [to

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Sarasvati; to Indra; while the cake is sacred to Indra; to Savitṛ; to Varuṇa] . . .' ÇB. 12. 9. 1. 12—17.

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, a.

6. *yat saty āhavanīye 'thā 'nyatra caranti* . . ., 'If, while there is an Āhavanīya-fire, they proceed elsewhere (= offer in another fire) . . .' TB. 1. 6. 9. 8.

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, a.

7. *mādhuchandasa eva praüge sati gārtsamadaṁ vaiçvadevam upariṣṭān mādhuchandasasya vaiçvadevasya paryāharet*, 'Although this is just the Mādhuchandasa Praüga he should transpose the Gārtsamada (triplet) sacred to the All Gods so as to precede the Mādhuchandasa (triplet) sacred to the All Gods'. KB. 24. 1 (p. 108, 9).

8. *yad agniṣṭoma eva sati yajñe dve hotur ukthe atiricyete* . . ., 'Inasmuch as two Ukthas of the Hotṛ-priest are left over, this sacrifice being an Agniṣṭoma . . .' GB. 2. 6. 6 (p. 251, 3).

9. *yad agniṣṭoma eva sati yajñe sarvā devatāḥ sarvāṇi chandāṅsy āpyāyayanti* . . ., 'Inasmuch as all the divinities (and) all the metres are made full, this sacrifice being an Agniṣṭoma . . .'. GB. 2. 6. 6 (p. 251, 6).

10. *tad dha smā 'ha nagarī jānaçruteyo: na hai 'va tāvad daivāsuraṁ* (var. lect. *devāsuraṁ*) *bhavitā yāvad eṣa trivṛd vajro 'har-ahar imān lokān anuvartata* (the mss. *anuvartate 'ty*), *ūrdhvo hy ayam agnir dīpyate, tiryañṅ ayaṁ vāyuḥ pavate, 'rvāñ asāv ādityas tapati, ta ete 'nimeṣam anyo 'nyam īkṣante; katham eteṣv evaṁ satsu* (var. lect. *satyāsu*) *daivāsuraṁ* (var. lect. *devāsuraṁ*) *syād iti*, 'Now Nagarin Jānaçruteya used to say: "So long as the threefold thunderbolt moves along these worlds day by day so long there will be no (feud) between gods and Asuras; for this fire blazes upward, this wind blows across, hitherward doth yonder sun burn; these three, without winking, gaze at eachother; how could there be a (feud) between gods and Asuras while these (three) are thus?"' JB. 1. 247 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 96).

Caland reads *anuvartata ity* (but the first *iti* seems to be redundant); and in both instances *devāsuram*, which he renders by '(Kampf) zwischen Göttern und Asuras', with the note: 'Ist mit éiner hs. *daivāsuram* (scil. *vairam*) zu lesen?' ÇB. 11. 1. 6. 9 *nai 'tad asti yad daivāsuram*, 'That is not (a fact) viz. the (feud) between gods and Asuras' favours the reading *daivāsuram*.

For the neuter *bhavitā* in the periphrastic future cf. above § 59, Ex. 93, Remark.

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⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

10 A. *eṣu ha vā ayaṁ kulyeṣu satsū 'dgāsyati*; 'Shall this one sing the Udgītha, while these here (= we, the Brāhmaṇas of the Kurus and Pañcālas) belong to the family?' JUB. 3. 31. 9.

For the concessive force of the locative absolute cf. § 64. ⌋

<√ *ās* + *pari*>

11. *teṣv* [*brāhmaṇeṣu*] *evai 'nām* [*vedim*] *etat paryāsīneṣv anagnāṁ karoti*, 'While these (Brāhmaṇas) thus sit around this (Vedi) he (by strewing the sacrificial grass on the Vedi) clothes it'. ÇB. 1. 3. 3. 8.

<√ *i* + *ā*>

12. *tad āyatsu vācayati* . . ., 'While they approach he makes (the sacrificer) say . . .'. ÇB. 3. 3. 2. 6; 3. 6. 3. 11.

13. *tasmād idam apy etarhy amitreṣv āyatsu vittam apagūhanti*, 'Therefore even now in ordinary life they hide the property when enemies approach'. JB. 3. 117 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 215).

14. *yathā çreyasy āyati pāpīyān pratyavarohet* . . ., 'Even as an inferior would descend (to do honour) when a superior approaches . . .'. ÇB. 4. 1. 3. 9.

Cf. AB. 2. 20. 15 *prati vai çreyāṅsam āyantam uttiṣṭhanti*; ÇB. 3. 9. 3. 7 *kṣatriyam āyantam imāḥ prajā viçaḥ pratyavarohanti*; TS. 7. 5. 4. 1 *jyāyāṅsaṁ kanīyān pratyavarohati*; and TS. 5. 5. 4. 2—3 *saṁvatsaraṁ na kaṁ | cana pratyavarohen, na hī 'me kaṁ cana pratyavarohataḥ*, 'For the space of a year he should descend in honour of no one; for these (worlds) do not descend in honour of anyone'; TB. 1. 3. 9. 2 *vājapeyayājī na kaṁ cana pratyavarohati*, 'He who offers the Vājapeya descends in honour of no one'; MS. 3. 4. 3 (p. 47, 18) *na hi suṣuvānaḥ kaṁ cana pratyavarohati*.

15. *yathā çreyasy āyaty aporṇuta evaṁ tat*, 'Even as one uncovers when a superior approaches so is this'. MS. 3. 7. 8 (p. 86, 4).

The parallel passage TS. 6. 1. 3. 3 has *yathā vasīyāṅsaṁ praty aporṇute tādṛg eva tat*. Both passages refer to the uncovering of the person who undergoes the consecration-rite *(dīkṣā)* and who, in imitation of an embryo, is covered with a cloth representing the caul which is removed when the Soma is purchased.

<√ *i* + *ud*>

16. *udyatsu raçmiṣu* [*agniḥ*] *mathyaḥ*, 'When the (first) rays (of the sun) rise up (the fire) should be churned'. MS. 1. 6. 10 (p. 102, 1).

Thence *udyatsu raçmiṣu* is repeated at ĀpÇ. 5. 10. 8, see Caland's note.

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17. *tasmād udyati sūrye kriyate*, 'Therefore it is done when the sun is rising'. K. 37. 1 (p. 85, 6).

The parallel passage TB. 2. 7. 9. 4 has the temporal instrumental, *udyatā sūryeṇa kāryaḥ*; see above § 40.

18. *amuṁ vā ādityaṁ sarvā vāco gachanti, tā udyati* (Schroeder's emendation for *udyaṅti*) *sarvā sṛjyante*, 'All kinds of speech go toward yonder sun; when he is rising they are all emitted'. MS. 3. 6. 10 (p. 88, 15).

The idea 'at sunrise' is also expressed by *upodaye sūryasya*, MS. 4. 2. 3 (p. 24, 7); 4. 3. 4 (p. 43, 11); and so perhaps at K. 6. 5 (p. 54, 5) where the cod. Ch. reads *upodayo sūryasya*, while the Kap. S. parallel has *upodaya* and Schroeder emends to the adverb *upodayam* (cf. PW. s. *upavyuṣam, upavyuṣasam, upāstamayam*). By *āviḥsūrye*, MS. 4. 5. 1 (p. 63, 2). By *sākaṁ sūryeṇo 'dyatā* TS. 1. 8. 4. 1; 2; TB. 1. 6. 6. 2; 1. 6. 7. 5. By *udyatā sūryeṇa*, TB. 2. 7. 9. 4 (see above § 40). By *sākaṁ raçmibhiḥ*, K. 11. 5 (p. 149, 8); MS. 2. 1. 5 (p. 7, 4); K. 36. 10 (p. 77, 9); MS. 1. 10. 16 (p. 155, 20). And by *yataḥ sūryasyo 'dayanam*, MS. 3. 1. 3 (p. 4, 14), cf. for this last phrase Caland, WZKM. 23, p. 73, note 2, and ZDMG. 55, p. 266. Cf. also above § 59, Ex. 14, Remark.

< √ *i* + *upa* — *ā* >

19. *ā dhenavaḥ payasā tūrṇyarthā* (RV. 5. 43. 1) *ity upāyatīṣu* [*anvāha*], '(He recites) RV. 5. 43. 1 while (the Vasatīvarī and Ekadhanā waters) are coming up'. AB. 2. 20. 5.

The Commentary glosses *upāyatīṣu* by *āpo yadā cātvālasamīpaṁ pratyāgachanti.*

< √ *i* + *pra* >

20. *agniṁ prayati yajñe* [*vṛṇīdhvam*], '(Choose ye) Agni while the sacrifice proceeds'. ÇB. 1. 4. 1. 39.

This is merely a paraphrase of RV. 5. 28. 6 *ā juhotā duvasyatā 'gniṁ prayaty adhvare vṛṇīdhvaṁ havyavāhanam.*

< √ *i* + *prati* — *ā* >

21. *tam etat pratyāyatyāṁ rātrau sāyam upātiṣṭhanta*, 'When night was returning, in the evening, (the gods) stepped up to him'. ÇB. 2. 3. 4. 2.

< √ *i* + *vi* >

22. *yad anayor viyator vāg avadat tasmāt sārasvatī*, 'Because

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when these two (viz. heaven and earth) separated speech spoke, therefore it belongs to Sarasvatī'. TS. 3. 4. 3. 2.

< √ *i* + *sam* — *ā* >

23. *taṁ yadi kṣatriya upadhāvet senayoḥ samāyatos: tathā me kuru yathā 'ham imāṁ senāṁ jayānī 'ti* . . ., 'If, when two armies are coming together (for battle), the Kṣatriya should approach him (= his Purohita) (saying): "Arrange it so for me that I may conquer this army", . . .' AB. 8. 10. 2.

24. *sam anyā yanty upa yanty anyā* (RV. 2. 35. 3) *iti samāyatīṣu* [*anvāhā*], '(He recites) RV. 2. 35. 3 when (the Vasatīvarī and Ekadhanā waters) are flowing together'. AB. 2. 20. 6; KB. 12. 1. (p. 53, 10).

< √ *rdh* >

25. *tasmād brāhmaṇo 'nṛdhyamāne dvitīyaṁ nāma kurvīta*, 'Therefore a Brāhmaṇa, if things do not go well with him, should take another name'. ÇB. 3. 6. 2. 24.

Anṛdhyamāne is the absolute locative of the impersonal *na ṛdhyate*, 'things do not go well', cf. MS. 2. 2. 9 (p. 22, 13) *jane ma ṛdhyeta*, 'May it go well with me among people' (Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 2, p. 6, 6); K. 9. 17 (p. 121, 3) *asyāṁ me janatāyām ṛdhyeta*, 'May it go well with me in this community'; PB. 6. 10. 12—13 *jane ma ṛdhyeta, . . ., janatāyām evā 'smā ṛdhyate*; K. 34. 17 (p. 48, 9); GB. 2. 2. 10 (p. 176, 2 which should be emended so as to agree with K.) *ṛdhyate yajamānāya ṛdhyate prajāyā ṛdhyate paçubhya ṛdhyate brahmaṇe*, PB. 11. 5. 8 *ṛdhyate 'smai* [*yajamānāya*] *kṛṣau ya evaṁ veda*; TS. 6. 6. 10. 2 *ubhābhyāṁ na ṛdhyeta, . . ., ubhābhyām ṛdhyeta.*

< √ *jñā* >

26. *ta ṛtavo deveṣv ajānatsv asurān upāvartanta*, 'The Seasons went over to the Asuras when the gods did not approve'. ÇB. 1. 6. 1. 2.

< √ *jñā* + *sam* >

27. *saṁjñānāneṣu* [*putreṣu*] *vai brūyāḥ sauhārdyāya me çriyai* | *yathā 'haṁ, bharatarṣabho, 'peyāṁ tava putratām*, 'With the consent (of thy sons) mayest thou, O Bharata-bull, explain to me (= Çunaḥçepa) for the sake of friendship (and) for good fortune, how I may enter thy sonship (= become, by adoption, one of thy sons)'. AB. 7. 17. 7; ÇÇ. 15. 25. (Çloka).

For *saṁjñānāneṣu* the ÇÇ. parallel reads *saṁjānāneṣu* and the above translation follows this reading; AB. *saṁjñānāneṣu*, is either a 'grammatical monster'

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like other forms cited by Aufrecht, AB., p. 431, 11—19, or a false reading. Aufrecht (AB., p. 387, 5) proposes an emendation to *saṁjñānam eṣu*, of which Keith approves; he renders the verse: 'Bid these agree / For friendship and prosperity to me / That I may, O Bull of the Bharatas, become thy son'. My translation takes *saṁjānāneṣu* as absolute locative with the omission of the noun *putreṣu*.

The text of AB., the Commentary, and the var. lect. of ÇÇ. agree in reading *brūyāt*, but the reading of ÇÇ. *brūyāḥ* is required by the sense (Aufrecht, AB., p. 387, 5).

Aufrecht's reading *sauhărdyāya* for *sauhārdyāya* (so Haug; Bibl. Ind.; PW.; and ÇÇ.) appears to be a mere misprint.

< √ *tap* + *ā* >

The noun (*āditye* or *sūrye*) is always wanting.

28. *nā 'tapati prachādayeta* (also *niṣṭhivet* and *prasrāvayeta*), 'When (the sun) shines he should not cover himself [he should not spit out; he should not urinate]'. ÇB. 14. 1. 1. 33.

29. *yā [āpaḥ] ātapati varṣanti* . . ., '(Such water) as rains down while (the sun) shines . . .'. ÇB. 5. 3. 4. 13.

30. *yā ātapati varṣati* . . ., '(Such water) as rains down while (the sun) shines . . .'. MS. 4. 4. 1 (p. 50, 13).

As the text stands *yāḥ [āpaḥ]* would have to be construed as accusative depending on the impersonal *varṣati*: 'What water it rains'. But *varṣati* should very probably be emended to *varṣanti* as ÇB. 5. 3. 4. 13 (above Ex. 29) reads.

The only instances of an accusative with the impersonal *varṣati* are the accusatives of time *ṛtum* or *ṛtūn*, 'at, or during, the season(s)', TS. 5. 1. 5. 2 (cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt., p. 170, 26); 5. 3. 1. 3; 5. 3. 10. 1; K. 19. 5 (p. 5, 7); 20. 10 (p. 30, 5—6); 28. 2 (p. 154, 18) and the accusative of time *tāṁ samām*, 'during that year', K. 22. 12 (p. 68, 2).

Elsewhere accusatives depend on the personal *varṣati* only; thus the cognate accusative *vṛṣṭim*: MS. 2. 4. 8 (p. 46, 2) *tāṁ [vṛṣṭim] sūryo raçmibhir varṣati*; āÇñkh. Ār. 7. 3 (Keith's ed. of Āit. Ar. p. 307, 15) *mahāmegho* (var. lect. *mahāmeghā*) *vṛṣṭiṁ varṣati* (var. lect. *varṣanti*); the cognate accusative *suvṛṣṭam*: TS. 1. 6. 10. 5 *yathā vai parjanyaḥ suvṛṣṭaṁ varṣati*; TB. 3. 11. 10. 3 *yathā vai parjanyaḥ suvṛṣṭaṁ vṛṣṭvā prajābhyaḥ sarvān kāmānt saṁpūrayati*; the quasi-cognate accusative ('Accusativ des Inhalts', Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 116, p. 169) *çriyaḥ*: ÇB, 12. 4. 1. 11 *çriyo vai parjanyo varṣati*, 'Parjanya rains down blessings'.

At MS. 2. 5. 4 (p. 52, 2) *yad dhy asau varṣati tad asyāṁ pratitiṣṭhati* the pronouns *yat* and *tat* are temporal adverbs: 'When yonder (sky) rains then he (= the sacrificer) stands firmly on this (earth)', cf. ÇB. 8. 2. 3. 8 *tasmād yadā varṣaty atha paçavaḥ pratitiṣṭhanti*, 'Therefore when it rains then cattle stand firmly (= prosper through abundance of food)'.

At MS. 4. 6. 3 (p. 80, 15) *tato ye stokā avāpadyanta tair idaṁ varṣati* 'The drops which fell down from there (i. e. from the eye of Prajāpati)

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with them it rains here (= they are the rain-drops here)', *idam* is local adverb; similarly at ÇB. 2. 6. 3. 7 *eṣa vā idaṁ sarvaṁ prapyāyayati yad idaṁ kiṁ ca varṣati*, 'He causes all this to swell up (= grow luxuriantly) whenever it rains here', *yat kiṁ ca* is temporal adverb = 'whenever', and *idam* is local adverb = 'here'.

An impersonal *varṣati* with a dependent accusative, e. g. **stokān varṣati*, 'It rains rain-drops', does not occur; such an idea is expressed by the personally construed √ *vṛṣ*; thus, ÇB. 12. 3. 2. 5 *yāvanti svedāyanāni tāvanta ete stokā varṣanti*, 'As many sweat-pores as there are, so many drops rain down'; ÇB. 3. 8. 2. 22 *ta ete stokā varṣanti*. Cf. RV. 5. 84. 3 *divo varṣanti vṛṣṭayaḥ*; AV. 4. 15. 4 *sargā varṣasya varṣato varṣantu pṛthivīm anu*, 'Let gushes of raining rain rain along (= all over) the earth'.

Γ Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

30 A. *ātapati varṣyā gṛhṇāti*, 'He takes rain water (which falls) when (the sun) shines'. TĀ. 1. 24. 1.

30 B. *tasmād eṣa ātapaty uṣṇataraḥ pavate*, 'Therefore this (wind) blows hotter when (the sun) shines'. JUB. 3. 32. 7.

< √ *tap* + *upa* >

30 C. *etad dha tad vidvān brāhmaṇa uvāca mahidāsa aitareya upatapati* . . ., 'Now the Brāhmaṇa Mahidāsa Aitareya, knowing this, said when illness befell him: . . .' JUB. 4. 2. 11.

< √ *tṛp* >

30 D. . . . *iti prāṇas tṛpyati / prāṇe tṛpyati cakṣus tṛpyati, cakṣuṣi tṛpyaty ādityas tṛpyaty, āditye tṛpyati dyaus tṛpyati, divi tṛpyantyāṁ yat kiṁ ca dyauç cā 'dityaç cā 'dhitiṣṭhatas tat tṛpyati . . . // . . . iti vyānas tṛpyati / vyāne tṛpyati çrotraṁ tṛpyati, çrotre tṛpyati candramās tṛpyati, candramasi tṛpyati diças tṛpyanti, dikṣu tṛpyantīṣu yat kiṁ ca diçaç ca candramāç cā 'dhitiṣṭhanti tat tṛpyati . . . // . . . ity apānas tṛpyati / apāne tṛpyati vāk tṛpyati, vāci tṛpyantyām agnis tṛpyaty, agnau tṛpyati pṛthivī tṛpyati, pṛthivyāṁ tṛpyantyāṁ yat kiṁ ca pṛthivī cā 'gniç cā 'dhitiṣṭhatas tat tṛpyati . . . // . . . iti samānas tṛpyati / samāne tṛpyati manas tṛpyati, manasi tṛpyati parjanyas tṛpyati, parjanye tṛpyati vidyut tṛpyati, vidyuti tṛpyantyāṁ yat kiṁ ca vidyuc ca parjanyaç cā 'dhitiṣṭhatas tat tṛpyati . . . // . . . ity udānas tṛpyati / udāne tṛpyati vāyus tṛpyati, vāyau tṛpyaty ākāças tṛpyaty, ākāçe tṛpyati yat kiṁ ca vāyuç cā 'kāçaç cā 'dhitiṣṭhatas tat tṛpyati* . . ., '. . . thus the Prāṇa [the Vyāna; the Apāna; the Samāna; the Udāna] is satisfied; the Prāṇa [the Vyāna; the

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Apāna; the Samāna; the Udāna] being satisfied, sight [hearing; speech; mind; the wind] is satisfied; sight [hearing; speech; mind; the wind] being satisfied the sun [the moon; Agni; Parjanya; space] is satisfied; the sun [the moon; Agni; Parjanya; space] being satisfied, heaven [the quarters; the earth; lightning] is satisfied; heaven [the quarters; the earth; lightning] being satisfied, everything over which heaven and the sun [the quarters and the moon; the earth and Agni; lightning and Parjanya; wind and space] rule is satisfied'. Chānd. Up. 5. 19. 2; 20. 2; 21. 2; 22. 2; 23. 2.

Contrast the final clause in each of these sections where instead of the locative absolute *tasmiṅs tṛpyati* the nominal phrase *tasyā 'nu tṛptiṁ tṛpyati prajayā* etc., 'In consequence of its satisfaction (= because it is satisfied) he (= the sacrificer) is satisfied with offspring' etc. is used.

The parallel passage Çāṅkh. Ār. 10. 2—8 (p. 317—318 in Keith's ed. of Ait. Ār.) has conjunct participles throughout. ⌋

< √ *dyut* + *vi* >

31. *tasmād evaṁvid vāte vāti vidyotamāne stanayaty avasphūrjaty adhīyītai 'va*, 'Therefore one knowing thus should study when the wind blows, when it lightens, when it thunders, when it rumbles in the distance'. ÇB. 11. 5. 6. 9.

Contrast, immediately preceding, the temporal *yad*-clause: *tasya vā etasya brahmayajñasya catvāro vaṣaṭkārā: yad vāto vāti yad vidyotate yat stanayati yad avasphūrjati*, 'Of this Brahman-sacrifice there are four Vaṣaṭ-calls, viz. when the wind blows, when it lightens, when it thunders, (and) when it rumbles in the distance'.

32. *vidyotamāne stanayaty atho varṣati*, 'When it lightens, when it thunders, then it rains'. GB. 1. 3. 19 (p. 89, 14).

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, a.

⌈ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

32 A. *ya evaṁ vidvān meghe varṣati vidyotamāne stanayaty avasphūrjati pavamāne vāyāv amāvāsyāyāṁ svādhyāyam adhīte tapa eva tat tapyate*, 'He who, knowing thus, engages upon study in the night of the new moon when a cloud rains, when it lightens, when it thunders, when it rumbles in the distance, when the wind blows, he thus undergoes penance'. TĀ. 2. 14.

< √ *pū* >

32 B. = Ex. 32 A. (TĀ. 2. 14). ⌋

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< √ *man* + *anu* >

33. *tayor anumanyamānayoḥ*, 'While these two approve'. ÇB. 1. 9. 1. 8.

This merely paraphrases *tayor āvidi* in the formula *tayor āvidy agnir idaṁ havir ajuṣata*, TS. 2. 6. 9. 6, etc.

< √ 1 *vā* 'blow' >

34. = Ex. 31 (ÇB. 11. 5. 6. 9).

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

< √ *vṛt* >

34 A. *māsi-māsy amāvāsyāyāṁ vṛttāyāṁ* (so the Calcutta ed.; the Ānandāçram. ed. omits the participle) *paçcāc candramasaṁ dṛçyamānam upatiṣṭheta*, 'Every month, when the night of the new moon has come round, one should worship the moon as it appears in the west'. Kauṣ. Up. 2. 8. ⌋

< √ *vṛṣ* >

35. *tasmād varṣaty aprāvṛto vrajet*, 'Therefore when it rains he should go about uncovered'. ÇB. 7. 5. 2. 41.

36. *amuto vai divo varṣatī 'hau 'ṣadhayo vanaspatayaḥ prajāyante*, 'When it rains from yonder sky herbs (and) trees grow here'. ÇB. 12. 4. 1. 7.

Contrast the temporal *yad*-clauses ÇB. 8. 2. 3. 8 *tasmād yadā varṣaty atha paçavaḥ pratitiṣṭhanti*, 'Therefore when it rains then cattle have a firm standing (= prosper with abundant food)', and MS. 2. 5. 4 (p. 52, 2) *yad dhy asau varṣati tad asyāṁ [yajamānaḥ] pratitiṣṭhati*, 'For when yonder (sky) rains then this (sacrificer) stands firmly upon this (earth)'.

37. *tasmād agnicid varṣati na dhāvet*, 'Therefore one who has piled the fire-altar should not run when it rains'. TS. 5. 4. 9. 2.

Cf. below Ex. 37 B.

⌈ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

37 A. = Ex. 32 A (TĀ. 2. 14).

37 B. *varṣati na dhāvet*, 'He should not run when it rains.' TĀ. 1. 26. 6.

Cf. above Ex. 37. ⌋

The PW. s. *varṣ*, col. 796, 33 registers an absolute locative "*avarṣati*, TS. 2. 4. 10. 1", but this is an error; the form does not

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occur in the passage quoted nor has it been noted elsewhere in the Brāhmaṇa prose.

< √ 2 *çī* 'lie' >

38. *tayoḥ çayānayor açvaṁ yajamāno 'bhimethati*, 'While these two (viz. the horse and the queen) are lying (there) the sacrificer addresses the horse'. ÇB. 13. 5. 2. 3.

Tayoḥ çayānayoḥ may possibly be a partitive genitive: 'Of these two (viz. the horse and the queen) he addresses the horse'; cf. above § 50, Ex. 29.

< √ *çru* + *upa* >

39. *tvaṁ sūktavāg asy upaçṛṇvatyor anayor dyāvāpṛthivyoḥ*, 'Thou art hymn-speaking while these two, viz. heaven and earth, are listening'. ÇB. 1. 9. 1. 4.

This is merely a paraphrase of the Mantra *agne tvaṁ sūktavāg asy upaçrutī* (MS. *upaçrutī*; TS., TB. *upaçrito*) *divas* (TS., TB. *divaḥ*) *pṛthivyoḥ*, TS. 2. 6. 9. 5; TB. 3. 5. 10. 1; MS. 4. 13. 9 (p. 211, 14); ÇB. 1. 9. 1. 4; AÇ. 1. 9. 1; ÇÇ. 1. 14. 2; 3.

< √ *stan* >

40. = Ex. 31 (ÇB. 11. 5. 6. 9).

41. = Ex. 32 (GB. 1. 3. 19).

⌜ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

41 A. = Ex. 32 A (TA. 2. 14). ⌟

< √ *sthā* >

42. *purastāt pratīcyāṁ tiṣṭhantyāṁ juhuyāt*, 'He should offer (the oblation) in front (of the Agnīdh-priest's place) while (the cow) stands facing the west'. TS. 7. 1. 6. 7.

43. *prāci tiṣṭhati* [*somam*] *ādadhati*, 'While (the Soma-cart) stands facing the east they put (the Soma) on (the cart)'. AB. 1. 14. 6.

< √ *sthā* + *ud* >

44. *indrāṇyai caruṁ nirvapet senāyām uttiṣṭhantyām*, 'He should offer a pap to Indrāṇī while the army is lining up (for battle)'. MS. 2. 2. 5 (p. 19, 6).

The parallel passage K. 10. 10 (p. 136, 8) has the past participle, cf. above § 59, Ex. 198.

< √ *sphūrj* + *ava* >

45. = Ex. 31 (ÇB. 11. 5. 6. 9).

⌜ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

45 A. = Ex. 32 A (TA. 2. 14). ⌟

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§ 62. 1. The Verb is Transitive.

<√ 2 *aç* 'eat'>

1. *yo manuṣyeṣv anaçnatsu pūrvo 'çnīyāt . . .; yo deveṣv anaçnatsu pūrvo 'çnīyāt* . . ., 'If anyone should eat first while (other) men [while the gods] are not (yet) eating . . .' ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 8; 2. 1. 4. 2.

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

1 A. *yo vai mahāçane 'naçnaty açnāti* . . ., 'If one eats while the Voracious One (= Agni) is not eating . . .' JUB. 2. 15. 1. ⌋

<√ *i* + *upa*>

2. *devāç cā 'surāç ca saṁyattā āsan, so 'gnir vijayam upayatsu tredhā tanvo vinyadhatta: paçuṣu tṛtīyam apsu tṛtīyam amuṣminn āditye tṛtīyam*, 'The gods and the Asuras were engaged in combat; as they were entering upon the decisive contest Agni deposited the bodies in three places: one third in the cattle, the (second) third in the waters, (and) the (last) third in yonder sun'. K. 8. 8 (p. 92, 3).

Contrast the conjunct participles at TS. 1. 5. 1. 1 *devāsurāḥ saṁyattā āsan, te devā vijayam upayanto 'gnau vāmaṁ vasu saṁnyadadhata*; K. 8. 15 (p. 99, 5) *devāç ca vā asurāç ca saṁyattā āsaṅs, te devā vijayam upayanto 'gnau priyās tanvas saṁnyadadhata* (Schroeder's emendation for *sa vyadadhata* and *tanvāṁtanvas saṁnyadadhata*); MS. 1. 7. 2 (p. 110, 16) *devā asurair vijayam upayanto 'gnau manyedadhata*); MS. 1. 7. 2 (p. 110, 16) *devā asurair vijayam upayanto priyās tanvaḥ saṁnyadadhata*; 4. 4. 9 (p. 61, 2) *devā asurair vijayam upayanto 'çvinoḥ pūṣaṇi satyaṁ nyadadhata*.

<√ *kṛ*>

3. *yajñamukhe-yajñamukhe vai kriyamāṇe yajñaṁ rakṣāṅsi jighāṅsanti*, 'As each beginning of the sacrifice is being made the Rakṣases are fain to harm the sacrifice'. TS. 5. 1. 3. 4; 5. 2. 7. 5.

4. *kāṇḍe-kāṇḍe vai kriyamāṇe yajñaṁ rakṣāṅsi jighāṅsanti*, 'As each part (of the sacrifice) is being performed the Rakṣases are fain to injure the sacrifice'. TS. 6. 1. 7. 3; 6. 1. 8. 3; 6. 2. 10. 1.

5. *kāṇḍe-kāṇḍa evai 'naṁ [agnim] kriyamāṇe samardhayati*, 'As each part (of the sacrifice) is being performed he strengthens this (Agni)'. TS. 6. 3. 5. 4.

6. *anṛte khalu vai kriyamāṇe varuṇo gṛhṇāti*, 'When a sin is being committed Varuṇa seizes (the evil-doer)'. TB. 1. 7. 2. 6.

7. *paryagnau kriyamāṇe juhoti*, 'He offers (the oblation) while

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the (ceremony of) carrying round the fire is being performed'. TS. 3. 4. 3. 5.

The same idea is expressed by the compound *paryagnikriyamāṇe* at AB. 2. 5. 2, see below Ex. 9.

The opposite idea is expressed by the adverb *aparyagnikṛtam* at ÇB. 12. 9. 3. 9, see above § 27, Ex. 1.

8. *catusstanaṁ pātraṁ bhavati, catasro diço, digbhya eva vṛṣṭiṁ saṁpracyāvayati, yaṁ prathamaṁ stanam anupadyate tasyā diço 'bhy etad* (so Schroeder's tentative emendation of *diço bhyo*, Kap. S. *diço bhyotad*) *varṣaty api pātre kriyamāṇe varṣati*, 'The vessel has four teats; there are four quarters; he causes the rain to move forward from (all) quarters; what teat he steps up to, from that quarter (i. e. from the quarter corresponding to that teat) it rains; even while the vessel is being made it rains'. K. 30. 4 (p. 186, 4).

For K. *catusstana* parallel to ÇB. 6. 5. 2. 18; MS. 3. 1. 7 (p. 9, 4) *catustana* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 342, § 287, b.

For the sympathetic magic cf. TS. 2. 4. 9. 1—2 *aṣṭau | juhoti, catasro vai diçaç catasro 'vāntaradiçā, digbhya eva vṛṣṭiṁ saṁpracyāvayati*, 'He offers eight (offerings); there are four quarters (and) four intermediate quarters; he causes the rain to move forward from the quarters'.

Instead of *diço 'bhy* the reading *diço 'dhy* might be suggested, cf. K. 11. 8 (p. 154, 15) *yathādevatam evai 'naṁ digbhyo 'dhi samīrayati*; GB. 1. 4. 3 (p. 94, 4) *parjanyād adhi vṛṣṭir jāyate*; and cf. the confusion of *adhi* and *abhi* in the Mantras:

adhi RV. 10. 13. 3	*abhi* AV. 18. 3. 40
adhi VS. 32. 10; AV. 2. 1. 5	*abhi* TĀ. 10. 1. 4 = Mahān. Up. 2. 5
adhi AV. 7. 8. 1; Kauç. 42. 1	*abhi* TS. 1. 2. 3. 3; 3. 1. 1. 4; AB. 1. 13. 2; KB. 7. 10; etc.
adhi PG. 3. 3. 5	*abhi* AV. 8. 9. 15; TS. 4. 3. 11. 4; MS. 2. 13. 10 (p. 161, 6); K. 39. 10 (p. 126, 12)
adhitiṣṭhati K. 38. 12 (p. 113. 13); MÇ. 6. 1. 2	*abhitiṣṭhati* TĀ. 6. 5. 2; ĀpÇ. 16. 6. 4

also the confusion of *bh* and *dh* in the Mantra

avikṣodhāya K. 31. 14 (p. 16, 16)	*avikṣobhāya* TB. 3. 7. 6. 7; ĀpÇ. 4. 6. 3; cf. MS. 2. 5. 3 (p. 51, 3)

At TB. 2. 2. 7. 3 *vyakṣubhyan* is misread in the Bibl. Ind. ed. for TB. 2. 2. 11. 5 *vyakṣudhyan*.

< √ *kṛ* with *paryagni* >

9. *ṛcam āgneyaṁ gāyatram anvāha paryagnikriyamāṇe*, 'While the (ceremony of) carrying round the fire is being performed he

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recites a triplet sacred to Agni (and) composed in the Gāyatrī-metre'. AB. 2. 5. 2.

Cf. above Ex. 7 with the Remark.

< √ *kṛ* with *hiṅ* >

10. *sāmno hiṅkriyamāṇa etāṁ diçaṁ yaṁ dviṣyāt taṁ manasā nirbādheta*; . . .; *pratihriyamāṇa etāṁ u eva diçaṁ yaṁ dviṣyāt taṁ manasā 'pastabhnuyāt*, 'While the Hiṅ-sound of the Sāman is being uttered he should with his mind crowd him whom he may hate from (?) this quarter; . . .; while the Pratihāra is being sung he should with his mind exclude him whom he may hate from this same quarter (?)'. JB. 1. 325 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 124).

Caland renders: 'Während der Hiṅ-laut eines Sāmans gemacht wird, soll er im Geiste seinen Feind aus der Himmelsgegend, in welcher dieser sich befindet, hinausdrängen; . . .; während der Pratihāra gemacht wird, soll er im Geiste seinem Feinde jene Himmelsgegend verschließen'.

Instead of the accusative *etāṁ diçam* with *nirbādheta* an ablative would be expected, cf. K. 19. 11 (p. 12, 15); 20. 5 (p. 23, 5) *tebhya* [*devalokebhyaḥ*] *eva bhrātṛvyaṁ nirbādhate*; MS. 3. 2. 1 (p. 14, 8—9) *tair* [*nirbādhaiḥ*] *asurān ebhyo lokebhyo nirabādhanta*; . . .; *tad etair eva nirbādhair yajamāno bhrātṛvyam ebhyo lokebhyo nirbādhate*; ÇB. 3. 1. 2. 21 *jarāyai garbhaṁ nirabādhīt*. Caland assumes 'a kind of attraction', but it is hard to account for.

There is a similar difficulty about the construction of *apastabhnuyāt* with two accusatives. The √ *stabh* + *apa* does not appear to occur elsewhere as finite verb; for √ *stabh* + *ava* the PW. col. 1251, 9 No. 3 gives the meaning 'versperren' for which it cites R. 3. 56. 7 *rathamārgam avastabhya*, but even if *apastabhnuyāt* is taken as a synonym of *avastabhnuyāt*, the accusative *yaṁ dviṣyāt tam* is anomalous; a dative of disadvantage ('he bars this quarter against him whom he may hate)', or possibly an ablative ('he bars this quarter from him whom he may hate') would be expected.

For the exclusion of one's enemy from the quarters cf. TS. 6. 2. 7. 5 *digbhya eva tad yajamāno bhrātṛvyān praṇudate*, and the Yajuses TS. 1. 6. 1. 6 (cf. 1. 7. 6. 2) *idam aham amuṁ bhrātṛvyam ābhyo digbhyo 'syai divo . . . nirbhajāmi*; ÇÇ. 4. 12. 10 *idam aham ābhyo digbhyo 'syai divo . . . dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ nirbhajāmi*; and cf. further TS. 5. 2. 5. 6; K. 20. 4 (p. 21, 17); MS. 3. 2. 5 (p. 22, 5).

It is not clear which quarter *etām diçam* refers to. It may refer to the quarter where the sacrificer stands, or, perhaps better, as Caland understands it, to 'the quarter in which the enemy happens to be'; cf. for the latter TS. 5. 2. 5. 6 *yatra sa* [*bhrātṛvyaḥ*] *syāt tasyai diço loṣṭam āharet*, 'He should take a clod of earth from that quarter where his (rival) may (happen to) be'; K. 20. 4 (p. 21. 17) *yāṁ janatāṁ dviṣyāt tasyā diça* [*loṣṭām*] *āharet*.

The two verbs *nirbādheta* and *apastabhnuyāt* are chosen to account for the terms *nirbādha* and *apastambha* which form the theme of the chapter which is

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headed: *atha nirbādhāpastambhau. Nirbādha* occurs at MS. 3. 2. 1; K. 19. 11; TS. 5. 1. 10. 4 where the *nirbādhāḥ* are the knobs of the gold plate *(hiraṇyaṁ rukmam)* by means of which the gods worsted the Asuras: TS. *nirbādhair vai devā asurān nirbādhe 'kurvata; . . .; bhrātṛvyān eva nirbādhe kurute.*

The PW. renders √ *kṛ* with *nirbādhe* by 'in die Ecke schieben, beseitigen'; pw. by 'wegziehen, beseitigen'; Keith by 'reduce to straits'.

Apastambha is noted in PW. and pw. as an anatomical term only, 'ein luftführendes Gefäß an den Seiten der Brust'. Its meaning here is obscure.

< √ *kr* + *sam* >

11. *antayor vāva saṁskriyamāṇayor madhyaṁ saṁskriyate,* 'While the two ends are being fashioned the middle is fashioned'. ÇB. 7. 1. 2. 23.

The case form is ambiguous, cf. above § 54, Ex. 1.

< √ *gṛh* >

12. *devatā vai sarvā āçaṅsante grahe gṛhyamāṇe,* 'They address a Çastra to all the divinities while the cup is being drawn'. MS. 4. 8. 7 (p. 115, 4).

< √ *jñā* + *nis* >

13. *vibhrāja āhutiṁ juhuyād anirjñāyamāna āditye yo 'nupayuktaḥ syād, āvir ebhyo bhavati,* 'If one be unfit he should offer an oblation to (Aditya) the Shininig One, while the sun is not discernible; he (Āditya) becomes visible to them'. KB. 18. 5 (p. 80, 21).

The exact meaning of *anupayukta* is not clear.

For *ebhyaḥ* one would expect *tasmai,* or *juhuyuḥ . . . ye 'nupayuktāḥ syuḥ* for *juhuyād . . . yo 'nupayuktaḥ syāt.*

< √ *jñā* + *sam*, Causative >

14. *saṁjñapyamāna* [*paçau*] *āhutīr juhoti,* 'He offers the oblations while (the victim) is being quieted (= slaughtered)'. ÇB. 13. 2. 8. 2.

< √ *tan* >

15. *etasyāṁ* [*āhutyām*] *tāyamānāyām açvaṁ niktvo 'dānayanti,* 'While this (oblation) is being performed they lead up the horse after cleansing it'. ÇB. 13. 4. 2. 1.

16. *tasyai prayājeṣu tāyamāneṣu brāhmaṇo vīṇāgāthī . . . tisraḥ . . . gāthā gāyati,* 'While the fore-offerings of this (Iṣṭi) are being performed, a Brāhmaṇa who is a lute-player sings three stanzas'. ÇB. 13. 4. 2. 8; 11; 14.

< √ *dā* + *ā* >

17. *ekasminn eva paçāv ādīyamāne 'priyaṁ bhavati kim u bahuṣu,* 'It is an unpleasant (experience) if even a single animal be taken

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away; how much more so if many (be taken away)'. ÇB. 14. 4. 2. 22 (= BĀU. 1. 4. 22 Mādhy. = 10 Kāṇva).

< √ *duh* >

18. *nimrukte sūrye vāg yantavyā 'tho duhyamānāyām*, 'When the sun has set speech should be restrained, and also while (the cow) is being milked'. MS. 1. 8. 4 (p. 119, 11).

< √ *dṛç* + *prati* >

19. *prati yad āpo adṛçram āyatīr* (RV. 10. 30. 13) *iti pratidṛçyamānāsu* [*anvāha*], '(He recites) RV. 10. 30. 13 while (the Vasatīvarī and Ekadhanā waters) are being beheld (= gazed at by the Hotṛ-priest)'. AB. 2. 20. 4.

The parallel passage KB. 12. 1 (above § 60, Ex. 55) has *pratikhyātāsu* for *pratidṛçyamānāsu*.

< √ *dhā* + *ā* >

20. *rathantaram* (2 *bṛhad*) *abhigāyati* (2 *abhigāyata*) *gārhapatya* (2 *āhavanīya*) *ādhīyamāne*, 'He sings the Rathantara-Sāman [the Bṛhat-Sāman] while the Gārhapatya [the Āhavanīya] fire is being put down'. TB. 1. 1. 8. 1; 2.

For the change of voice in *abhigāyati, abhigāyate* cf. GB. 1. 4. 13 *nirmrityet, nirmrityeran*, above § 60, Ex. 156 with the Remark.

< √ *dhā* + *pari* >

21. *yunajmi tvā brahmaṇā daivyene* (TS. 1. 6. 2. 1) *'ti paridhiṣu paridhīyamāneṣu vadet* (K. *vadati*), 'He should recite [he recites] TS. 1. 6. 2. 1 while the kindling sticks are being laid around'. MS. 1. 4. 5 (p. 53, 1); K. 31. 15 (p. 17, 18).

< √ *dhṛ*, causative >

22. *sa vā* (in the second instance *tasmād*) *upary-upary eva prokṣaṇīṣu dhāryamāṇāsv atha sphyam udyachati*, 'He [Therefore he] takes up the (wooden) sword while the sprinkling water is held above'. ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 20 (bis).

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b, and below § 65, a.

23. *sa yad dhāryamāṇe 'gnā(v) uttaravediṁ vyāghārayati* . . ., 'Now the reason why he pours ghee on the high altar while the fire is being held (over it) is . . .' ÇB. 3. 5. 1. 23; 3. 5. 2. 9.

< √ *nī* >

24. *taṁ ha kumāraṁ santaṁ dakṣiṇāsu nīyamānāsu çraddhā 'viveça,*

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'Him, being a boy, faith entered as the gift-cows were being led up'. TB. 3. 11. 8. 1.

Kaṭh. Up. 1. 2 repeats this sentence.

25. *atha yāṁ krīte rājani subrahmaṇyām āhvayati yām etāṁ dakṣiṇāsu nīyamānāsū 'tkare tiṣṭhan subrahmaṇyām āhvayati sai 've 'yam*, JB. 2. 80 (JAOS. 18, p. 36), see above § 60, Ex. 50.

26. *dakṣiṇāsu nīyamānāsu: prācy ehi prācy ehī 'ti prācī juṣāṇā vetv ājyasya svāhe 'ti sruveṇo 'pahatyā 'havanīye juhuyāt*, 'While the gift-cows are being led up he should make an offering in the Ahavanīya fire, touching it with the Sruva-spoon (and reciting the formulas): . . .' TB. 3. 11. 9. 8.

< √ *nī* + *ā* >

27. *sa ānīyamāna [gharme] āha . . .*, 'While (the Gharma) is being poured in he says . . .' ÇB. 14. 3. 1. 30.

⌜ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

27 A. *āçvinaḥ payasy ānīyamāne*, '(The Gharma) belongs to the Açvins while the milk is being poured in'. TĀ. 5. 11. 4. ⌟

< √ *nī* + *ud* >

28. *unnīyamāna eva yantavyā* (read so with Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 7, for *yantavyās*, and supply *vāk*), '(Speech) should be restrained while (the Agnihotra) is being poured out'. MS. 1. 8. 4 (p. 119, 11).

29. *vācaṁ yached agnihotra unnīyamāne*, 'He should restrain speech while the Agnihotra is being poured out'. K. 6. 7 (p. 56, 14).

30. *unnīyamāne stheyam*, '(The sacrificer) should stand up while (the Agnihotra) is being poured out'. MS. 1. 8. 7 (p. 126, 4).

< √ *nī* + *pra* >

31. *praṇītāsu praṇīyamānāsu vācaṁ yachaty ā haviṣkṛta udvādanād, etad vai yajñasya dvāraṁ, tad etad açūnyaṁ karotī, 'ṣṭe ca sviṣṭakṛty ā 'nuyājānāṁ prasavād etad dha vai* (GB. *prasavād ity etad vai*, with the var. lect. *prasavād ity etad dha vai*) *yajñasya dvitīyaṁ dvāraṁ, tad evai 'tad açūnyaṁ karoti*, 'He restrains speech while the Praṇītā water is being brought forward until the utterance of the Haviṣkṛt-formula; that namely is one door of the sacrifice, that he thereby makes practicable; and (he should restrain speech also) after the Sviṣṭakṛt-oblation has been offered until the beginning of the after-offerings; that namely is the second door of

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the sacrifice, that he thereby makes practicable'. KB. 6. 13 (p. 27, 1); GB. 2. 1. 1 (p. 143, 7).

Contrast with the absolute locative *iṣṭe sviṣṭakṛti* the paratactical constructions ÇB. 5. 2. 2. 1; 5. 3. 3. 10; 5. 4. 4. 1 *tasyā 'niṣṭa eva sviṣṭakṛd bhavaty athā 'smā annaṁ saṁbharati* (5. 3. 3. 10 *athai 'tair havirbhiḥ pracarati*; 5. 4. 4. 1 *athā 'smā āsandīm āharanti*), 'The Sviṣṭakṛt-oblation of this (offering) has not (yet) been offered (= before the Sviṣṭakṛt-offering has been offered), then he brings food for him [then he proceeds with these oblations; then they bring the throne for him]'.

32. *tṛcam āgneyaṁ* (14 *tṛcaṁ saumyaṁ*) *gāyatram anvāha some rājani praṇīyamāne*, 'He recites a triplet sacred to Agni [sacred to Soma] (and) composed in the Gāyatrī-metre, while King Soma is being brought forward'. AB. 1. 30. 7; 14.

33. *tasmād upāñçu vācā caritavyaṁ some rājani krīte, gandharveṣu hi tarhi vāg bhavati, sā 'gnāv eva praṇīyamāne punar āgachati*, 'Therefore, when King Soma has been bought, one should proceed with low voice, for then Speech is among the Gandharvas; she returns again while the fire is being brought forward'. AB. 1. 27. 4.

34. *sā [vāk] vā etad upavasathe 'gnau praṇīyamāna āgachat*, 'She (= Speech) returned on the eve of the sacrifice while the fire was being brought forward'. KB. 9. 1 (p. 41, 10).

35. *so 'gnau praṇīyamāne 'çve 'nvārabdhaṁ* (so Bibl. Ind. and Gaastra, the mss. read *'nvārabdhe*, *'nvārabdha*, and *'nvāradhvaṁ*) *brahmā yajamānaṁ vācayati* . . ., 'While the fire is being brought forward the Brahman-priest makes the sacrificer, who has taken hold of the horse, say . . .' GB. 1. 2. 18 (p. 52, 13).

For the active force of *anvārabdha* cf. PW. s. *rabh + anu — ā*, col. 269, 13, and above § 60, Ex. 121—125.

For the locative *açve* dependent on √ *rabh + anu — ā* cf. TS. 2. 6. 2. 5; TB. 1. 7. 3. 2; 8 *brahmann eva kṣatram ārambhayati*, 'He causes the nobility to take hold of (= follow after, be dependent on) the priesthood'; TS. 2. 4. 2. 2; 4 *tā [devatāḥ] indra [4 yajamāna] ātmann anusamārambhayata* (4 *anusamārambhayate*), 'Indra [the sacrificer] caused [causes] these (divinities) to take hold of (= to be subservient to) himself'.

< √ *nī + sam — ava* >

36. *upa no devīr upa yanti hotriyam* (RV. 1. 83. 2) *iti hotṛcamase samavanīyamānāsv anvāha vasatīvarīṣv ekadhanāsu*, 'While the Vasatīvarī and the Ekadhanā waters are being poured together into the vessel of the Hotṛ-priest he recites RV. 1. 83. 2'. AB. 2. 20. 9.

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< √ *pac* >

37. *tasmin pacamāne [agniḥ] vyadasyat*, 'While he was cooking (the fire) went out'. K. 10. 6 (p. 130, 13).

< √ *pad + pra* >

38. *tasmin [some] prapādyamāne: tam asya rājā varuṇas tam açvine* (RV. 1. 156. 4) *'ti vrajaṁ ca viṣṇuḥ sakhivāṅ aporṇuta* (RV. 1. 156. 4) *ity abhirūpāṁ [ṛcam] prapādyamānāyā 'nvāha*, 'While this (Soma) is made to come forward (i. e. to enter by the eastern door) he recites for him as he is made to come forward the appropriate (verse) RV. 1. 156. 4'. KB. 9. 6 (p. 43, 22).

39. *antaç ca prāgā aditir bhavāsī* (RV. 8. 48. 2) *'ti prapādyamāne 'nvāha*, 'While (the Soma) is made to come forward he recites RV. 8. 48. 2'. AB. 1. 30. 20.

< √ *brū + anu* >

40. *sarvā hā 'smin [yajamāne] devatāḥ prātaranuvākam anubruvati pramodante*, 'When this (sacrificer) recites the morning litany all the divinities rejoice'. AB. 2. 16. 2.

Keith, construing the locative conjunctly, renders: 'All the deities delight in him beginning the morning litany'. Cf. below § 63, Ex. 3, Remark, in fine.

< √ *bhuj* >

41. *āpa etāvati bhāge bhujyamāne na kṣīyante*, 'Although so great a share is consumed the waters are not exhausted'. ÇB. 3. 9. 3. 27.

For the concessive force see below § 64.

< √ *bhṛ* >

42. *yad ukhye bhriyamāṇe 'yaṁ devaḥ prajā abhimanyeta . . .; yad ukhye bhriyamāṇe kāmayeta . . .; yad ukhye bhriyamāṇe naçyet . . .*, 'If, while (the fire) in the pan is carried this god should have designs on the creatures . . . [he should wish . . .; anything should be lost . . .]' K. 22. 12 (p. 67, 16 and 18; p. 68, 1 and 3).

< √ *math* >

43. *tṛcaṁ āgneyaṁ gāyatram anvāhā 'gnau mathyamāne*, 'While the fire is being churned he recites a triplet sacred to Agni (and) composed in the Gāyatrī-metre'. AB. 1. 16. 7.

< √ *yaj* >

44. *adhvarakalpāṁ [iṣṭim] pratinirvaped bhrātṛvye yajamāne*, 'While his rival is sacrificing he should offer against (him) an Iṣṭi equivalent to a Soma-sacrifice'. TS. 2. 2. 9. 4.

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For *adhvarakalpā* [*iṣṭi*] cf. MS. 2. 1. 7 (p. 9, 8) cited by pw. Nachträge 4, p. 291, col. 3; and K. 10. 1 (p. 125, 22).

45. *yājñature yajamāne brahmāṇa ṛṣabhe janāḥ | . . . vibhajante sma dakṣiṇāḥ ||*, 'When Yājñatura Ṛṣabha was sacrificing the Brahman-priest folk divided the gift-cows amongst themselves'. ÇB. 13. 5. 4. 15. Çloka.

46. *sātrāsahe yajamāne 'çvamedhena taurvaçāḥ | udīrate trayastrin̄çāḥ ṣaṭ sahasrāṇi varmiṇām ||*, 'When Sātrāsaha is sacrificing with the Açvamedha-sacrifice Taurvaça horses come forth, the thirty-three-fold (Stomas), (and) six-thousand mail-clad men'. ÇB. 13. 5. 4. 16. Çloka.

Cf. Eggeling's note.

47. *sātrāsahe yajamāne pāñcāle rājni susraji | amādyad indraḥ somena ||*, 'When Sātrāsaha, the garland-crowned king of the Pañcālas was sacrificing Indra revelled in Soma'. ÇB. 13. 5. 4. 18. Çloka.

48. *aṣṭāçītisahasrāṇi çvetān vairocano hayān | praṣṭīn niçcṛtya prāyachad yajamāne purohite ||*, 'Eighty-eight thousand white steeds, side-horses, Vairocana gave away, loosing them, when (his) Purohita was sacrificing'. AB. 8. 22. 5. Çloka.

< √ *yam* + *ud* >

48 A. *ud u ṣya devaḥ savitā hiraṇyaye* (RV. 6. 71. 1) *'ty udyamyamāna udyatavatīm abhirūpām abhiṣṭauti*, 'When (the pot) is being lifted up he recites the appropriate (verse) RV. 6. 71. 7, which contains (the verb) "to lift up"'. KB. 8. 7 (p. 38, 13).

< √ *labh* + *ā* >

49. *devānāṁ vai sarveṣāṁ manāṅsi gachati paçā(v) ālabhyamāne*, 'When the victim is being taken (for slaughter) he approaches the minds of all the gods'. MS. 3. 10. 2 (p. 132, 10).

Contrast the *yatra*-clause at KB. 10. 6 (p. 48, 18) *yatra paçur ālabhyate tad vanaspatir acyutaḥ*, 'When the victim is being taken (for slaughter) then the forest-lord (= tree) is unmoved'.

< √ *vac* + *anu* >

50. *tasmād etāsv* [*sāmidhenīṣu*] *anūcyamānāsu yaṁ dviṣyāt tam aṅguṣṭābhyām avabādheta*, 'Therefore, while these (kindling verses) are being recited, he may crush him whom he may hate with his two great-toes', ÇB. 1. 3. 5. 7.

51. *anūcyamānāsu vai* [*sāmidhenīṣu*] *havir āsādayanti*, 'While

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the kindling verses are being recited they deposit the offering'. MS. 3. 8. 7 (p. 104, 8).

52. *daçahotāraṁ sāmidhenīṣv anūcyamānāsu vyācakṣate*, 'While the kindling verses are being recited they explain the Daçahotṛ-section'. K. 9. 14 (p. 116, 22).

53. *tam [carum] anūcyamāne paçcāt prāñcam udāharanti*, 'While the Anuvākyā-verse is being recited they draw this (pap) from the rear forward'. K. 10. 11 (p. 169, 2).

< √ *vad* + *sam* >

54. *tad dhai 'va saṁvadamāneṣv anyatarām [apsarasam] abhipede*, 'While they were conversing about this, he approached one (of the Apsarases)'. JB. 3. 234 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 278).

< √ *vah* + *pra* >

55. *tṛcaṁ saumyaṁ gāyatram anvāha some rājani prohyamāṇe*, 'He recites a triplet sacred to Soma (and) composed in the Gāyatrī-metre, while king Soma is being carried forward'. AB. 1. 13. 6.

< √ 2 *vṛ* 'choose' + *pra* >

56. *tat pravare pravaryamāṇe brūyāt* . . ., 'While the list of ancestors is caused to be chosen, he should say . . .' MS. 1. 4. 11 (p. 60, 6).

57. *tat pravaraṁ pravṛṇāne brūyāt* . . ., 'When one chooses the list of ancestors he should say . . .' K. 31. 15 (p. 18, 5).

58. *tasmāt pravare pravriyamāṇe vācayet* . . ., 'Therefore when the list of ancestors is being chosen, he should make (the sacrificer) say . . .' GB. 1. 5. 21 (p. 134, 4).

58 B. Sāyaṇa in his Introduction to the RV. (p. 9, 23) cites the following passage from an unidentified Brāhmaṇa: *pravare pravriyamāṇe brūyād : devāḥ pitara iti.*

Cf. ĀpÇ. 4. 9. 6 *devāḥ pitaraḥ . . . evā 'smi sa saṁyaja iti hotṛpravare 'dhvaryupravare ca pravriyamāṇe.*

The variation of the four texts (Ex. 56—58 A) in the form of the participle is noteworthy: the MS. uses the passive of the causative (which does not appear to occur elsewhere in the older literature); K. has the middle present [for the cognate accusative *pravaram* with √ *vṛ* + *pra* cf. AB. 7. 25. 4 *pravaraṁ pravṛṇīran*]; and GB. and the Brāhmaṇa passage quoted by Sāyaṇa the passive (which in the older literature is found again at ĀpÇ. 4. 9. 6).

< √ *vṛj* + *pra* >

59. *tasmin pravṛjyamāne patnī çiraḥ prorṇute*, 'While this (pot)

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is being put on (the fire), the wife (of the sacrificer) covers her head'. ÇB. 14. 1. 3. 16.

< √ *vṛt* + *pra* >

60. *tasmāt pravartyamānayor* [*havirdhānayoḥ*] *hotā 'nvāha* . . ., 'Therefore, while (the two oblation-bearers) are being turned forward, the Hotṛ-priest recites . . .' MS. 3. 8. 7 (p. 104, 9).

< √ *vraj* >

60 A. *nāke suparṇam upa yat patantam* (RV. 10. 123. 6) *iti vrajatsu patantam ity abhirūpām abhiṣṭauti*, 'As they move he recites the appropriate (verse) RV. 10. 123. 6, (in which occurs the word) "the flying one"'. KB. 8. 7 (p. 38, 15).

< √ *vraj* + *pra* >

60 B. *prai 'tu brahmaṇaspatir* (RV. 1. 40. 3) *iti pravrajatsu pravatīṁ brāhmaṇaspatyām abhirūpām abhiṣṭauti*, 'As they move forward he recites the appropriate (verse) RV. 1. 40. 3, addressed to Brahmaṇaspati (and) containing (the word) "forward"'. KB. 8. 7 (p. 38, 14).

< √ *çaṅs* >

61. *yasyā 'çvine çasyamāne sūryo nā 'vir bhavati* . . ., 'If in the case of a (sacrificer) the sun be not visible while the Āçvina-Çastra is being recited . . .' TS. 2. 1. 10. 3.

62. *yasyā 'çvine çasyamāne sūryo no 'diyāt* (in the second instance *'deti*) . . ., 'If in the case of a (sacrificer) the sun should not [does not] rise while the Āçvina-Çastra is being recited . . .' MS. 2. 5. 11 (p. 63, 13 and 15).

63. *etad vā indrasye 'ndriyaṁ yat sajanīyam* [*sūktam*], *etasmin vai çasyamāna indram indriyam āviçati*, 'This (hymn, viz. RV. 2. 12) containing (the words): "*sá janāsa* [*índraḥ*]" is (identical with) Indra's vigour; while this (hymn) is being recited vigour enters Indra'. AB. 5. 2. 2.

64. *vaiçvadevyām ṛci çasyamānāyam avanayati*, 'While a verse sacred to the All Gods is being recited, he pours (the cup) out'. ṬS. 6. 5. 2. 3.

65. *vāyavyāyāṁ* [*ṛci*] *çasyamānāyāṁ pātrāṇi vimuñcati*, 'While (a verse) sacred to Vāyu is being recited he releases the vessels'. MS. 4. 6. 2 (p. 79, 4).

66. *paridhānīyāyāṁ çasyamānāyām avanayati*, 'While the con-

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cluding (verse) is being recited, he pours (the cup) out'. MS. 4. 6. 6 (p. 87, 3).

67. *taṁ [graham] çasyamāne 'vanayati*, 'He pours this (cup) out while the Çastra is being recited'. ÇB. 4. 2. 4. 7.

68. *tad dha tathā çasyamāne gauçla* (GB. ed. Gaastra *goçla*) *ājagāma*, 'Now Gauçla came when the Çastra was being recited thus'. AB. 6. 30. 8; GB. 2. 6. 9 (p. 257, 2).

69. *yañ çasyamāne [avanayet] yuvānaḥ pramīyeran*, 'If he were to pour it out while the Çastra is being recited, the youth would perish'. MS. 4. 6. 6 (p. 88, 15).

⌈ **Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

69 A. *sa [brahmā] yad dha so 'pi stūyamāne vā çasyamāne vā vāvadyamāna āsīta* . . ., 'If this Brahman-priest were to sit loudly talking while the Stotras are being chanted or while the Çastras are being recited . . .' JUB. 3. 16. 3. ⌋

< √ 2 *çam*, causative >

70. *paçuṣu çāmyamāneṣu cakṣur hāpayanti*, 'When the victims are bring quieted (= slaughtered) they take away (their) sight'. GB. 1. 2. 21 (p. 58, 10).

On the strength of this passage and of Vait. 10. 18 the causative passive *çāmyate* should be listed as pre-Epic in Whitney's Roots etc. p. 171.

< √ *sad*, causative >

71. *e 'mā agman revatīr jīvadhanyā* (RV. 10. 30. 14) *iti sādyamānāsv anvāha vasatīvarīṣv ekadhanāsu ca*, 'He recites (the verse) RV. 10. 30. 14 while the Vasatīvarī and the Ekadhanā waters are being set down'. AB. 2. 20. 26.

< √ *stu* >

72. *ārbhavapavamāne stūyamāna audumbaryā dakṣiṇā prāvṛto nipadyate*, 'While the Ārbhapavamāna is being chanted, having put on (a new garment) he lies down to the right of the Udumbara-branch'. PB. 17. 12. 5.

73. *pavamāne stūyamāne hotāraṁ mṛtyuḥ pratyālīyata*, 'While the Pavamāna was being chanted Death clung to the Hotṛ-priest'. KB. 15. 5 (p. 68, 10).

Cf. AB. 3. 14. 1 *agnir vai devānāṁ hotā 'sīt, taṁ mṛtyur bahiṣpavamāne 'sīdat.*

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74. *tam* [*graham*] *na stūyamāne 'vanayet*; . . .; *yat stūyamāne 'vanayet* . . ., 'He should not [If he were to] pour out this (cup) while (the Pavamāna) is being chanted . . .' ÇB. 4. 2. 4. 6.

75. *yat stūyamāne 'vanayed garbhāḥ prapādukāḥ syuḥ*, 'If he were to pour out (the cup) while (the Pavamāna) is being chanted the foetuses would be prematurely born'. MS. 4. 6. 6 (p. 88, 14).

⌈ **Additions from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.**

75 A. = 69 A. (JUB. 3. 16. 3).

75 B. *tad bahiṣpavamāne stūyamāne manaso 'dgṛhṇīyāt*, 'While the Bahiṣpavamāna is being chanted he should draw (the cup) with the mind (= silently) JUB. 1. 5. 6. ⌋

< √ *stu* + *pra* >

76. [*rathantare*] *prastūyamāne* [*cakṣuḥ*] *sammīlet*, 'While the Prastāva of the Rathantara-Sāman is being sung he may close his eyes'. PB. 7. 7. 15.

Cf. above § 60, Ex. 192—194, *rathantare prastute*.

< √ *han* >

77. *some hanyamāne yajño hanyate yajñe yajamānaḥ*, 'When the Soma is being slain the sacrifice is slain, when the sacrifice (is slain) the sacrificer (is slain)'. TS. 6. 6. 9. 2.

< √ *hu* >

78. *juhvaty agnihotram upakḷpto 'khā bhavati*, 'While he offers the Agnihotra the pot has been prepared'. ÇB. 1. 7. 1. 10.

79. *atha sāyaṁ dhṛtiṣu hūyamānāsu rājanyo vīṇāgāthī . . . tisraḥ . . . gāthā gāyati*, 'Then, in the evening, while the Dhṛti-oblations are being offered, a Rājanya lute-player sings three stanzas'. ÇB. 13. 4. 3. 5.

80. *agne juṣasva prati harya tad vaca* (RV. 1. 144. 7) *ity āhutyāṁ hūyamānāyām anvāha*, 'While the oblation is being offered he recites RV. 1. 144. 7'. AB. 1. 30. 12.

< √ *hṛ* + *abhi* — *ava* >

81. *tad yad evā 'syā 'tra kāmānāṁ vyavachidyate 'gnāv apo 'bhyavahriyamāṇe* . . ., 'What (part) of his desires is cut off there when the fire is being thrown into the water . . .' ÇB. 6. 8. 2. 11.

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< √ *hṛ* + *ā* >

82. *vapāyāṁ vā āhriyamāṇāyām agner medho 'pakrāmati*, 'When the omentum is being fetched Agni's sacrificial essence departs'. TS. 3. 1. 5. 2.

< √ *hṛ* + *ud* >

83. *vāmadevyam abhigāyata uddhriyamāṇe*, 'He sings the Vāmadevya-Sāman while (the fire) is being lifted out'. TB. 1. 1. 8. 2.
This passage is cited at ĀpÇ. 5. 14. 4.

< √ *hṛ* + *pra* >

84. *sā me satyāçir devān gamyād* (MS. 1. 4. 1, p. 47, 13) *iti prastare prahriyamāṇe vadet*, 'While the Prastara-bunch is being thrown (into the fire) he should say (the formula) MS. 1. 4. 1'. MS. 1. 4. 5 (p. 53, 8).

85. *vi te muñcāmi raçanāṁ vi raçmīn* (MS. 1. 4. 1, p. 48, 2) *iti paridhiṣu prahriyamāṇeṣu vadet*, 'While the enclosing sticks are being thrown (into the fire) he should say (the formula) MS. 1. 4. 1'. MS. 1. 4. 5 (p. 53, 12).

86. *chandobhir vā agnir uttaravedim abhiprahriyate, yā agnau prahriyamāṇe 'nvāhus tās* (read so for Schroeder's *tāṁ*) *tarhi manasā dhyāyet*, 'With the metres the fire is thrown on the high-altar; what (verses) they recite while the fire is being thrown on (the altar), these he should then meditate on with his mind'. MS. 3. 2. 5 (p. 22, 15).

< √ *hṛ* + *prati* >

87. *pratihāra eva pratihriyamāṇe vāg ity udgātā brūyāt*, 'While the Pratihāra is being sung the Udgātṛ-priest should say: "Speech"'. JB. 1. 140.

88. *pratihriyamāṇa etām u eva diçaṁ yaṁ dviṣyāt taṁ manasā 'pastabhnuyāt*, JB. 1. 325 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 124) see above § 62, Ex. 10.

< √ *hvā (hū)* + *upa* >

89. *asmāsv indra indriyaṁ dadhātv* (TS. 1. 6. 3. 2) *itī 'ḍāyām upahūyamānāyāṁ vadet*, 'While the Iḍā is being invoked he should say (the formula) TS. 1. 6. 3. 2'. MS. 1. 4. 5 (p. 53, 2).

§ 63. C. **The Accompanying Participle is a Future Participle.**

1. *yathā çreyasy āgamiṣyaty āvasatheno 'paklpteno 'pāsīta* . . ., 'As if, when a superior is about (= intends) to come, one would

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honour (him) by putting the house in order . . .' ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 8; 3. 9. 2. 7.

Cf. the Remark to Ex. 3.

2. *prajāpatau vai svayaṁ hotari prātaranuvākam anuvakṣyaty ubhaye devāsurā yajñam upāvasann: asmabhyam anuvakṣyaty asmabhyam iti*, 'When Prajāpati himself as Hotṛ-priest was going to recite the morning litany, both gods and Asuras were waiting at the sacrifice (thinking): "For us he is going to recite (it), for us".' AB. 2. 15. 4.

Cf. the Remark to Ex. 3.

3. *prajāpatau vai svayaṁ hotari prātaranuvākam anuvakṣyati sarvā devatā āçaṅsanta: mām abhi pratipatsyati mām abhī 'ti*, 'When Prajāpati himself as Hotṛ-priest was going to recite the morning litany all the divinities were in hope: "Toward me he will turn, toward me".' AB. 2. 16. 1.

Of these three passages (§ 63, Ex. 1—3) the first (ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 8 = 3. 9. 2. 7) shows a clear absolute locative.

At AB. 2. 16. 1 (Ex. 3) Delbrück (Altind. Synt. p. 389, 11—12, § 216) prefers to construe the locative *prajāpatau . . . anuvakṣyati* as conjunct case dependent on the finite verb *āçaṅsanta*, 'They put their hope in Prajāpati who (= as he) was about to recite', and it is true that such a construction would be grammatically unexceptionable, cf. √ *çaṅs* + *ā* with the locative of the person at ÇB. 1. 6. 4. 17 (ter); 8. 5. 2. 1.; K. 27. 1 (p. 169, 8); MS. 1. 5. 11 (p. 79, 14), and with *rājye* PB. 19. 1. 2; 21. 5. 2; K. 13. 3 (bis, p. 182, 9 and 10).

But in the other AB. passage (AB. 2. 15. 4; Ex. 3) the locative cannot be construed with the finite verb *upāvasan.*

The passage TS. 1. 6. 7. 3 *upā 'smiñ chvo yakṣyamāṇe devatā vasanti ya evaṁ vidvān agnim upastṛṇāti*, 'The divinities dwell in him who is going to sacrifice on the next day, who, knowing thus, bestrews the fire-altar', cannot, of course, be compared.

Yajñam upāvasan here clearly means: 'They stayed with the sacrifice, did not leave it', cf. TS. 6. 4. 2. 1 *yajñam evā 'rabhya gṛhītvo 'pavasati* and 2 *paçūn evā 'rabhya gṛhītvo 'pavasati*, 'Taking hold of (and) seizing the sacrifice [the cattle], he stays with (= does not leave) it [them]'. The following direct discourse: *asmabhyam anuvakṣyaty asmabhyam* elaborates the idea of expectation which is latent in the √ *vas* + *upa*, cf. TB. 1. 6. 6. 4 *āçitā evā 'dyo 'pavasāma: kasya vā he 'daṁ kasya vā çvo bhavite 'ti*, 'We, being sated, will wait to-day (to see) whose it will be now or whose to-morrow'.

As the two passages from AB., viz. AB. 2. 15. 4 (Ex. 2) and AB. 2. 16. 1 (Ex. 3), are closely parallel, and as the absolute use of the future participle is made certain by ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 8 = 3. 9. 2. 7 (Ex. 1) there can be but little doubt that *prajāpatau . . . anuvakṣyati* in AB. 2. 16. 1 (Ex. 3) should be construed as absolute

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locative; cf. also the immediately following absolute present participle *anubruvati* in AB. 2. 16. 2 *sarvā hā 'smin [yajamāne] devatāḥ prātaranuvākam anubruvati pramodante* (see above, § 62, Ex. 40).

Keith renders AB. 2. 16. 2 by 'All the deities delight in him beginning the morning litany', construing apparently *asmin . . . anubruvati* conjunctly with the finite verb *pramodante*. But there is no example quotable from the Brāhmaṇa prose in which √ *mud* or √ *mud* + *pra* is construed with the locative of the thing enjoyed, but this is expressed by the instrumental; thus, ÇB. 9. 4. 1. 7 *oṣadhibhir hī 'daṁ sarvaṁ modate*. 'Everything here delights in plants', [contrast √ *mud* with *saha* and the instrumental in the Çloka ÇB. 14. 7. 1. 14 (= BĀU. 4. 3. 14 Mādhy. = 13 Kāṇva) *strībhiḥ saha modamānaḥ* 'Enjoying himself with women']; ÇB. 3. 3. 4. 18 *tair evai 'naṁ pramumodayiṣati*, 'He desires to make him enjoy these'; the synonymous √ *nand* likewise takes the instrumental; thus, KB. 27. 1 (p. 129, 18) *nandati ha vai yajño viduṣā 'gachatā*, 'The sacrifice rejoices at a knowing one when he approaches (= at the approach of a knowing one)' [cf. above, § 39, b]; AB. 1. 13. 8 *sarvo ha vā etena [somena] krīyamāṇena nandati*, 'Everyone rejoices at this (Soma) when it is being purchased (= at the purchase of this Soma),' which glosses RV. 10. 71. 10 *sárve nandanti yaçásā 'gatena* [cf. above, § 39, a]; GB. 1. 1. 1 (p. 1, 6) *tenā [snehena] 'nandat*, '(The Brahman) rejoiced at this (sweat)'; GB. 1. 1. 2 (p. 2, 1) *tābhir [svedadhārābhiḥ] anandat*, '(The Brahman) rejoiced at these (sweat-drops)'; ṢB. 1. 6. 2 *ye yajñasya vyṛddhena na nandanti nandanti yat samṛddhena*, 'Who do not rejoice at the failure of the sacrifice, (but) rejoice at (its) success'; ṢB. 1. 6. 3 *yo 'haṁ yajñasya vyṛddhena nandāmi nandāmi yat samṛddhena*, 'I who am gratified at the failure of the sacrifice, gratified (also) at (its) success'.

Both Liebich (Bezzenberger's Beiträge, 11, p. 299): 'Als Prajāpati selbst als Opferpriester im Begriffe stand, das Frühgebet zu rezitieren, hofften alle Götter . . .') and Keith ('When Prajāpati himself as Hotṛ was about to recite the morning litany, all the deities expected . . .') construe *prajāpatau . . . anuvakṣyati* at AB. 2. 16. 1 (Ex. 3) as absolute case.

Contrast with the absolute locatives in Ex. 2 and 3 the conjunct construction ÇB. 1. 1. 2. 18 *sarvā ha vai devatā adhvaryuṁ havir grahīṣyantam upatiṣṭhante: mama nāma grahīṣyati, mama nāma grahīṣyatī 'ti*, 'All the divinities (expectantly) stand near the Adhvaryu-priest as he is about to take the oblation, (thinking): "My name he will take, my name he will take".'

Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 152, p. 235, 15, notes only active forms of the future of √ *pad*. It is true that these are in the majority; AB. 2. 16. 1 *pratipatsyati* and *pratipatsyāmi*; 4. 7. 7 *āpatsyati*; Ait. Ār. 2. 1. 4 (p. 103, 11 Keith) *patsyati*; K. 29. 1 (p. 168, 3) *avapatsyanti*; and the dative of the active future participle *nipatsyate* in the Yajus TS. 7. 1. 19. 3; KAçv. 1. 10 (p. 154, 5). But the middle future is read at Chānd. Up. 5. 11. 3 *pratipatsye*; 6. 14. 2 *saṁpatsye*; ÇÇ. 6. 12. 12 *prapatsyamānāḥ*.

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§ 64. The Meaning of the Absolute Locative.

While the absolute locative is thus seen to be fully established in the Brāhmaṇa prose its use is almost wholly confined to the expression of temporal relations.

Very rarely a concessive idea is suggested by the general context of the passage, as at ÇB. 3. 9. 3. 27 (above § 62, Ex. 41) where the absolute locative *etāvati bhāge bhujyamāne* may be rendered by 'although so great a share is being consumed', and at JUB. 3. 31. 9 (above § 61, Ex. 10 A) *eṣu ha vai . . . kulyeṣu satsu* which may be translated by 'although these (= we) belong to the family'. Similarly a concessive rendering is possible at ÇB. 1. 6. 4. 14 *akṣīṇe pūrvasminn anne*, 'although the old food is not (yet) exhausted' (§ 59, Ex. 69); ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 39 *asaṁsthite yajñe* 'although the sacrifice is not (yet) completed' (§ 59, Ex. 216); ÇB. 2. 2. 4. 15 *āmāyāṁ gavi satyām*, 'although the cow is raw' (§ 61, Ex. 1 and § 57, Ex. 4); KB. 24. 1 (p. 108, 9) *mādhuchandasa eva praüge sati*, 'although this is just the Mādhuchandasa Praüga' (§ 61, Ex. 7); ÇB. 7. 5. 2. 41; TS. 5. 4. 9. 2; TĀ. 1. 26. 6 *varṣati* 'although it rains' (§ 61, Ex. 35; 37; 37 A); ÇB. 1. 1. 1. 8 = 2. 1. 4. 2 *manuṣyeṣv anaçnatsu, deveṣv anaçnatsu*, 'although (other) men [the gods] do not eat'; JUB. 2. 15. 1 *mahāçane 'naçnati*, 'although the Voracious One does not eat' (§ 62, Ex. 1; 1 A).

A causal meaning may be read into a few absolute locatives; thus TS. 6. 4. 11. 2 *vācy apakrāntāyām*, 'because speech had departed' (§ 59, Ex. 60); ÇB. 7. 1. 2. 9 *utkrānte prāṇe, utkrānte vīrye, srute 'nne*, 'because breath [vigour] had departed, because food had flown away' (§ 59, Ex. 61); ÇB. 7. 1. 2. 1 = 7. 4. 2. 11 *tasminn utkrānte*, 'because this (breath) had departed' (§ 59. Ex. 63); ÇB. 14. 9. 2. 7 (= BĀU. 6. 2. 7 M. = 6. 1. 7 K.); Chānd. Up. 5. 1. 7; ÇĀ. 9. 2; Ait. Ār. 2. 1. 4 *yasminn utkrānte*, 'because of whose departure' (§ 59, Ex. 66; 66 A; 66 B); Ait. Ār. 2. 1. 4 *yasmin prapanne*, 'because of whose entrance' (§ 59, Ex. 106 A); K. 7. 10 (p. 61, 21) *rātryāṁ bhūtāyām*, 'because night had fallen' (§ 59, Ex. 108); TS. 6. 3. 2. 6 *sve vaçe bhūte*, 'because his pleasure is paramount' (§ 59, Ex. 110); GB. 2. 6. 6 (p. 251, 3 and 6) *agniṣṭoma eva sati yajñe*, 'because this sacrifice is an Agniṣṭoma' (§ 61, Ex. 8

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and 9); MS. 4. 5. 9 (p. 77, 4) *abhimṛtāyām asyām*, 'because this (earth) has been affected by death (§ 57, Ex. 20).

The absolute locative thus appears to have developed out of, and in close parallelism to, the simple locative of time (Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 76, p. 116—117). Compare, e.g., ÇB. 12. 4. 1. 10 *tāṁ [gām] tasyām āhutyāṁ brāhmaṇāya dadyāt*, 'At this oblation he should give this (cow) to a Brāhmaṇa', with JB. 1. 58. 1 (JAOS. 23, p. 340) *tāṁ [gām] tasyām evā 'hutau hutāyāṁ brāhmaṇāya dadati*, 'They give this (cow) to a Brāhmaṇa when this oblation has been offered' (literally: 'at this oblation when it has been offered'); ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 7 *tataḥ saṁvatsare yoṣit saṁbabhūva*, 'Thence after (the expiration of) a year a woman came into being', with ÇB. 13. 4. 4. 1 *saṁvatsare paryavete dīkṣā*, 'When a year has passed by (literally: 'after [the expiration of] a year when it has passed by') the consecration (takes place)'; TS. 5. 6. 5. 1 *dvitīye saṁvatsara āgneyam aṣṭākapālaṁ nirvapet, ... tṛtīye saṁvatsare 'bhijitā yajeta*, 'After (the expiration of) the second year he should offer (a cake) on eight potsherds sacred to Agni; after (the expiration of) the third year he should sacrifice with the Abhijit-offering', with K. 22. 3 (p. 58, 22 and 59, 1) *dvitīye saṁvatsare paryeta āgneyam aṣṭākapālaṁ nirvapet, . . ., tṛtīye saṁvatsare paryete 'bhijitā yajeta*, 'When the second year has passed [literally: 'after the second year when it has passed'] he should offer (a cake) on eight potsherds sacred to Agni; when the third year has passed [literally: 'after the third year when it has passed'] he should sacrifice with the Abhijit-offering'; KB. 3. 4 (p. 10, 16) *vasante vā idaṁ sarvaṁ samidhyate*, 'In the spring all this is kindled' with KB. 4. 13 (p. 17, 10) *atha vasanta āgate . . . veṇuyavān uddhartavā āha*, 'Now when spring has arrived (literally: 'in the spring when it has arrived') he orders the bamboo-seed to be collected'; ÇĀ. 4. 8; KUB. 2. 8 *paurṇamāsyām* 'on the night of the full moon', with *āmāvāsyāyāṁ vṛttāyām* 'the night of the new moon having come' [literally: 'on the night of the new moon when it has come'] (§ 59, Ex. 178 A).

§ 65. The Separation of the Absolute Locative from the Rest of the Sentence.

The independence of the absolute locative is sometimes emphasized by the fact that it is separated from the rest of the sentence by

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(a) *atha*; thus ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 20 bis (above, § 62, Ex. 22); ÇB. 1. 6. 4. 14 (above, § 59, Ex. 69); ÇB. 1. 8. 2. 7 (above, § 60, Ex. 107); ÇB. 1. 9. 2. 26 = 4. 4. 4. 3 (above, § 60, Ex. 108); ÇB. 7. 3. 1. 2 and 3 (above, § 60, Ex. 62); ÇB. 11. 2. 4. 10 (above, § 59, Ex. 212); ÇB. 12. 4. 3. 1 (above, § 60, Ex. 212); ÇB. 12. 9. 1. 12—17 (above, § 61, Ex. 5); TB. 1. 2. 5. 1 (above, § 60, Ex. 4); TB. 1. 6. 9. 8 (above, § 61, Ex. 6); GB. 1. 3. 19 (above § 61, Ex. 32).

(b) *atra*, ÇB. 4. 2. 2. 8 and 12 (above § 60, Ex. 68 and 69).

(c) *tad anu*, ÇB. 13. 5. 3. 1—3 (above § 60, Ex. 224).

See above § 7, b.

and (d) by the resumptive *(e)tasmin kāle*, KB. 2. 9 (bis; above § 60, Ex. 20 and 204); KB. 27. 4 (above § 59, Ex. 204).

See above § 7, b; and § 56.

§ 66. The Subject of the Absolute Locative.

1. The subject of the absolute locative is frequently omitted,

(a) when it may be easily supplied from the context;

(b) in the case of verbs which are used absolutely i. e. where the subject is implied in the verb; thus *varṣati* (§ 61, Ex. 35—37); *vidyotamāne* (§ 61, Ex. 31—32); *stanayati* (§ 61, Ex. 31—32); *avasphūrjati* (§ 61, Ex. 31); *vyuṣite* (§ 59, Ex. 174); *anṛdhyamāne* (§ 61, Ex. 25); *upadrute* (§ 59, Ex. 104); *anūkte* (§ 59, Ex. 165); *anūcyamāne* (§ 62, Ex. 53); *pratihṛte* (§ 59, Ex. 250); *pratihriyamāṇe* (§ 62, Ex. 88); *hiṅkṛte* (§ 60, Ex. 24); *hiṅkriyamāṇe* (§ 62, Ex. 10); *vaṣaṭkṛte* (§ 60, Ex. 25—34); *anuvaṣaṭkṛte* (§ 60, Ex. 35—38); *vijite* (§ 60, Ex. 71—73, see the Remark to Ex. 73); *çaste* (§ 60, Ex. 141); *çasyamāne* (§ 61, Ex. 67—69); *prastute* (§ 60, Ex. 197);

For MS. 1. 8. 6 (p. 124, 2) *sthite* see below § 68, Ex. 4.

(c) by abbreviation in certain standing phrases; thus *(an)udite* (§ 59, Ex. 19—51); *(su)vyuṣṭāyām* (§ 59, Ex. 165—174); *(a)saṁsthite* (§ 59, Ex. 224—236); *astamite* (§ 60, Ex. 9—20); and so always *prasute* (§ 60, Ex. 160—164) and *ātapati* (§ 61, Ex. 28—30 B).

2. In the phrases *rathantare* and *bṛhati prastute* (§ 60, Ex. 192—194) and *rathantare prastūyamāne* (§ 62, Ex. 76), 'When the Prastāva of the Rathantara [of the Bṛhat] Sāman has been sung' and 'is being sung', the pregnant construction of √ *stu* + *pra* 'to sing the Prastāva' with the name of the Sāman whose Prastāva is sung is noteworthy.

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3. The subject of the absolute locative almost always differs from that of the main verb.

Identity of the subject of the finite verb and the subject of the absolute locative is found once at ÇB. 5. 1. 3. 2 (bis) *tad etad* (in the second instance *tasmād etad*) *anatirātre sati rātre rūpaṁ kriyate*, 'Thus [Therefore], while it is not an over-night rite, it is (yet) performed in the manner of a night rite'.

A second example would be AB. 7. 9. 7 *jīve*; see the discussion of this passage, above, § 29, Ex. 33.

For K. 6. 3 (p. 52, 5) *ahute* see above § 60, Ex. 236 A.

4. The subject of the absolute locative is

(a) a cognate accusative at JB. 1. 140 (§ 62, Ex. 87) and possibly at K. 23. 6 (p. 81, 8) *yāma āgate*, see § 60, Ex. 57;

(b) for TS. 3. 4. 10. 3 *prayāte vastau*, see § 60, Ex. 115;

(c) an accusative of content appears in the phrase *saṁgrāme saṁyatte*, see § 60, Ex. 109—113.

§ 67. The Predicate of the Absolute Locative.

The predicate of the absolute locative is almost always a participle.

A nominal predicate without accompanying participle is found at MS., 4. 2. 11 (p. 34, 17) *prātar evā 'ntargoṣṭhāsu goṣu hotavyam*, 'He should offer the oblation in the morning while the cattle are (still) in the stable' (see § 60, Ex. 39). The simple adjective *jīve* at AB. 7. 9. 7 is discussed above § 29, Ex. 33.

Γ Addition from the Āraṇyskas and Upaniṣads.

At Chānd. Up. 8. 9. 1 = 2 the adjectives *suvasane*, *andhe*, and *srāme* occur as predicates of the absolute locative along with a series of participles: *yathai 'va khalv ayam asmiñ charīre sādhv-alaṁkṛte sādhvalaṁkṛto bhavati suvasane suvasanaḥ pariṣkṛte pari-ṣkṛta evam evā 'yam asminn andhe 'ndho bhavati srāme srāmaḥ parivṛkṇe parivṛknaḥ*, 'Even as this (Self) is beautifully adorned when this body is beautifully adorned; is beautifully dressed when (this body) is beautifully dressed; is handsomely fitted up when (this body) is handsomely fitted up; even so this (Self) is blind when (this body) is blind; is lame when (this body) is lame; is maimed when (this body) is maimed'.

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Contrast the *yadi*-clauses at Chānd. Up. 8. 10. 1—2 = 3—4 *tad yady apī 'daṁ çarīram andhaṁ bhavaty anandhaḥ sa bhavati yadi srāmam asrāmo nai 'vā 'sya doṣeṇa duṣyati | na vadhenā 'sya hanyate nā 'sya srāmyeṇa srāmaḥ*, 'Even though this (Self) be not blind when this body is blind; be not lame when (this body) is lame; be not maimed through its (= the body's) maiming; be not harmed through its (= the body's) harming; be not lame through its (= the body's) lameness . . .' ⌋

§ 68. Appendix I.

Passages which are not to be construed as Locatives Absolute.

1. At ÇB. 11. 1. 5. 1 *tad apaçavyaṁ syād aprāyaçcittikṛta, etasmād . . .*, 'That would be injurious to the cattle in the case of one who has not performed the expiation; therefore . . .', the form *aprāyaçcittikṛta* stands for the genitive *aprāyaçcittikṛtaḥ* from the theme *aprāyaçcittikṛt-*, not for the locative *aprāyaçcittikṛte* from the theme *aprāyaçcittikṛta-*; cf. pw. s. *aprāyaçcittikṛt*, p. 82, col. 2, 2.

2. At KB. 26. 3 (p. 121, 3) *atha kaç cic chastre vā 'nuvacane vā pramatta upahanyād vicikitsā vā syāt . . .*, 'If one, being inattentive (= through inattention), makes an error (by omitting a letter) in the Çastra, or in the recitation, or if there be a doubt . . .', the form *pramatta* stands for the nominative *pramattaḥ*; cf. KB. 27. 1 (p. 129, 19) *yadi kaç cit pramatta upahanyāt . . .*

The √ *han* + *upa* (PW. 'anstoßen, stecken bleiben im Rezitieren') refers to the omission of a letter in the recitation; cf. the Commentary to AB. 3. 35. 3 *adhīyann upahanyāt* which it glosses by *upaghātaṁ varṇalopaṁ kuryāt*. The passive voice is used in the same sense at TS. 7. 3. 1. 1 *sa yo vai daçame 'hann avivākya upahanyate sa hīyate*, 'He is left (= lost) who on the tenth day, viz. on the Avivākya-day, makes an error (through the omission of a letter).

3. At ÇB. 3. 4. 3. 19—20 *atha prastare nihnuvate . . . | tad āhuḥ: . . ., akte nihnuvīrā3n anaktā3 iti*, 'They make amends on the Prastara-bunch; . . .; now they say: " . . .: should they make amends on the anointed or on the unanointed (Prastara-bunch)?", the simple nominal locative *prastare* in 19 shows that *akte* and *anakte* in 20 should be construed as conjunct cases. See above § 57.

4. At MS. 1. 8. 6 (p. 124, 2) Schroeder's text reads: *tad ījānā vai sukṛto 'muṁ lokaṁ nakṣanti, te vā ete yan nakṣatrāṇi, yad āhur: jyotir avāpādi tārakā 'vāpādī 'ti te vā ete 'vapadyanta, āptvā sthite* (read *sthitās?*, see the Remark) *ta idaṁ yathālokaṁ sacante yadā 'mutaḥ pracyavante*, 'The pious who have sacrificed attain yonder

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world, they are the constellations; when (people) say: "A light hath fallen down; a star hath fallen down", it is they who fall down; when they move forth away from yonder (sky or world) they abide here (each one) in his proper place, having reached it, standing still'.

The difficulty lies in the words *āptvā sthite.* Delbrück (Altind. Synt. p. 407, 35, § 226) translates the last clause: 'Nachdem sie angekommen sind, so halten sie sich hier jeder an seinem Orte auf, wenn sie von dort verschwinden'; and he compares the expression *āptvā sthite* with phrases like *apakramya tiṣṭhati* where the main idea is expressed by the gerund while *tiṣṭhati* plays the part of an auxiliary.

Cf. the similar use of participles with √ *sthā*; √ *ās*; √ *car*, Whitney, Gr. § 1075, c; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 391, § 218; PW. s. *sthā,* no. 9, col. 1287; s. *ās,* no. 4, col. 730; s. *car,* no. 3, b, col. 953; and of the gerund with √ *vas* ÇB. 11. 3. 3. 1; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 260, p. 334—335.

'Man kann also', continues Delbrück (p. 408), '*āptvā tiṣṭhati* "er steht da, nachdem er erlangt hat" kürzer übersetzen "er trifft ein".' But this explanation does not remove the difficulty of the locative *sthite,* instead of which one would expect either a finite form *tiṣṭhanti*; or a conjunct participle *tiṣṭhantas, tasthivāṅsaḥ,* or *sthitās*; or a gerund *sthitvā* [but the earliest instances of this gerund are in the Sūtras, ÇÇ. 5. 13. 11; AG. 1. 2. 2. 9; cf. below, § 73, Ex. 7 Remark].

My translation above renders *sthite* as if it were *sthitās.* But as the text stands, *sthite* can only be construed as an impersonal locative absolute: 'A standing having been made (= they having come to a standstill)'. Cf. § 66, 1, b.

5. K. 23. 6 (p. 81, 6) *na dīkṣitena hotavyam*; . . .; *yathā vi gaur ūdhaḥ kuruta evam eṣa devebhyo yajñaṁ saṁbharati yo dīkṣate* (Schroeder's emendation for *dīkṣite*), *yaj juhuyād yajñaṁ viduhyāt srevayed yatho 'padhītā* (Geldner's emendation for *'padhīte*) *sūta evaṁ tat,* '(The Agnihotra) should not be offered by one who has been consecrated; . . .; as a cow modifies (?) her udder, so he who is consecrated brings together (= prepares) a sacrifice for the gods; if he were to offer (the Agnihotra) he would drain the sacrifice by milking (= milk the sacrifice dry), he would cause it to miscarry; as when (a cow) gives birth (to a calf) while she is sucked (by another calf) even so is this'.

This passage is discussed by Geldner in the Windisch Festschrift, p. 175, who rightly proposes the emendation of the locative *upadhīte* in Schroeder's text, which cannot be construed, to *upadhītā*, and correctly takes *sūta* as equivalent to *sūte* (cf. K. 13. 4, p. 184, 19), not of *sūtaḥ* as Simon does in his Kāṭhaka-Index.

It is not clear to me what the exact meaning of √ *kṛ* + *vi* with *ūdhaḥ* can be. Geldner renders *yathā vi gaur ūdhaḥ kurute* by 'wie eine Kuh das Euter wechselt'.

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The √ *kṛ* + *vi* occurs in the Brāhmaṇa prose most frequently with reference to the moulding of the seed into an articulate human being; thus with *retaḥ siktam* AB. 2. 39. 1; 5. 15. 4; KB. 3. 9 (p. 14, 2); 30. 4 (p. 143, 22); ÇB. 1. 9. 2. 10; 3. 7. 2. 8; 4. 4. 2. 16; 6. 7. 2. 5; 7. 1. 1. 17; 7. 5. 2. 35; 9. 5. 1. 56; JUB. 2. 2. 15; with *retasaḥ siktasya rūpāṇi* TS. 6. 6. 6. 2; with *rūpāṇi* TS. 2. 6. 10. 3; 6. 6. 6. 2; TB. 1. 8. 1. 2; 2. 7. 2. 1; K. 13. 5 (p. 185, 20); 26. 7 (p. 131, 2); 28. 8 (p. 162, 18); 32. 4 (p. 22, 6); 36. 3 (p. 71, 11); 37. 3 (p. 86, 11); MS. 1. 10. 9 (p. 149, 12); 3. 7. 7 (p. 84, 9); 3. 9. 6 (p. 123, 18); 4. 7. 4 (p. 87, 14); PB. 20. 9. 2; or with reference to moulding and fashioning into a particular shape; thus AB. 2. 39. 4; ÇB. 3. 1. 3. 4; 6. 7. 2. 5; 7; 7. 1. 1. 19; 9. 2. 3. 34; MS. 3. 2. 8 (p. 27, 16); 4. 2. 13 (p. 36, 5); PB. 20. 16. 1; JUB. 1. 21. 6; 4. 11. 5; also in the sense of dividing something; thus ÇB. 1. 6. 3. 17; 10. 6. 5. 3 (= BĀU. 1. 2. 3 Kāṇva); TB. 1. 7. 1. 2; PB. 9. 2. 3; 20. 14. 5; JUB. 1. 46. 2; 1. 58. 8; 9.

The causative form *srevayati* should be added to Whitney, Roots etc., p. 200, 10.

6. At ÇB. 11. 5. 3. 12 *yatra ta etasminn eva kāle nivāte sarve 'gnayo 'nugacheyuḥ* . . ., 'If at that same time, in a place where there is no wind, all the fires should go out . . .', *nivāte* is correctly glossed by the Commentary with *vātarahite deçe*; cf. *avīra*, *ajana* 'a place without a hero, without a man' at ÇB. 11. 5. 1. 3 *avīra iva baṭa me 'jana iva putraṁ haranti*, 'They carry off my son, alas, as if in a place where there is no hero, as if in a place where there is no man' and 4 *kathaṁ nu tad avīraṁ katham ajanaṁ syād yatrā 'haṁ syām*, 'How should that place be without a hero, how without a man where I happen to be', where the Commentary similarly glosses *avīre* and *ajane* by *vīrapuruṣarahite deçe*; and *anupadṛṣṭa* 'a place where there are no witnesses' at JUB. 3. 7. 6 *nā 'nupadṛṣṭe çudrā iva saṁvadiṣyāmahe*, 'Let us not dispute in a place where there are no witnesses, like Çūdras'.

For the privative *ni-* in *nivāta* cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. II, 1, p. 283, § 110, b, e. Besides the phonetic change of *nis-* to *ni-* under certain conditions (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 342, § 287, a and b) the use of *ni-* in words like AV. *nimanyu* 'one whose wrath has died down' = 'one who is without wrath', may have contributed to this privative force of *ni-*. To the instances quoted by Wackernagel add RV. *ni-svaram* (so divided by the Pp., and cf. Oldenberg, Rig-veda Noten, II, p. 4 to RV. 7. 1. 7) and K. 27. 9 (p. 149, 17) and 28. 8 (p. 163, 1) *strī nivīryā* and *anivīryaḥ pumān*.

At K. 28. 8 (p. 163, 1) Caland and Schroeder emend the ms. reading *ṇivīryā* and *aṇivīryaḥ* (with lingual *ṇ* after the *r* of the preceding word, cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 191, § 171, a, and below § 73, Ex. 15 Remark) to *nirvīryā* and *anirvīryaḥ*, probably because K. elsewhere (K.

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10. 7, p. 133, 17; K. 12. 3, p. 164, 21; K. 24. 6, p. 95, 16 and 20; K. 29. 2, p. 170, 2) reads *nirvīrya* without variant. But the Kap. S. in the parallel passage to K. 29. 2 (p. 170, 2) reads *nivīryam*.

In classical Sanskrit *nidhanatā* 'poverty' (PW.) shows the privative *ni-*.

§ 69. Appendix II.

Paratactical Constructions Semantically Equivalent to an Absolute Locative.

A number of passages in which a paratactical clause is used instead of an absolute locative has been noted above § 59, Ex. 52; 60; § 60, Ex. 16; 62; 102; 155; § 62, Ex. 31.

A few additional examples may be noted here: (a) ÇB. 9. 5. 1. 19—21; 23—26 *tasya samiṣṭayajur ahutam āsā* (20 *tasya çamyor uktam āsā*; 21 *tasye 'ḍo 'pāhūtā 'sā*; 23 *tasya samiṣṭayajūṅṣy ahutāny āsur*; 24 *tasyai 'tāvat kṛtam āsa yāvat prātaḥsavanam*; 25 *tasyai 'tāvat kṛtam āsa yāvan mādhyandinam*; 26 *tasyai 'tāvat kṛtam āsa yāvad etasya paçoḥ kriyate*) *'thā* (23; 24; 25 *athā*) *'jagmuḥ*, 'The Samiṣṭayajus-oblation of this (offering) had not (yet) been offered [The Çamyoḥ-formula of this (offering) had not (yet) been pronounced; The Iḍā of this (offering) had not (yet) been invoked; The Samiṣṭayajus-oblations of this (offering) had not (yet) been offered; As much as the morning pressing of this (sacrifice) had been performed; As much as the midday pressing of this (sacrifice) had been performed; As much of this (sacrifice) had been performed as is done in the case of this animal-sacrifice], then they arrived', < cf. above § 60, Ex. 206—209; 218; 219; 230; 235 >.

(b) ÇB. 8. 7. 4. 7; 9. 1. 2. 32; 9. 2. 1. 12; 10. 2. 1. 8 *atrai 'ṣa sarvo 'gniḥ saṁskṛtas, tasmin devā etad amṛtaṁ* (9. 2. 1. 12; 10. 2. 1. 8 omit *amṛtaṁ*) *rūpam uttamam adadhuḥ*, 'The entire fire-altar was completely built up there, (then) the gods placed this immortality, their highest form, on it'; equivalent to **etasminn atra sarvasminn agnau saṁskṛte devā etad amṛtaṁ rūpam uttamam adadhuḥ* < cf. above § 57 >.

(c) ÇB. 6. 4. 4. 1 *hasta eṣa bhavaty atha paçūn abhimantrayate*, 'This (lamp) is (still) in his hand, then he addresses the victims with a Mantra'.

(d) ÇB. 6. 3. 3. 1 *pradīptā ete 'gnayo bhavanty atha mṛdam acha*

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yanti, 'These fires are blazing forth (= have been freshly kindled), then they approach the lump of clay'.

(e) ÇB. 9. 4. 3. 15—16 *iṣṭā devatā bhavanty asamavahitaṁ sviṣṭakṛte / athai 'nam pūrvābhiṣekenā 'bhimṛçati*, 'The divinities have been sacrificed to without attending to the Sviṣṭakṛt, then he touches this (altar) with the formula for the preliminary consecration'.

For *asamavahitam* cf. above § 27, Ex. 1 Remark.

(f) ÇB. 12. 9. 3. 9 see above § 27, Ex. 1.

(g) ÇB. 13. 6. 2. 12—13 *tat paryagnikṛtāḥ paçavo babhūvur asaṁjñaptāḥ / atha hai 'naṁ vāg abhyuvāda*, 'Now the fire had been carried round the victims (but) they had not (yet) been quieted (= slaughtered), then a voice addressed this (sacrificer)', < cf. above § 60, Ex. 75 >.

(h) TS. 2. 1. 4. 7 *dyāvāpṛthivyāṁ dhenum ālabheta jyogaparuddho, 'nayor hi vā eṣo 'pratiṣṭhito 'thai 'ṣa jyog aparuddho, dyāvāpṛthivī eva svena bhāgadheyeno 'padhāvati, te evai 'naṁ pratiṣṭhāṁ gamayataḥ*, 'He who is long in exile should take (for slaughter) a cow sacred to Heaven and Earth; for he is not firmly established in these two (= for since or when he is not firmly established in these two), then he is long in exile; so he has recourse to Heaven and Earth with their own share; they (in turn) cause him to obtain a firm footing'.

(i) TS. 2. 1. 4. 8 *vāyavyaṁ vatsam ālabheta, vāyur vā anayor vatsa, ime vā etasmai lokā apaçuṣkā viḍ apaçuṣkā 'thai 'ṣa jyog aparuddho, vāyum eva svena bhāgadheyeno 'padhāvati, sa evā 'smā imāṅ lokān viçaṁ pradāpayati*, 'He should take (for slaughter) a calf sacred to Vāyu, for Vāyu is the calf of these two (viz. Heaven and Earth); for these worlds are dried up for him, the peasantry is dried up for him (= for since or when these worlds and the peasantry yield no sustenance for him), then he is long in exile; so he has recourse to Vāyu with his own share; he (in turn) causes these worlds (and) the peasantry to give to him'.

(j) TS. 6. 6. 6. 2 *iṣṭaṁ vapayā bhavaty aniṣṭaṁ vaçayā 'tha pātnīvatena pracarati*, '(When) the offering with the omentum has been accomplished, (but when) the offering with the cow has not

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(yet) been accomplished, then he proceeds with (the oblation for Tvaṣṭṛ) accompanied by the Wives'.

(k) ÇB. 1. 2. 1. 21—22 *piṅsanti piṣṭāny abhīndhate kapālāni | athai 'ka ājyaṁ nirvapati,* '(While) they are grinding the ground grains (and while) they are heating the potsherds, some one pours out the butter'.

(l) KB. 12. 2 (p. 53, 21) *anūktaḥ prātaranuvāka āsīd aprāptāny* (var. lect. *aprāptā*) *ukthāny āsaṅs tān etasmint saṁdhāv asurā udāyan,* '(When) the morning litany had been recited, (but when) the Ukthas had not (yet) been attained,—at that juncture the Asuras went against these (gods)'.

(m) ÇB. 5. 1. 3. 13; 5. 5. 4. 33 *athe 'ṣṭā* (5. 5. 4. 33 *iṣṭā*, omitting *atha*) *anuyājā bhavanty avyūḍhe srucāv athai 'ṣām* (5. 5. 4. 33 *athai 'tair*) *havirbhiḥ pracaranti* (5. 5. 4. 33 *pracarati*), 'Now (when) the after-offerings have been made (and when) the two spoons have not been shifted,—then they proceed [he proceeds] with the oblations of these (victims) [with these oblations]'.

A detailed discussion of the relative frequency of such paratactical clauses compared with the use of the absolute locative on the one hand and with the use of conjunctional clauses on the other hand (cf. above the Remarks to § 59, Ex. 113; § 60, Ex. 38B; § 61, Ex. 31; 36; § 62, Ex. 49; § 67), belongs to the chapter on sentence connection.

§ 70. Appendix III.

The Use of the Absolute Locative as a Means of Connecting Sentences.

As the present work is confined to the use of cases within the same sentence the point which Delbrück makes in the final paragraph of his discussion of the absolute locative (Altind. Synt. § 216, p. 389, 17) falls, strictly speaking, outside the scope of this investigation. Delbrück there calls attention to the part played by the absolute locative as a means of connecting sentences with oneanother, e.g. *vāg vai devebhyo 'pākrāmad yajñāyā 'tiṣṭhamānā, te devā vācy apakrāntāyāṁ tūṣṇīṁ grahān agṛhṇata,* 'Speech, not submitting to the sacrifice, departed from the gods; speech having departed, the gods drew the cups in silence', TS. 6. 4. 11. 2.

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'Ein Hauptwert dieser Konstruktion', Delbrück concludes, 'besteht darin, daß sie geeignet ist, die Erzählung weiter zu führen'.

It is true that such use is not rare, cf. PB. 7. 5. 2; ÇB. 7. 5. 2. 44; 7. 4. 1. 16; 6. 1. 2. 12; 7. 1. 2. 1; 7. 4. 2. 11; 10. 6. 5. 6; GB. 1. 3. 14 (p. 83, 3); 2. 2. 15 (p. 181, 7); ÇB. 9. 5. 1. 19—22; 24—27; PB. 14. 1. 2; ÇB. 1. 3. 3. 8; PB. 7. 5. 2; ÇB. 3. 6. 3. 11—12; AB. 7. 34. 7—8; 8. 17. 1; ÇB. 2. 1. 2. 16; AB. 2. 31. 6; 6. 30. 7—8 = GB. 2. 6. 9 (p. 257, 1—2); TS. 6. 6. 9. 2; ÇB. 1. 7. 1. 10; 1. 6. 1. 2; 11. 1. 6. 1.

But considering the whole bulk of absolute locatives it cannot be said to be excessively frequent.

Nor is this resumptive concatenation of sentences confined to the absolute locative. Other cases are utilized for the same purpose. Thus AB. 6. 4. 1 *devā vai yajñam atanvata, tāṅs tanvānān asurā abhyāyan,* 'The gods performed the sacrifice; against them, while they were performing it, the Asuras came forth'; JB. 1. 42 (JAOS. 15, p. 234) *sa ha tatāma, sa ha tāntaḥ paraṁ lokaṁ jagāma,* 'He fainted; he, having fainted, went to the other world'; TS. 6. 1. 6. 6 *gandharvā avadann agāyan devāḥ, sā [vāk] devān gāyata upāvartata,* 'The Gandharvas pronounced (a spell), the gods sang; to the gods, as they were singing, this (Speech) turned'; ÇB. 1. 6. 4. 12. *vārtraghnaṁ vai paurṇamāsam, indro hy etena vṛtram ahann, athai 'tad eva vṛtrahatyaṁ yad āmāvāsyaṁ, vṛtraṁ hy asmā etad jaghnuṣa āpyāyanam akurvan,* 'The full-moon rite belongs to (Indra) The Vṛtraslayer, for by means of it Indra slew Vṛtra; again, the new-moon rite is (identical with) the slaying of Vṛtra, for they prepared it for this Indra when he had slain Vṛtra, as a strengthening'; ÇB. 6. 1. 1. 8; 10. 6. 5. 6 *so 'çrāmyat, sa tapo 'tapyata, sa çrāntas tepāno brahmai 'va prathamam asṛjata* (10. 6. 5. 6 *tasya çrāntasya taptasya yaço vīryam udakrāmat*), 'He toiled, he practised austerities; having toiled, having practised austerities, he created the Brahman first [of him having toiled, having practised austerities, glory (and) strength departed]'; AB. 3. 42. 1—5 *taṁ [agnim] te* [1 *vasavaḥ*; 2 *rudrāḥ*; 3 *ādityāḥ*; 4 *viçve devāḥ*] *trivṛtā* [2 *pañcadaçena*; 3 *saptadaçena*; 4 *ekaviṅçena*] *stomenā 'stuvaṅs, tān stuto 'tyārjata*; | *ekai 'kena taṁ devāḥ stomenā 'stuvaṅs, tān stuto 'tyārjata,* 'These (Vasus [Rudras; Ādityas; All Gods]) praised this (Agni) with the

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threefold [fifteenfold; seventeenfold; twenty-one-fold] Stoma; he, being thus praised, allowed them to pass; with each single Stoma the gods praised him; he, being praised, allowed them to pass'; JB. 1. 22[1] *te hā 'jagmus, te ha brahmacāriṇam ūcuḥ: pra ṇo brūhī 'ti, tān ha provāca, tebhyo ha proktebhyaḥ pṛthag āsanāni pṛthag udakāni pṛthañ madhuparkān pṛthag āvasathān pṛthak pañcabhyaḥ pañcā 'pacitīç cakāra*, 'These (five Brāhmaṇas) came; they said to the pupil: "Announce us"; he announced them; for them, when they had been announced, (the king) prepared separate seats, separate (dishes of) water, separate guest-offerings, separate abodes (making) the five obeisances separately to the five'; ÇB. 14. 7. 3. 5 (= BĀU. 4. 5. 5); 14. 5. 4. 4 (= BĀU. 2. 4. 4) *vyākhyāsyāmi te, vācaṁ tu me vyācakṣāṇasya* (14. 5. 4. 4 = BĀU. 2. 4. 4, and the Kāṇva recension also at BĀU. 4. 5. 5 *vyācakṣāṇasya tu me*) *nidi-dhyāsasva*, see above § 48, Ex. 45.

This general concatenating use of the participle is noted by Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 215, p. 385, 20—25: 'Sehr oft dient das Participium in Verbindung mit dem Demonstrativum zur Weiterführung der Darstellung, indem es den Inhalt des letzten Satzes zusammenfaßt'.

All the instances quoted above form part of a well established and not infrequent general type of sentence connection which is characterized by the repetition of a longer or shorter part of the preceding clause in the next following one; cf., e.g., the repetition of *yaḥ pāpmanā gṛhīto bhavati* by *yaḥ pāpmanā gṛhītaḥ syāt* at TS. 2. 3. 13. 2 *varuṇa enaṁ varuṇapāçena gṛhṇāti yaḥ pāpmanā gṛhīto bhavati, yaḥ pāpmanā gṛhītaḥ syāt tasmā etām aindrāvaruṇīṁ payasyāṁ nirvapet*, 'Him who is seized by evil Varuṇa seizes with Varuṇa's noose; for him who may be seized by evil he should offer an oblation of clotted milk sacred to Indra and Varuṇa'.

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[1] Caland (Auswahl p. 9; 11; 13) emends *brahmacāriṇam ūcuḥ* to *brahmacāriṇa ūcuḥ* which he renders by 'und sprachen (sich) als Schüler (bei ihm einstellend)'. But would this not require the middle voice and *iti?* Cf. § 60, Ex. 159, Excursus, H, p. 254—255. He further translates *pra no brūhi* and *tān ha provāca* by 'Sage uns an' and 'da sagte er ihnen an' supplying 'gastliche Bewirtung' as object and comparing ÇB. 10. 6. 1. 2 *tebhyo ha pṛthag āvasathān* (Comment. = *gṛhān*) *pṛthag apacitīḥ pṛthak sāhasrānt somān provāca.*

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8. The Disjunct Gerund.

§ 71. Ordinarily the gerund expresses an action which refers to the subject of the sentence or to an element within the clause which is felt as the subject of the sentence; thus TS. 2. 3. 2. 9 *ātmānam eva mṛtyor niṣkrīya paçūn avarunddhe*, 'Having ransomed himself from death he obtains cattle'; ÇB. 11. 6. 1. 7 *taṁ hai 'naṁ dṛṣṭvā bhīr viveda* (= **sa hai 'naṁ dṛṣṭvā bibhāya*), 'Fear seized him when he had seen him'.

Cf. Whitney, Gr., § 994, b and c; Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 379—380, p. 296; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 226, p. 405, 27; p. 406, 11; p. 407, 14.

In the following examples, however, the Gerund has assumed a much more independent character inasmuch as it cannot be construed with any element of the clause.

Cf. Whitney, Gr. § 994, d; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 226, p. 408, 10.

Only such instances of the disjunct gerund are enumerated below in which a subject is neither formally expressed nor can it be easily supplied from the context, as in the examples listed above § 26 II.

According to the character of the main clause the examples are grouped in four divisions:

I. The main clause consists of a verbal adjective in *-tavya* or *-ya* used impersonally.

Cf. for the impersonal use of the verbal adjective in *-tavya* Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 399, 7; and for the same use of the verbal adjective in *-ya* Ibid. p. 397, 28; 398, 17.

II. The main clause consists of a noun accompanied by a verbal adjective in *-tavya* or *-ya* which is construed personally.

III. The main clause consists of a nominal subject accompanied by a finite verb.

IV. The main clause consists of a nominal subject with or without the substantive verb 'to be'.

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§ 72. I. The Main Clause Consists of a Verbal Adjective in *-tavya* or *-ya* Used Impersonally.

1. *tathā 'nyāṁ dugdhvā punar hotavyam*, 'Thus, after another (cow) has been milked, a second offering should be made'. TB. 1. 4. 3. 4; 5.

2. *tat kṛtvā 'nyāṁ dugdhvā punar hotavyam*, 'After this has been done (and) after another (cow) has been milked, a second offering should be made'. TB. 3. 7. 2. 2; 3; 4; 5.

3. *yatrā 'nyaṁ* [*agnim*] *paçyet tata* (read so with the var. lect. and the Commentary for *yata* of the Bibl. Ind. text) *āhṛtya hotavyam*, 'After (the fire) has been taken from a place where he may see another (fire), the offering should be made'. TB. 3. 7. 3. 1.

4. *vāruṇīm ṛcam anūcya vāruṇyā hotavyam*, 'After a verse addressed to Varuṇa has been recited (as invitatory prayer), the offering should be made with (a verse) addressed to Varuṇa'. MS. 1. 8. 3 (p. 118, 9).

4 B. Sāyaṇa in the Introduction to his RV. Commentary (p. 10, 18) quotes the following passage from an unidentified Brāhmaṇa: *hiraṇyaṁ nidhāya cetavyam*, 'After a gold piece has been deposited the piling (of the altar) should be undertaken'.

5. *yūpasyai 'vā 'nte 'gnim mathitvā 'tha hotavyam*, 'After the fire has been churned at the end of the sacrificial stake, the offering should then be made'. MS. 3. 9. 2 (p. 114, 6).

For *atha* see above § 7, b.

Contrast the conjunct construction of the gerund in the parallel passage K. 26. 3 (p. 124, 15) *agniṁ mathitvā vaiṣṇavya rcā yūpasyā 'nte juhuyāt.*

6. *havyaṁ pūrvaṁ devatā gamayitvā 'tha çarīram anvārohayitavyam ity āhur, yad āhutīr hutvā paçuṁ saṁmṛçati havyaṁ vā etat pūrvaṁ devatā gamayitvā 'tha çarīram anvārohayati*; 'They say: "After the divinities have first been made to go to the offering, they should thereupon be made to ascend the body"; in that he touches the victim after the oblations have been offered, he, after he has first made the divinities to go to the offering, then causes them to ascend the body'. MS. 3. 10. 4 (p. 134, 11).

For *atha* see above § 7, b.

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§ 73. The Main Clause Consists of a Noun Accompanied by a Verbal Adjective in *-tavya* or *-ya* Used Personally.

1. *hiraṇyaṁ suvarṇam upāsyā 'gnir ādheyaḥ*, 'After (a piece of) pure gold has been thrown upon (it) the fire should be replenished (with fresh fuel)'. MS. 1. 6. 4 (p. 93, 9).

Cf. MS. 1. 6. 5 (p. 93, 17).

2. *atihāya pūrvām āhutim uttarā hotavyā*, 'Passing over the first oblation, the second (oblation) should be offered'. MS. 1. 8. 5 (p. 121, 4).

Contrast the conjunct construction of the gerund at TB. 2. 1. 4. 4 *atihāya pūrvām āhutim juhuyāt*, and K. 6. 5 (p. 54, 8) *tām [pūrvāhutim] atihāya juhuyāt.*

3. *bhasmanā 'raṇī saṁspṛçya [agniḥ] manthitavyaḥ*, 'After the two churning sticks have been brought in contact with the ashes, (the fire) should be churned'. MS. 1. 8. 9 (p. 130, 3).

Manthitavya here with nasalized verbal stem, like *manthitavai* MS. 1. 6. 10 (p. 102, 1). Contrast K. 26. 7 (p. 129, 22; below Ex. 4) *mathitavya* without nasal, like *vimathitoḥ* AB. 1. 20. 2 and *pramathitoḥ* PB. 7. 7. 15.

4. *paçum ālabhyā 'gnir mathitavyaḥ*, 'After the victim has been taken (for slaughter) the fire should be churned'. K. 26. 7 (p. 129, 22).

For *mathitavya* without nasal see above Ex. 3, Remark.
Contrast the conjunct use of the gerund at TS. 6. 3. 5. 2 *yat paçum ālabhyā 'gnim manthati . . .*

5. *upākṛtyai 'va manthyaḥ*, '(The fire) should be churned after (the victim) has been prepared'. TS. 6. 3. 5. 2.

6. *prajāpataye pratiprocyā* (MS. 3. 1. 3; K. 22. 8 and 19. 2 *procyā*) *'gniḥ saṁbhṛtyaḥ* (MS. 3. 1. 3; K. 22. 8 *'gniç cetavyaḥ*; K. 19. 2 *'gniç cetavyo rājñe procya*), 'After the announcement to Prajāpati [and to the King] has been made, the fire altar should be assembled [should be piled]'. TS. 5. 1. 2. 5; MS. 3. 1. 3 (p. 4, 14); K. 22. 8 (p. 64, 16); K. 19. 2 (p. 2, 15).

Contrast the conjunct use of the gerund at TS. 5. 1. 2. 5 *sākṣād eva prajāpataye pratiprocyā 'gniṁ saṁbharati.*

7. *yad vāyavyaṁ vā camasaṁ vā 'nanvārabhyā 'çrāvayet svād iyāt, tasmād anvārabhyā 'çrāvyam*, 'If he were to call for the Vaṣaṭ without holding (the cup) sacred to Vāyu or the beaker, he would depart from his own; therefore the call for the Vaṣaṭ should be

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uttered after (the cup or the beaker) has been taken hold of'. TS. 3. 1. 2. 4.

Contrast in the preceding section, TS. 3. 1. 2. 3, the conjunct use of the present participle *yad abhikramya juhuyāt pratiṣṭhāyā iyāt, tasmāt samānatra tiṣṭhatā hotavyam*, 'If he were to make the oblation moving about, he would depart from firm standing; therefore the offering should be made by him while he stands still on the same spot'.

Here the instrumental of the conjunct present participle is functionally equivalent to a conjunct gerund *sthitvā* (the earliest occurences of which are found in the Sūtras, ÇÇ. 5. 13. 11; AG. 1. 2. 2. 9; cf. above § 68, no. 4, Remark.).

8. *vaiṣṇavīm anūcyā [yūpaḥ] 'cche 'tyaḥ*, 'After (a verse) addressed to Viṣṇu has been recited (as invitatory prayer), (the sacrificial stake) should be approached'. MS. 3. 9. 2 (p. 114, 6).

Contrast the conjunct use of the gerund at TS. 6. 3. 3. 1 *vaiṣṇavya ṛcā hutvā yūpam acchai 'ti*, 'After he has made the offering with a verse addressed to Viṣṇu, he approaches the sacrificial stake'.

9. *vaiṣṇavīm* (also *āgnāvaiṣṇavīm*; *sārasvatīm*; and *bārhaspatyām*) *anūcya vāg yantavyā*, 'After (a verse) addressed to Viṣṇu [to Agni and Viṣṇu; to Sarasvatī; to Bṛhaspati] has been recited (as invitatory prayer), speech should be restrained'. MS. 3. 6. 8 (p. 71, 13; 14; 16; and 17).

10. *punar dīkṣayitvā vāg yantavyā*, 'After the second initiation has taken place, speech should be restrained'. MS. 3. 6. 8 (p. 71, 13).

11. *agnihotrahavaṇīṁ pratapya hasto 'vadheyo, hasto vā pratapyā 'gnihotrahavaṇyām avadheyaḥ*, 'After the Agnihotra-ladle has been heated, the hand should be inserted, or, after the hand has been heated, it should be inserted in the Agnihotra-ladle'. MS. 1. 8. 5 (p. 122, 4).

12. *ubhau [agnī] samāhṛtyā 'ntarā [yajñaḥ] dagdhavyaḥ*, 'After the two (fires) have been brought together, the sacrifice should be burnt between them'. MS. 1. 8. 6 (p. 124, 7).

13. *yo jyeṣṭhabandhur apabhūtaḥ syāt taṁ sthale 'vasāyya brahmaudanaṁ catuḥçarāvaṁ paktvā tasmai [rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ] hotavyāḥ*, 'If the head of a family be deprived of dominion, (the Rāṣṭrabhṛt-oblations) should be offered for him, after he has been placed on a mound (and) after a Brahman-mess of rice four Çarāvas in size has been cooked'. TS. 3. 4. 8. 7.

Apabhūtaḥ = *rāṣṭrād apabhūtaḥ* TS. 3. 4. 8. 2. Cf. √ *rudh* + *apa*, § 11, Ex. 3.

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14. *na parāñ* [*açvaḥ*] *avasṛjyo, yat parāñcam avasṛjed yajamānaṁ cakṣur jahyād, andhaḥ syāt, pratyavagṛhyā 'dheyo, yajamānāyai 'va cakṣuḥ pratyavāgrahīt*, '(The horse) should not be permitted to walk off, if he were to let (the horse) walk off, sight would leave the sacrificer, he would be blind; after (the horse) has been kept back, (the fire) should be replenished (with fresh fuel); thus he has kept back (= keeps back) sight for the sacrificer'. MS. 1. 6. 4 (p. 92, 7).

15. *tad āhur: amṇa evā 'nudrutyā 'thā 'gnihotraṁ hotavyam iti*, 'They say: "Immediately after (the verse) has been quickly run over the Agnihotra should be offered'. MS. 1. 6. 10 (p. 102, 8).

There is no need to assume an *amṇaḥ* (with lingual *ṇ*) by the side of *amnaḥ* (with dental *n*) as is done by the pw. Nachträge 5, p. 244, col. 3. The lingal *ṇ* in the two occurrences of *amṇaḥ* is due to the *r* in the preceding word, viz. here to the preceding *āhur*, and at MS. 1. 10. 10 (p. 150, 12) to the preceding *kumāre* (cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. I, p. 191, § 171, b). At K. 8. 8 (p. 92, 11) the cod. Ch. reads *amṇo* after a preceding *agnir yad*, but the ms. D. has *amno*; *amnaḥ* (with dental *n*) is read at K. 8. 8 (p. 92, 13; var. lect. *sna*); 6. 5 (p. 54, 4); and, according to Schroeder's certain emendation, at K. 36. 5 (p. 72, 7) where the cod. Ch. reads *'gnau* for *'mno*) = MS. 1. 10. 10 (p. 150, 12).

Besides the examples cited by Wackernagel, l. c., for the change of dental *n* to lingual *ṇ* after the *r* of a preceding word cf. RV. 3. 36. 7 7 *samudre ṇa* (Bloomfield, JAOS. 27, p. 77, and see the references quoted by Oldenberg, Rigveda-Noten, to this passage); JB. 1. 208. 6 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 163) *punar haṇyāt* (var. lect. *punar hanyāt*); K. 28. 8 (p. 163, 1, see above § 68, no. 6, Remark) (var. lect. *punar hanyāt*); MS. 1. 8. 7 (p. 125, 1) *te 'gnihotre ṇa sastrī ṇivīryā 'ṇivīryaḥ pumān*; MS. 1. 8. 7 (p. 125, 1) *te 'gnihotre ṇa samarādhayan* (so Caland's emendation of Schroeder's *'gnihotreṇa*, WZKM. 23, p. 53, cf. K. 6. 6, p. 54, 15 *te 'gnihotra eva na samārdhayan*).

For *atha* cf. above § 7, b.

§ 74. III. The Main Clause Consists of a Nominal Subject with a Finite Verb.

1. *devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu samayatanta, te vai devāḥ ṣaṣṭhenai 'vā 'hnai* (GB. *ṣaṣṭhenā 'hnai*) *'bhyo lokebhyo 'surān prāṇudanta* (GB. *parāṇudanta*), *teṣāṁ yāny antarhastīnāni* (GB. *antarhastāni*) *vasūny āsaṅs tāny ādāya* (the GB. mss. erroneously *ādāyant*) *samudraṁ praupyanta* (GB. mss.; Bibl. Ind.; and Gaastra's ed. *prārūpyanta*), 'The gods and Asuras contended about these worlds; then the gods pushed off the Asuras from these worlds by means

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of the sixth day (rite); now the treasures which were in the hands of these (Asuras),—after they had been seized,—were scattered over the ocean'. AB. 5. 11. 1; GB. 2. 6. 11 (p. 260, 3).

GB. *prārūpyanta* should evidently be emended to AB. *praupyanta.*

As to AB. *praupyanta* Keith notes: 'The passive *praupyanta* is an odd use, which, however, can hardly be corrected'; but he renders *praupyanta* as if it were a middle form: 'Taking all the wealth that was within reach they cast it into the sea'.

The √ *vap* + *pra* with double accusative which the passive construction presupposes occurs only here; at K. 19. 12 (p. 15, 7; 9; and 11) it is construed with the accusative and locative: *apsu bhasma pravapanti.*

The adjective GB. *antarhasta* is not registered in pw.; for the formation cf. Whitney, Gr. § 1310, a; Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. II, 1, § 119, b, α, p. 312, 9—14.

With the secondary derivative AB. *antarhastīna* (Whitney, Gr. § 1223, d) compare ÇB. 4. 3. 4. 19 *jñātakulīna* 'belonging to a known family'; ĀpÇ. 7. 6. 1 (pw. Nachträge 3, p. 250, col. 3) *antarāçṛṅgīya* 'situated between the horns'; Saṁhitopaniṣad 27. 2 (pw. Nachträge 1, col. 2, in fine) *antaḥsāmika* 'in the middle of a Sāman'; cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. II, 1, § 44 ff.

2. *pūrṇasya* [*brahmaṇaḥ*] *pūrṇam* [*brahma*] *ādāya pūrṇam evā 'vaçiṣyate*, 'When the full (Brahman) is taken from the full (Brahman) it (= the Brahman) is left (= nevertheless remains) full'. ÇB. 14. 8. 1. 1 (= BĀU. 5. 1. 1).

The metrical cadence of the passage is noted by Deussen, Sechzig Upaniṣaden. For the content cf. Deussen, System des Vedānta, p. 298, and Geschichte der Philosophie, I, p. 322.

3. *yad amum* [*agnim*] *ādhāye 'mam ādadhyād apa tad ādadhyād, yad vāve 'mam ādhāyā 'mum ādadhyād apa tad ādadhyāt; tad imam evā 'dhāyā 'the 'mam athā 'muṁ tathā samṛddhā ādhīyate*, 'If, after he has replenished yonder (fire), he were to replenish this (fire), he would replenish wrongly; again, if, after he has replenished this (fire), he were to replenish yonder (fire), he would replenish wrongly; but if this (fire) alone is replenished, then this (fire) and then yonder (fire), in that manner (the fire) is successfully (= rightly) replenished'. MS. 1. 6. 13 (p. 107, 17).

For the subject matter cf. K. 8. 4 (p. 87, 2 ff.).

4. *tad yāni tatra vaiçvadevāni bhavanti tāny uddhṛtyā 'nyāni prājāpatyāny aniruktāni parokṣavaiçvadevāny avadhīyante*, 'These (hymns) to the All Gods having been omitted, others addressed to Prajāpati (and) undefined (i.e. without special indication of

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the divinity to which they are addressed) (and) esoterically addressed to the All Gods are substituted'. KB. 24. 9 (p. 111, 3).

Here and at KB. 18. 3 (p. 79, 20) *trayāṇāṁ triṣṭupchatānāṁ gāyatrīçatam uddhṛtya tāni trīṇi bṛhatīçatāni* (see below, § 75, Ex. 2) the gerund *uddhṛtya* has well nigh assumed the character of an adverb 'excepting, barring', cf. Whitney, Gr. § 994, g; PW. s. *hṛ* + *ud*, no. 4, col. 1533; pw. s. *hṛ* + *ud*, no. 10, p. 256, col. 2.

5. *yad idaṁ kiṁ ca varṣati vṛṣṭād oṣadhayo jāyanta, oṣadhīr jagdhvā 'paḥ pītvā tata etad adbhyo 'dhi payaḥ saṁbhavati*, 'When it rains anywhere here, plants grow from the rain; after the plants have been eaten (and) the water has been drunk, then from the water milk comes into being'. ÇB. 2. 6. 3. 7.

See Ex. 6, Remark.

6. *idaṁ hi yadā varṣaty athau 'ṣadhayo jāyanta, oṣadhīr jagdhvā 'paḥ pītvā tata eṣa rasaḥ saṁbhavati*, 'When it rains here, then plants grow; after the plants have been eaten (and) the water has been drunk, then this sap (= essence) comes into being'. ÇB. 1. 3. 1. 25; 1. 7. 1. 18; 2. 3. 1. 16.

The passages given under Ex. 8 and 9 make it practically certain that *paçavo 'mūlā oṣadhīr mūlinīr jagdhvā 'paḥ pītvā* at ÇB. 2. 3. 1. 10 should be construed as absolute nominative (cf. above § 21, Ex. 1 and § 26, Ex. 6), *tataḥ* having the force of a temporal adverb.

7. *yad eva gārhapatye 'dhiçrityā 'havanīyam abhyuddravet* (the Bibl. Ind. text *abhyuddravan*) *tena tvāṁ prīṇāti*; . . .; *tasmād yad gārhapatye 'dhiçrityā 'havanīyam abhyuddravati vāyum eva tena prīṇāti*, 'If (any milk) should flow toward the Āhavanīya-fire, after (the milk) has been placed on the Gārhapatya-fire, with that (milk) he gratifies thee; . . .; therefore, if (any milk) flows toward the Āhavanīya-fire after (the milk) has been placed on the Gārhapatya-fire, with that (milk) he gratifies Vāyu'. TB. 2. 1. 6. 4.

The absolute gerund *adhiçritya* is semantically equivalent to an absolute locative *adhiçrite*, cf. above § 60, Ex. 145—149.

8. *tasmāt prajā daça māso garbhaṁ bhṛtvai 'kādaçam anu prajāyante*, 'Therefore creatures are born along with (= within) the eleventh month, after the foetus has been carried for ten months'. PB. 6. 1. 3.

Contrast the paratactical construction in the parallel passage JB. 1. 67. 2 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15, p. 177) *tasmāt paçavo daça māso bibhraty* (the mss. *bibhṛtī*; *bibhyatita*; *bibhṛtitam*) *ekādaçam*

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anu prajāyante, 'Therefore animals carry (their foetuses) for ten months; along with the eleventh (month) they are born'.

9. *etasya ha vā idaṁ* [*nidhanam*] *sāmnaḥ kṛtvā* (the mss. *kṛtvo* and *kṛtor*) *varṣati ca parjanya uc ca gṛhṇāti*. 'When this is made (the Nidhana) of this Sāman, Parjanya both rains and holds up'. JB. 1. 117.

In the following examples (Ex. 10—11) it is not certain that the gerund should be construed absolutely:

10. *sa* [*indraḥ*; *13 yajamānaḥ*] *vasīyān eve 'ṣṭvā 'bhavat* (13 *bhavati*), 'After the sacrifice had [has] been made, he (Indra; [the sacrificer] became [becomes] stronger'. ÇB. 5. 5. 4. 11; 13.

In section 11 it is strictly speaking the Açvins who perform the sacrifice for Indra; and in section 13 it is strictly speaking the priests who perform the sacrifice for the *yajamāna*. But it is questionable whether it is fair to press such a strictly logical point of view here. The translation: 'He, having sacrificed became [becomes] stronger' (with *iṣṭvā* as conjunct gerund) would be possible according to the maxim *yaḥ kārayati sa karoti*, 'Facit per alium, facit per se'; cf. G. A. Jacob, *Laukikanyāyāñjaliḥ* / *dvitīyo bhāgaḥ*, A Second Handful of Popular Maxims Current in Sanskrit Literature, Bombay, 1902, p. 35 who refers to Çaṅkara's Commentary on the Brahma Sūtras 1. 2. 11 (p. 180; Deussen's translation, p. 98; Thibaut's translation, SBE. 34, p. 119); and compare Rāmānuja's Commentary to the same passage (Thibaut's translation, SBE. 48, p. 268).

11. *athai 'naṁ* [*putram*] *mātre pradāya stanaṁ prayachati*, '(The father), having handed the (new-born boy) to the mother, offers him (or: she offers him?) her breast' ÇB. 14. 9. 4. 28 (= BĀU. 6. 4. 28 Mādhy. = 27 Kāṇva).

It is not certain whether the father or the mother is the subject of the finite verb *prayachati*. According to PG. 1. 16. 20 the father gives the breast to the child, according to ĀpG. 5. 6. 15. 5 he causes the mother to do so. In the former case the gerund *pradāya* would be used conjunctly, while in the latter case *pradāya* would be an absolute gerund.

Both Böhtlingk and Deussen take the father as subject of the gerund *pradāya* and of the finite verb *prayachati*. Ordinarily √ *yam* + *pra* with *stanam* is used of the mother giving her breast to the babe at JUB. 3. 14. 7; cf. *stanam* with √ *dhā* + *api* ÇB. 2. 2. 1. 1; K. 21. 9 (p. 49, 16); MS. 1. 6. 3 (p. 90, 18); with √ *dhā* + *upa* KB. 13. 2 (p. 58, 10); with √ *dhā* + *prati* AB. 5. 31. 1; 6. 29. 3; and with √ *yam* + *sam* — *prati* GB. 2. 6. 8 (p. 256, 1).

Γ Addition from the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

11 A. *atha yo na pratyāha tam iha vṛṣṭir bhūtvā varṣati*. 'But he who does not answer, him, after he has become rain, he (= the moon) rains (down) here (= upon this earth)'. ÇĀ. 3. 2; KUB. 1. 2.

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The Commentary glosses *vṛṣṭir bhūtva* by *varṣadhārābhāvaṁ prāpya* where *prāpya* may possibly be intended for the causative (Pāṇ. 6. 4. 57). Deussen: 'Hingegen wer ihm (= dem Monde) nicht antworten kann, den läßt er, zu Regen geworden, herabregnen'; Keith: 'Him who answers it (= the moon) not it rains down on earth, becoming itself rain'. There can be no doubt that the sense requires *vṛṣṭir bhūtvā* to be construed with *tam*. ⌋

§ 75. IV. The Main Clause Consists of a Nominal Subject with or without the Substantiva Verb 'to be'.

1. *na pretya saṁjñā 'sti*, 'After (a man) has died there is no (longer) consciousness'. ÇB. 14. 7. 3. 13; 14 (= BĀU. 4. 5. 13; 14).

Cf. Chānd. Up. 8. 11. 1, where the same problem is discussed as in the ÇB. dialogue between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī, *nā 'ha khalv ayam evaṁ* (viz. *yatrai 'tat suptaḥ samastaḥ saṁprasannaḥ svapnaṁ na vijānāti*) *saṁpraty ātmānaṁ jānāty : ayam aham asmī 'ti no eve 'māni bhūtāni*, 'Verily, in such a condition (viz. when one is asleep, completely withdrawn [from all sensations], completely at rest, and has no dreams) such an one is completely unconscious of himself (being no longer conscious of the fact): "This is I" nor is he conscious of (the fact that there are) these (other) beings'.

2. *trayāṇām triṣṭupchatānāṁ gāyatrīçatam uddhṛtya tāni trīṇi bṛhatīçatāni*, 'If one deducts a hundred Gāyatrī (verses) from three hundred Triṣṭubh (verses) three hundred Bṛhatī (verses) are (left)'. KB. 18. 3 (p. 79, 20).

Cf. above § 74, Ex. 4.

3. *evam imāṅ lokānt samāruhyā 'thai 'ṣā gatir eṣā pratiṣṭhā ya eṣa tapati*, 'When one has ascended these worlds, then he who burns here (= the sun) is the goal, he is the firm standing'. ÇB. 1. 9. 3. 10.

Appendix I.

§ 76. At MS. 3. 7. 5 (p. 81, 13) Schroeder's text reads without variant: *vāg vai somakrayaṇī, çāsti vāvai 'nām etat, tasmāt prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā prajāyante.* The parallel passage TS. 6. 1. 7. 4 has: *vāg vā eṣā yat somakrayaṇī, cid asi manā 'sī* (VS. 4. 19) *'ty āha, çāsty evai 'nām etat, tasmāc chiṣṭāḥ prajā jāyante*, 'The cow with which the Soma is bought is (identical with) speech; he says (the formula) VS. 4. 19; thus he instructs her; therefore offspring is born instructed'. Accordingly *sṛṣṭvā* in MS. should be emended to *çiṣṭāḥ*.

For the confusion of *ṛ* and *i* (Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 19, 11, § 16) cf. the Mantra variants:

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prasṛtiḥ MS. 4. 9. 12 (p. 133, 9).	*prasitiḥ* TB. 3. 7. 13. 4; TĀ. 4. 20. 3.
prasṛtiḥ MS. 2. 11. 2 (p. 140, 10); K. 18. 7 (p. 270, 18).	*prasitiḥ* VS. 18. 1; TS. 4. 7. 1. 1.
samṛddham ÇG. 2. 1. 30.	*samiddham* PG. 2. 2. 10; HG. 1. 4. 6; ĀpMB. 2. 2. 11.
nṛṣadvaraḥ AB. 7. 15. 1.	*niṣadvaraḥ* ÇÇ. 15. 19.
gotrabhṛd MS. 3. 11. 1 (p. 140, 1).	*gotrabhid* VS. 20. 38; K. 38. 6 (p. 107. 16).

Similarly:

vṛṣṇaḥ RV. 1. 154. 6; Nir. 2. 7.	*viṣṇoḥ* VS. 6. 3; TS. 1. 3. 6. 2; MS. 1. 2. 14 (p. 23, 17); K. 3. 3 (p. 24, 10).
pīpṛhi MS. 2. 8. 1 (p. 106, 10).	*pīpihi* VS. 14. 2; K. 17. 1 (p. 246, 4).
dadhṛṣy ehi MS. 4. 2. 5 (p. 26, 13); 4. 2. 6 (p. 27, 10).	*dadhiṣa ehi* ĀpÇ. 4. 10. 4.
hṛdvidhe TA. 3. 5. 1; K. 9. 8 (p. 111, 1); ÇÇ. 10. 14. 6.	*hinvidhe* MS. 1. 9. 1 (p. 131, 8); 1. 9. 4 (p. 133, 10); MÇ, 5. 2. 14. 3.

And cf. the confusion of *vṛdh* and *vid*:

vṛdhad K. 40. 10 (p. 144, 14).	*vidad* AV. 1. 20. 1; 5. 3. 6; TB. 3. 7. 5. 13; ĀpÇ. 2. 20. 6.
hotrāvṛdhaḥ TB. 2. 6. 16. 2.	*hotrāvidaḥ* RV. 10. 15. 9; AV. 18. 3. 47; MS. 4. 10. 6 (p. 157, 16).

At AV. 13. 4. 54 the Commentary reads *vṛdhadvasuḥ* while the text has *idadvasuḥ* (corrupted from **vidadvasuḥ*).

For the confusion of *s* and *ç* (above § 59, Ex. 159, Rem., p. 182, 6—8) cf. the Mantra variants:

pariçrutam AV. 20. 127. 9.	*parisrutam* ÇÇ. 12. 17. 1. 3.
pariçritaḥ ĀG. 2. 8. 16.	*parisṛtaḥ* MG. 2. 11. 12; *parisrutaḥ* PG. 3. 4. 4; ĀpMB. 2. 15. 4.

For the faulty insertion of the *v* in *sṛṣṭvā* for *çiṣṭāḥ* cf. the faulty omission of the *v* in TB. 2. 4. 3. 11 *yuktā* for *yuktvā* (RV. 1. 177. 1, etc.).

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Corrections and Additions.

Page 1, line 5, from bottom, read: personis casibus perturbatur.
Page 2, line 13, read: TS. 2. 6. 9. 3.
Page 5, line 1, after KB. 7. 2 insert: (p. 29, 9)
line 5, after KB. 6. 2—9 insert: (p. 23, 7; 11; 16; 22; p. 24, 4; 10; 16; 22).
Page 6, line 23, at the end of § 4 add:
For 'Pendent Cases' compare now the suggestive article of W. Havers, 'Der sog. Nominativus pendens' in IF. 43 (1925), p. 207—275.
Page 8, lines 8 and 7, from bottom, dele: Ex. 23 (ÇB. 5. 1. 3. 13 = 5. 5. 4. 33).
Page 9, line 1, dele: *tad*
line 2, read: § 65, b—c.
Page 11, line 13, after GB. 2. 2. 14 insert: (p. 179, 12)
line 11 from bottom, after 7. 24. 2 and before ÇĀ. 1. 4 add: 8. 8. 5.
line 10, from bottom, at the end of the Remark, add:
For the present force of the aorist *akaran* cf. Whitney, Gr. § 930; Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, § 166, 2, p. 287—289; and below § 60, Ex. 115; § 73, Ex. 14.
line 9, from bottom, read: *'bhyaçrāmyad*
line 6, from bottom, read: *'tiṣṭhan*
line 1, from bottom, after GB. 1. 1. 3 add: (p. 3, 1)
Page 15, line 12, after KB. 18. 3 add: (p. 79, 19)
line 19, read: *dakṣiṇā*
line 26, *ivā 'pakramya* is Gaastra's emendation
line 4, from bottom, read: *parokṣeṇe.*
Page 18, line 14 read: Rāghavendra
line 24 read: appears.
Page 21, line 19 read: *āmuṣyāyaṇam*
line 8—7 and line 3, from bottom, read: *pratitiṣṭheyam.*

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Page 22, line 15, read : *so 'yaṁ.*

Page 23, line 9, after KB. 7. 4 add : (p. 30, 5)

line 13, from bottom, read : Proleptic Accusative

line 5, from bottom, after GB. 2. 2. 1 add : (p. 165, 15) and note that Gaastra's edition gives *saṁṛkṣamāṇaḥ* as the reading of the mss., which she emends to *sisṛksamāṇaḥ* (misprint for *sisṛkṣamāṇaḥ*).

Page 25, line 7, at the end of Ex. 17 add the reference : PB. 22. 17. 2, and the Remark:

Contrast the normal construction at TS. 6. 4. 6. 1 *te devā bibhyata indram upādhāvan.*

line 12, after GB. 1. 3. 15 add : (p. 84, 9).

Page 26, line 17, read : *kṛtvā.*

Page 30, line 13, from bottom, read : (p. 38, 14).

Page 31, line 6, from bottom, read : *varṇam.*

Page 32, line 4, from bottom, after PB. 6. 9. 17 add: (where, with Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 20, *sarvām v ṛddhim* should be read for *sarvān v ṛddhim* of the Bibl. Ind.)

line 1, from bottom, after GB. 1. 3. 15 add : (p. 85, 8).

Page 33, line 7, dele the reference to GB. 2. 1. 12 (p. 152, 11); in this passage *ṛddhyā(i)* is final dative and belongs to the preceding clause, while *ṛdhnoty eva* forms a separate clause.

line 9, after KB. 26. 1 add : (p. 120, 12; 13)

line 10, after KB. 25. 2 add : (p. 112, 13); and after KB. 26. 15 add : (p. 127, 23)

line 20, after KB. 2. 3 add : (p. 5, 15)

after KB. 4. 4 (bis) add : (p. 15, 13; 14)

after KB. 6. 15 (bis) add : (p. 28, 1; 3)

after KB. 7. 1 add : (p. 28, 20)

line 21, after KB. 11. 6 add : (p. 51, 10)

after KB. 13. 1 add : (p. 57, 24)

after KB. 28. 1 (ter) add : (p. 134, 5; 7; 8)

after KB. 29. 6 add : (p. 141, 7)

after GB. 1. 1. 2 add : (p. 2, 12)

after GB. 2. 1. 26 add : (p. 164, 12)

after GB. 2. 2. 18 add : (p. 184, 4)

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line 13, from bottom, read: *agnim ṛdhnoti*
line 12, from bottom, between 1. 7 and *prajāpatim* insert: (p. 150, 2)
line 5, from bottom, after GB. 2. 1. 11 add: (p. 151, 14)
line 4, from bottom, dele the reference to GB. 2. 5. 4 (p. 230, 11) where, with Gaastra, *prajātim* should be read for *prajāpatim* of the mss. and the Bibl. Ind.
After GB. 2. 5. 8 add: (p. 234, 11).

Page 34, line 6, after KB. 25. 3 add: (p. 113, 2)
line 7, after KB. 3. 2 add: (p. 9, 6)
line 13, after GB. 2. 2. 13 add: (p. 179, 10).

Page 35, line 3, after GB. 2. 4. 4 add: (p. 213, 8)
line 10, after GB. 2. 5. 8 add: (p. 234, 7)
line 17, after GB. 1. 2. 2 add: (p. 33, 9)
line 31, after KB. 11. 8 add: (p. 52, 18)
after KB. 27. 6 add: (p. 132, 22)
line 1, from bottom, after GB. 2. 4. 18 add: (p. 226, 5)

Page 36, line 14, after GB. 1. 1. 3 add: (p. 3, 4).

Page 38, line 13, read: fire and touches (the priest)
line 17, add:
The Commentator, glossing *anvārabdhāya* by *upaspṛṣṭavate,* takes the past participle in the active sense; cf. Caland, ZDMG. 53, p. 215 and below § 60 the Introductory Remarks to Ex. 121—123 and Ex. 124—125.
line 7, from bottom, after GB. 1. 1. 32 add: (p. 25, 8)
line 5, from bottom, read: *kiṁ svid.*

Page 40, line 11, read: *tan nānāch-*
line 14, after KB. 18. 3 add: (p. 79, 24).

Page 41, line 6, from bottom, add:
Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 23, also regards *ait* as an error for *et.*

Page 42, line 8, after WZKM. 23, p. 61 add: ZDMG. 72, p. 12.

Page 43, line 16, read: *kāmaye*
line 20, read: *ā 'syā 'rdhaṁ*
line 24 — 30 read: he (Prajāpati) having prepared an ornament of Sthagara for her, having explained the Daçahotṛ-formula in front, the Caturhotṛ-formula in the south, the Pañcahotṛ-formula behind, the Ṣaḍḍhotṛ-formula in the north, (and) the Saptahotṛ-formula above, having adorned (her) face with the Saṁbhāra

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and Patnī-formulas (TA. 3. 9 and 10), — she (Sītā) proceeded to the place of this (Soma).

And add the Remark:

Cf. Caland, on ĀpÇ. 14. 15. 2. 'Für sie machte er nun das Sthagaraschmuckmittel (vgl. Kauç. 35. 21) zurecht; nachdem er vorne die Zehn-, südlich die Vier-, hinten die Fünf-, nördlich die Sechshotṛformel und oberhalb desselben die Siebenhotṛformel hergesagt hatte, schmückte er mit diesem Mittel ihr das Gesicht, indem er die Saṁbhāra- und die Patnīformeln (TA. 3. 9 und 10) darüber hersagte, und so begab sie sich zu ihm (Soma)'.

Page 46, line 25, after 'conditional sentence' add:

AB. *naṣṭā* corresponds in sense to ĀpÇ. 1. 20. 13 *avidyamānāyām* 'when (the wife of the sacrificer) is not present', which the Commentator glosses by *anālambhukatvādinā nimittenā 'saṁnihitāyām abhāve ca tasyāḥ.*

Page 47, line 14, after GB. 1. 1. 1 add : (p. 1, 7)
line 15, after GB. 1. 1. 7 add : (p. 6, 10)
line 17, after GB. 1. 1. 7 add : (p. 6, 12)
line 18, after GB. 1. 1. 7 add : (p. 6, 16)
line 19, after GB. 1. 1. 39 add : (p. 31, 10)
line 21, after GB. 1. 2. 21 add : (p. 59, 4)
line 23, after GB. 1. 2. 21 add : (p. 57, 13)
line 25, after GB. 1. 3. 19 add : (p. 88, 6)
line 26, after GB. 1. 4. 23 add : (p. 110, 16).

Page 50, line 8, after GB. 1. 2. 21 add : (p. 57, 13).

Page 51, line 3, from bottom, read : Geschichte.

Page 53, line 2, from bottom, read : while being.

Page 54, line 15, from bottom, read : *samyañco*
line 14, from bottom, read : *tasthire*
line 12, from bottom, after *çraiṣṭhye* add:

Caland, WZKM. 16, p. 98 emends MS. 2. 2. 6 (p. 19, 13) to *devā anyo 'nyasya çraiṣṭhyāyā 'tiṣṭhamānāç caturdhā vyudakrāman.*

Page 56, line 5, after Ex. 3 add:

3 A. *saṁtatir vā eṣā yajñasya yo 'gnīn anvādhāya vratam upaiti,* 'That is (= guarantees) the continuity of the sacrifice if one undertakes the vow after he has successively put fuel on the fires'. TB. 3. 7. 1. 2

line 13, after *yad ṛtuyājānām anuvaṣaṭkuryād* insert : (GB. *yo 'trā 'nuvaṣaṭkuryād*)

line 20, after GB. 2. 3. 7 add : (p. 193, 14)

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line 25, after GB. 2. 6. 12 add: (p. 262, 2); and add that, according to Gaastra, the var. lect. there is *nyuṅsa* (with dental *s*)

line 5, from bottom, after *ākhanāya* add:

Cf. Darila's *ukhare* for *uṣare* (Caland on Kauç. 39, 25; Altind. Zauberritual, p. 135, note 17). ĀpÇ. 5. 9. 8 *ākhum* in a Yajus for K. 7. 12 (74, 14); 38. 12 (113, 17) <so also MÇ. and Hiraṇy. Ç.> *āçum* seems to be an intentional adaptation to the *ākhukariṣam* of the ritual.

Page 57, line 15, at the end of Ex. 8 add the Remark:

For √ *gā* + *vi* and √ *i* + *vi*, 'penetrate', 'separate', with instrumental and accusative cf. AB. 2. 21. 2 *vācā vajreṇa yajamānasya prāṇān vyagāt* and *vīyāt*; 6. 26. 6 *etābhyāṁ devatābhyāṁ yajamānasya prāṇān vyagāt* and *vīyāt*; PB. 2. 1. 4 *tān [lokān] hiṅkāreṇa vyeti* (Commentary: = *vigamayati, viyuktān karoti*); 14. 6. 6 *ṛtenā 'gnim vyayāva*; K. 19. 5 (p. 6, 8) *agninā vai devā idam agre vyāyan*; and KB. 13. 9 (p. 61, 3) *prāṇānt sa vyagāt.*

line 18, after KB. 12. 7 add: (p. 56, 23)

line 29, after KB. 13. 9 add: (p. 61, 2); and add the Remark:

For *prāṇān asya vyagāt* cf. § 29, Ex. 8, Rem., **Corrections and Additions** to p. 57, 15.

line 33, after KB. 23. 6 add: (p. 106, 1).

Page 58, line 4, read: KB. 9. 4 (p. 43, 1)

line 17, after *āpāti* add:

Dr. Siegling had the kindness to collate the Berlin mss. of the KB. Lindner's B, b, and K read *āpāti* and so does Chambers 253. The PW. s. *pat* + *ā* (col. 397, 41) has correctly *āpāti*. Keith's *āpäti* (HOS. 25, p. 76, no. 21) should be corrected. Whitney, Roots etc., s. √ *pat* (p. 94, 5) gives the form correctly with long *ā*, but it is not listed by him Gr. § 844.

The context would lead one to expect *āpādi*, cf. KB. 10. 3 (p. 46, 7) *agnīṣomayor vā eṣa āsyam āpadyate yo dīkṣate*; ÇB. 1. 6. 4. 18 *so 'sya vyāttam āpadyate* (Commentary: *vivṛtaṁ mukham prāpnoti*); 3. 6. 2. 20 *sa eteṣāṁ vyāttam āpadyeta* (Commentary: *vivṛtaṁ mukhaṁ praviçet*).

An outright correction of KB. *āpāti* to *āpādi* could be supported by numerous instances of a confusion of *t* and *d*; thus (a) AV. 4. 17. 6 *anapadyatām* should, as suggested in the PW. and in spite of Weber's defense (Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Ak., 1896, p. 272), be emended to *anapatyatām*, as is done in Shankar Pandit's edition on the authority of three mss. and of the Commentary *(apatyarāhityam)*; cf. Whitney's and Bloomfield's notes. (b) For AV. 3. 7. 1 *raghuṣyadaḥ* ĀpÇ. 13. 7. 6 and, according to Caland's note also Bhār. and Hir. read *raghuṣyataḥ* (but two mss. of ĀpÇ. have *d*). (c) For RV. 8. 6. 24 *pradīdayat* TB. 2. 7. 13. 2 with the Commentary reads *pratīdayat* (one ms. *pratīdayan*). (d) For AV. 7. 14. 2 = VS. 4. 25 etc. *adi-*

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dyutat VSK. 4. 8. 3 reads *atidyutat.* (e) For RV. 9. 82. 3 *utā 'saran* SV. 2. 667 reads *udāsaran.* (f) For RV. 1. 115. 3 = MS. 4. 10. 2 (p. 147, 3) *etagvāḥ* TB. 2. 8. 7. 1 with the Commentary reads *edagvāḥ.* (g) For RV. 6. 21. 2 etc. *pārāvataghnīm* TB. 2. 8. 2. 8 with the Commentary reads *pārāvadaghnīm.* (h) For SV. 1. 458 *citā goḥ* (AV. 7. 22. 2 *cite goḥ*) ĀpÇ. 21. 9. 15 reads *cidā goḥ.* (i) For RV. 6. 17. 2 etc. *tarutraḥ* Varadāp. Up. 2. 2 reads *tarudraḥ.* (j) For VS. 21. 30 = TB. 2. 6. 11. 1 *pathā madhumatā bharan* MS. 3. 11. 2 (p. 141, 5) reads *pathā madhumad ābharan.* (k) For TS. 5. 5. 17. 1 *pitvaḥ* VS. 24. 32 and MS. 3. 14. 13 (p. 175, 4) read *pidvaḥ* (KAçv. 7, 7, p. 180, 12 *bidvaḥ*). (l) For VS. 19. 4 etc. *mayandaṁ chandas* MS. 2. 8. 2 (p. 107, 17) and MG. 6. 2. 1 read *mayantaṁ chandas.* (m) For ĀÇ. 4. 7. 4 = ÇÇ. 5. 10. 8 *purutamāsaḥ* AV. 7. 73. 1 reads *purudamāsaḥ*; cf. Whitney's note and Roth, ZDMG. 48, p. 107, 17. (n) For RV. 3. 31. 6 etc. *vidad yadī saramā* TB. 2. 5. 8. 10 (with the Commentary which glosses *yatī* by *āyatī, indreṇa preṣitā*) and ĀpÇ. 12. 15. 6 read *vidad yatī saramā.* (o) For TS. 4. 4. 12. 4 = ĀÇ. 4. 12. 2 *devy avatu* MS. 3. 16. 4 (p. 189, 1) reads *tevy avatu.* (p) For AV. 14. 1. 45 etc. *antān abhito 'dadanta* SMB. 1. 1. 5 reads *antān abhito* (sic) *tatantha*; and PG. 1. 4. 13 *tantūn abhito* (sic) *tatantha*; cf. Roth, ZDMG. 48, p. 108 and Lanman's note in Whitney's AV. translation. (q) For AV. 12. 2. 9 *dṛṅhantam* an emendation to *tṛṅhantam* is suggested by Roth, ZDMG. 48, p. 107, (r) On *çakṛdā* for *çakṛtā* cf. Caland on Kauç. 26. 22; Altind. Zauberritual, p. 76; and on 80. 20; ZDMG. 53, p. 220.

But such an outright correction of KB. *āpāti* to *āpādi* is perhaps not necessary, for confusion of the roots *pat* and *pad* is occasionally met with; thus (a) For TB. 3. 7. 11. 2 = ĀpÇ. 3. 11. 2 = 9. 12. 1 = 9. 15. 23 *atipādayāni* AÇ. 3. 13. 18 with the Commentary reads *atipātayāni.* (b) For MS. 2. 1. 10 (p. 11, 17) *bahu vā eṣa vratam atipādayati ya āhitāgniḥ san pravasati* the parallel passage GB. 2. 1. 14 (p. 153, 2) without variant reads *atipātayati.* (c) For ÇB. 13. 5. 2. 2 *mahiṣīm açvāyo 'panipādayanti* ÇÇ. 16. 3. 33 and AÇ. 10. 8. 9 with the Commentary read *upanipātayanti* (PW.). (d) For RV. 10. 165. 5 = MG. 2. 17. 1 < and so also AV. Paipp. and the AV. Commentary > *pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ* AV. 6. 28. 1 reads *pra padāt pathiṣṭhaḥ*; cf. Whitney's note. (e) For TB. 1. 2. 4. 2; PB. 4. 5. 11; K. 33. 6 (p. 31, 9) *atipādāt* AB. 4. 18. 5 with the Commentary reads *atipātāt.* (f) For TB. 1. 2. 4. 2; PB. 4. 5. 9; K. 33. 6 (ter, p. 31, 8; 14; 20) *avapādāt* AB. 4. 18. 5; 6; 4. 19. 3 reads *avapātāt*; and note that the Commentary to both TB. and PB. glosses *avapādāt* by *adhaḥpātanāt.* (g) For K. 33. 6 (bis, p. 31, 17 and 32, 1); PB. 4. 5. 12 *anavapādāya* AB. 4. 19. 3 reads *anavapātāya*; and note that the Commentary to PB. glosses *anavapādāya* by *adhaḥpātanaṁ na bhavati.*

Under these circumstances KB. *āpāti* may be an old error. An impersonal third singular of the passive aorist *ăpāti* is cited by the PW. s. *pat* (col. 393, 31) from the Bhaṭṭikāvya 15. 27 (Bombay ed. p. 164 = Calcutta ed. p. 223) *nyapaptan musale gṛdhrā dīptayā 'pāti co 'lkayā.*

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Page 58, line 18, read: *kūṭena*

line 25, read: "With these two divinities . . .

line 27, after Ex. 17 add the Remark:

For *etābhyāṁ devatābhyāṁ yajamānasya prāṇān vyagāt* cf. § 29, Ex. 8, Rem., **Corrections and Additions** to p. 57, 15.

Page 59, line 9, after KB. 7. 9 add: (p. 33, 9)

line 20, at the end of the Remark to Ex. 21 add:

The PW. s. 2 *bhūman* (col. 348, 2—4) assumes on the strength of this passage a feminine *bhūman* 'Versammlung' (Commentary = *sabhā*), and Wackernagel refers to J. Schmidt, Pluralbildung, p. 96 f. where the originally feminine gender of oxytone abstracts in *-mán* is assumed.

line 24, after KB. 17. 1 add: (p. 75, 8).

Page 63, line 13, from bottom add to Note 1:

In general, for the sequence: water, plants, fruit, food, seed, man, cf. KB. 2. 7 (p. 6, 6) *te* [*devāḥ*] *'pām ūrdhvaṁ rasam udauhaṅs, tā oṣadhayaç ca vanaspatayaç ca samabhavann, oṣadhīnāṁ ca vanaspatīnāṁ co 'rdhvaṁ rasam udauhaṅs, tat phalam abhavat, phalasyo 'rdhvaṁ rasam udauhaṅs, tad annam abhavad, annasyo 'rdhvaṁ rasam udauhaṅs, tad reto 'bhavad, retasa ūrdhvaṁ rasam udauhant, sa puruṣo 'bhavat*, 'They (the gods) lifted upward the essence of the waters, that became the plants and trees; they lifted upward the essence of the plants and trees, that became fruit; they lifted upward the essence of fruit, that became food; they lifted upward the essence of food, that became seed; they lifted upward the essence of seed, that became man.'

Page 67, line 22, read: ÇB. 9. 5. 1. 57

line 22—27. With reference to the irregularly accented oxytones *abhyājñāyá*, *nirjyāyá*, and *aturmuhyá* Wackernagel notes: 'Mit MS. *aturmuhyá* ist überhaupt nichts anzufangen. Und kann *nṛjyāyáṁ jīnāti* wirklich bedeuten "Menschenschindung ausübt"? Kann *nṛjyāyá* nicht vielmehr "Menschenschinder" bedeuten, wo dann die Oxytonese zu Recht bestünde? Also bleibt *abhyājñāyá* als einzig sichere Stelle mit falsch betontem Verbalabstractum; Accente aber in der zweiten Hälfte des ÇB. haben keine Autorität.'

Page 71, line 1, from bottom, after *kāryā* add:

For the thought cf. K. 10. 6 (p. 131, 3) where according to Caland's conjecture (ZDMG. 72, p. 14) *agnaye surabhimate 'ṣṭākapālaṁ nirvaped yam apramītaṁ* (Schroeder's text without *apramītaṁ*) *pramītaṁ çṛṇuyuḥ* should be read; ĀpÇ. 9. 11. 17 *yady apramītaṁ pramītam upaçṛṇuyuḥ* (Commentary: *amṛtaṁ mṛtam upaçrutya*).

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Page 74, line 1, read: The Disjunct Accusative.

Page 76, line 2, from bottom, after GB. 1. 1. 39 add: (p. 31, 12).

Page 81, line 4, between Ex. 1 and 2 insert:

1 A. *yathā 'gnim samiddham tam ghṛtenā* (and *tam udakenā*) *'bhiṣiñcet* . . ., 'The kindled fire,—as if he were to sprinkle that with Ghee (with water)'. ÇB. 2. 2. 2. 19.

line 18, read: *prajvalayet*

line 3, from bottom, after KB. 18. 12 add: (p. 83, 4).

Page 83, line 3, from bottom, read: *idam no.*

Page 85, line 20—21, read: 'When this (Agnihotra) was being offered'

line 2, from bottom, after K. 8. 7 (bis, p. 87, 3 and 5) add:

K. 19. 11 (p. 13, 5) *asurāṇām vā ime lokā āsaṅs, te devā viṣṇum abruvan: yāvad ayam kumāro vikramate tāvan no datte 'ti*, 'These worlds belonged to the Asuras; these gods said (to the Asuras) with regard to Viṣṇu: "As much as this boy bestrides so much give us"'; cf. Caland on ĀpÇ. 4. 14. 8 'Da sprachen die Götter zu Viṣṇu (d. h. wohl: zu den Asuras mit Bezug auf Viṣṇu).'

Page 86, line 1, after GB. 2. 3. 7 add: (p. 193, 15)

line 15, read: RV. 10. 19. 1

line 18, read: RV. 10. 19

line 20, after KB. 13. 8 add: (p. 60, 12)

line 2, from bottom, note 1, add:

Wackernagel notes: '*Pratikāminam* gehört mit AV. 19. 9. 4 *parameṣṭhínam* und RV. 10. 66. 9 *vanínāni* zusammen; die Nomina auf *-in-* waren in der älteren Sprache (und zum Teil auch noch später) in erster Linie für persönliche Begriffe üblich und daher sind spezielle Neutralformen selten belegt; Lanman, p. 542, verzeichnet aus RV. und AV. im ganzen nur vier Formen auf *-i* (denn *ubhayāhastī* ist anderer Art) und keine neutralen Dual- und Pluralformen auf *-inī*, bez. *-īni*; die obigen Formen auf *-ínam, -ināni* stellen Versuche dar, auf anderem Wege Neutralformen zu gewinnen. Daran scheint KB. *pratikāminam* angeschlossen werden zu dürfen.'

Page 87, line 2, after KB. 18. 3 add: (p. 79, 24)

line 13, after KB. 30. 5 add: (p. 144, 3).

Page 88, line 8, from bottom, after KB. 10. 5 add: (p. 47, 24).

Page 89, line 18, after KB. 27. 1 add: (p. 129, 18)

line 6, from bottom, after GB. 1. 1. 1 add: (p. 1, 6)

line 5, from bottom, after GB. 1. 1. 2 add: (p. 2, 1).

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Page 92, line 11, from bottom, read : breathe in and breathe out regularly during . . .
line 7 and line 5, from bottom, read: *grīṣmahemantābhyāṁ.*

Page 93, line 6, from bottom, read : *evā 'çiṣam.*

Page 95, line 25, read : *nīryamāṇād.* And add:

The translation takes *nīryamāṇa* as passive of the causative of √ *īr* + *ni* (Whitney, Roots etc., p. 10 and 238); cf. KÇ. 7. 2. 26 *samīkṣyamāṇām* 'caused to be looked at', passive of the causative of √ *īkṣ* + *sam*, on account of ÇB. 3. 3. 1. 11 *athai 'nāṁ somakrayaṇyā saṁkhyāpayati*; K. 24. 4 (p. 93, 18) *somakrayaṇyā patnīṁ saṁkhyāpayati*; MS. 3. 7. 7 (p. 84, 8) *yat somakrayaṇyā patnīṁ saṁkçāpayati*; and cf. below § 59, Ex. 231 Rem. on *vīryeta.*

line 7, from bottom, read : *saṁrejante.*

Page 96, line 5, from bottom, read : from his womb.

Page 97, line 17, after GB. 1. 1. 11 add : (p. 9, 10)
line 20, after GB. 1. 1. 5 add : (p. 5, 1)

Page 99, line 9, after KB. 6. 1 add : (p. 22, 23).

Page 100, line 12, from bottom, after Ex. 1, K. 8. 11 (p. 95, 3) add the Remark:

The exact meaning of *(an)ānīta* is uncertain. Caland on ĀpÇ. 6. 29. 2 renders *devānām ānītaḥ* in the passage K. 12. 7 (p. 169, 20) = 10. 5 (p. 129, 13) = 8. 11 (p. 95, 9) *ānīto vā eṣa devānāṁ ya āhitāgnir, adanty asyā 'nnam,* 'Wer seine Feuer gegründet hat, ist von den Göttern akzeptiert (?), sie essen seine Speise'.

line 7, from bottom, after GB. 1. 1. 4 add : (p. 4, 3).

Page 103 after the last line from bottom add :

āptam AV. 5. 2. 7	*āptyam* RV. 10. 120. 6; AV. 20. 107 9; Nir. 11. 21
kauṣṭha K. 38. 12 (p. 116, 8)	*kauṣṭhya* TA. 6. 5. 2; ĀpÇ. 16, 6. 4; MÇ. 6. 1. 2
tad TS. 4. 7. 15. 7; ĀÇ. 6. 22. 1; HG. 1. 8. 3	*tyad* RV. 4. 12. 6; 10. 126. 8; MS. 3. 16. 5 (p. 192, 9); 4. 11. 1 (p. 161, 11); K. 2. 15 (p. 21, 16); 9. 19 (p. 123, 16).
varuṇād ĀpÇ. 7. 21. 6; LÇ. 2. 2. 11	*varuṇyād* RV. 10. 97. 6; AV. 6. 96. 2; 7. 112. 2; VS. 12. 90

Page 104, line 16, from bottom, at the end of the Remark to § 48, Ex. 8, add :

ÇB. 4. 1. 5. 3 *çāryata* corresponds to JB. 3. 121—122 (JAOS. 26, p. 58) *çāryatya.*

Instead of MS. 3. 8. 4 (p. 98, 20; Schroeder's text *nirvaske*, var. lect. *nirvarske*); ĀpÇ. 10. 20. 6; KÇ. 22. 3. 5 *nirvraska* all the mss. of Rudra-

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datta's Commentary on ĀpÇ. and the Vaijayantī read *nirvraskya*, Hir.Ç. *atipravraskya*, cf. Caland on ĀpÇ. 10. 20. 6 and ZDMG. 72, p. 9, 35—38.

Instead of *ṛtviya (ṛtviya)* Āpastamba (ĀpÇ. 3. 1. 8; 8. 4. 6; ĀpDh. 2. 2. 5. 17) reads *ṛtva*, cf. Bühler, SBE. 2, p. XIV; Garbe, Preface to ĀpÇ. p. VII.

ĀpÇ. 16. 34. 4 erroneously (Bloomfield, AJPh. 27, p. 415) reads *annamadhyehi* for *annamad dhehi*, for K. 40. 5 (p. 169, 6) *annavad dhehi*.

Page 105, line 10, after GB. 2. 6. 11 add: (p. 261, 1). And after 'of the Bibl. Ind.' add: and Gaastra's text.

Page 106, line 11, from bottom, after GB. 1. 1. 1 add: (p. 1, 5).

Page 107, line 31, after KB. 6. 2—9 add: (p. 23, 7; 11; 16; 22; p. 24, 4; 10; 16; 22).

Page 108, line 2, after KB. 7. 2 add: (p. 29, 9).

Page 109, line 3, from bottom, after KB. 30. 5 add: (p. 144, 9).

Page 111, line 10, from bottom, at the end of the Remark to Ex. 11, after 'below Ex. 27' add: and § 60, Ex. 81 A., Rem.

Page 113, line 24, read: *kṛtam*

line 26, after ApÇ. 14. 30. 3 add:

And cf. also PB. 4. 1. 9 where *ṣaṭ kratūn* of the Bibl. Ind. should be emended to *ṣaḍ ṛtūn* (Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 19, 40) and ĀpÇ. 10. 25. 1 where *devebhyaḥ kratūn* should be emended to *devebhya ṛtūn* (Caland's note).

line 29, last word, read: *hotṛkāṇām*.

Page 116, line 24, read: Kāty.

Page 117, line 15, read: *anuvisṛjya.*

Page 117, line 20, after *tad eva . . . jahe* insert:

KB. 7. 4 (p. 30, 6) *sa ha sa āso 'lo vārṣṇivṛddha itan vā kāvyaḥ çikhaṇḍī vā yājñaseno yo vā sa āsa sa sa āsa*, 'This (bird) was either Ūla Vārṣṇivṛddha, or Itant Kāvya, or Çikhaṇḍin Yājñasena, or he was whoever he was'.

Page 118, line 9, read: *yaças*

line 12, from bottom, after JB. 1. 123 add: (Caland, Auswahl, p. 30)

line 9, from bottom, after JB. 1. 135 add: (Caland, Auswahl, p. 38).

Page 122, line 8, from bottom, after JAOS. 18, p. 42 add: (Caland, Auswahl, p. 261).

Page 128, line 15—16, read: when it is being collected.

Page 129, line 10 and line 11 read: KB. 26. 11 instead of 30. 11.

Page 130, line 14, from bottom, after '. . . . puts outside of him' add:

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Cf. the Brāhmaṇa quotation *(vijñāyate)* at ĀpÇ. 21. 1. 9 *yad asyā 'ṅgānāṁ mīyate juhoty eva tat.*

Page 131, line 6, after *mayy asti* add:

And cf. Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 8, 32—35; p. 9.

Page 133, line 17, after *tādṛço jāyate* add the note:

This view differs from ÇB. 6. 6. 1. 6 *yādṛg vai yonau retaḥ sicyate tādṛg jāyate*; 7. 4. 1. 1 *yādṛçād vai jāyate tādṛññ eva bhavati* (cf. Bṛhat Saṁh. 75. 2) where the character of the being which is to be born simply depends on the seed which is cast.

line 27, read: *prāṇo.*

Page 134, line 20, at the end of the Remark to Ex. 5, after *putro jajñe* add:

K. 26. 1 (p. 122, 7) *ahrītamukhy asyā* (cf. Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 12) *jāyate*; PB. 8. 7. 11 *mana* (the Commentary = *manasvinaṁ putram*) *evā 'syā* (read *asyai*, Caland on ĀpÇ. 13. 15. 11) *taj janayanti.*

Page 138, line 14, from bottom, after 'MS. 1. 4. 12 (p. 62, 6) etc.' add: *pūrṇaṁ me mo 'padasat*, AG. 2. 2. 3

line 11, from bottom, after JB. 3. 220 add: (Caland, Auswahl, p. 302, s. Kāṇvāyana).

Page 141, line 13, from bottom, after JB. 2. 372 add: (Caland, Auswahl, p. 208).

Page 142, line 11, from bottom, read: MS. 2. 1. 11 (p. 12, 19).

Page 146, line 8, from bottom, after 2. 9. 9 add:

TS. 1. 5. 8. 4; TB. 2. 2. 3. 5; 2. 2. 11. 1; 2; MS. 1. 9. 8 (p. 140, 6); 1. 8. 3 (p. 118, 12; 13); 3. 7. 9 (p. 89, 5—6); TB. 3. 8. 13. 3; TS. 7. 1. 8. 1 (bis); TB. 3. 9. 22. 2; K. 8. 7 (p. 91, 2); TS. 5. 3. 4. 6 (bis); 7; TB. 1. 3. 2. 4 (ter); TS. 7. 4. 5. 4; PB. 25. 7. 4 (where *ai 'ṣāṁ* should be read for *eṣāṁ* of the Bibl. Ind.; Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 23); MS. 3. 1. 9 (p. 12, 2) where *kāmáyetá 'sya* should be read; Caland, ZDMG. 72, p. 7).

Page 149, line 8, read: (below, § 59, Ex. 181).

Page 150, line 4, from bottom, read: *juhoti.*

Page 152, line 6, after *aprayate* add:

TB. 2. 1. 2. 12 *yathā 'tithaye pradrutāya . . . āhāryaṁ haranti* might also be cited in favour of Weber's view.

Page 154, line 19, read: MS. 3. 2. 3 (p. 18, 5).

Page 155, line 3—4, read: *bhūtvā*

line 8, read: (month).

Page 161, line 3, read: KB. 12. 4 (p. 55, 3).

Page 163, line 12, from bottom, read: JB. 2. 269.

Page 164, line 19, read: anomalous

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line 5, from bottom, read: *vaiçvānarāya*
line 3, from bottom, read: K. 13. 3 (p. 182, 18).

Page 165, line 23, at the end of the Remark to Ex. 57 after "Locative of Time" add: And cf. *vaṣaṭkāre*, § 60, Ex. 34, p. 204, 26.

Page 166, line 16, read: TS. 6. 4. 11. 2.

Page 169, line 4, from bottom, read: . . . arrived; he . . .

Page 170, line 16, at the end of the Remark to Ex. 86, add:

The translation 'As (an embryo) is born' follows the Commentator's *yathā loke saṁvatsareṇa pūrṇo garbho kāle sukhena jāyate*. But as *vijāyate*, passively used, does not appear to occur elsewhere in the older prose Wackernagel suggests the rendering: 'As (a wife) is (properly) delivered'. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 388, p. 19—20, renders 'wie man sich fortpflanzt'.

Page 171, line 10 read: *anāgataṁ*
line 5, from bottom, read: *çaiçirayor*.

Page 176, line 8, read: Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 103.

Page 181, line 19, (Ex. 155), read: 2. 431.

Page 184, line 30, read: Syntax.

Page 186, line 10, from bottom, note 1, read: instead. And at the end of note 1 add:

Wackernagel notes: '*āpīya-*, *ātmīya-* sind gegenüber *āpya-*, *ātmya-* doch gewiß sekundär, und wiederum das *-eya-* der MS. und der Kap. S. gegenüber dem *-īya-* des K. Verstehe ich recht, so führen Ekata, Dvita und Trita sowohl die Bezeichnung als Ātmyas als die als Āpyas. Das scheint auf folgendes zu führen:

Indo-iran. **ātpyá-* (awest. *āϑwya-*)

aind. *ātmyá-* aind. *āptyá-*

aind. *āpyá-*

d. h. das ererbte Wort **ātpyá-* wurde einerseits durch Ersatz des *p* mit *m*, andererseits durch Metathese des *tp* zu *pt* dem indischen Wortschatz angepaßt; diese Anpassung ist alsdann in der Form *āpya-* noch weiter durchgeführt'.

Page 189, line 7, from bottom, read: *dakṣiṇā*.

Page 196, line 22, read: 'as it . . .

Page 201, line 25, read: . . . the east'.

Page 203, line 6, from bottom, read: *vaṣaṭkṛte*.

Page 208, line 21, at the end of the Remark to Ex. 56, add:

In favour of the nominative *vyākhyātaḥ*, 'one to whom something has been explained' Wackernagel cites *namaskṛta* 'one to whom honour has

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been paid' to √ *kṛ* and *namas* with dative, and *nipṛta* 'one to whom the Manes offering has been offered', to √ 1 *pṛ* + *ni* with dative; but the Commentary to ĀÇ. 2. 7. 1 (the only passage where *nipṛta* occurs) *nipṛtān anumantrayeta* interprets *nipṛta* as 'offered as (or in the manner of) a Manes offering', supplying *piṇḍān* and contrasting *nipṛtān* with *hutān* (*nipūrtān eva piṇḍān anumantrayate na hutān ity evam artham nipṛtān ity ucyate*). For other peculiar uses of the past participle cf. § 60, Ex. 115, Rem., p. 221—222.

Page 208, after line 6, from bottom, add:

< *2 gā* 'sing' + *vi* >

57 A. *ā vā etat patny* (the mss. *paty*) *udgātuḥ* (var. lect. *gātuṁ*) *prajāṁ datte yad vigīte* (var. lect. *virgīte*) *sāman saṁkhyāpayanti*, 'In that they cause (the wife) to be looked at (by the Udgātṛ-priest) when the Sāman is partly sung thereby the wife takes for herself offspring from the Udgātṛ-priest'. JB. 1. 173.

Caland, on ĀpÇ. 13. 15. 9, renders: 'Indem man, wenn das Sāman zum Teile gesungen ist, die beiden sich gegenseitig anblicken läßt, nimmt sie die Nachkommenschaft des Udgātṛ weg'.

For the ablatival genitive with √ *dā* + *ā* cf. above § 49, Ex. 11 and 27, and e. g. K. 37. 11 (p. 92, 12—13) *etābhir vai devatābhis sāyujyena devā asurāṇāṁ rāṣṭram ādadatai 'tābhir eva devatābhis sāyujyena bhrātṛvyād rāṣṭram ādāya* . . .; the details of this variation between genitive and ablative will be discussed under **Genitive with Verbs of Separation.**

With *saṁkhyāpayanti* the accusative *patnīm* and the instrumental *udgātrā* should be supplied; cf. the Yajus *udgātrā patnīṁ* (ÇB. 4. 4. 2. 17 and KÇ. 10. 6. 20 omit *patnīm*) *saṁkhyāpaya* ĀpÇ. 13. 14. 11 (Caland: 'Laß die Herrin des Hauses mit dem Udgātṛ Blicke wechseln'), and TS. 6. 5. 8. 6 *udgātrā* [*patnīm*] *saṁkhyāpayati, prajāpatir vā eṣa yad udgātā, prajānāṁ prajananāya*; ÇB. 4. 2. 2. 18 *tām* [*patnīm*] *udgātrā saṁkhyāpayati*; PB. 8. 7. 12 *udgātrā patnīḥ saṁhhyāpayanti, retodheyāya*; K. 26. 1 (p. 122, 4) *udgātrā patnīṁ saṁkhyāpayati* < Differently MS. 4. 5. 4 (p. 68, 5) *saṁkçāpyamāno vā udgātā patnyā retā ādatte* where an emendation to *saṁkçāpyamānā vā udgātrā patny ā reto datte* might be suggested. > Similarly ÇB. 3. 3. 1. 11 *athai 'nāṁ* (and *tasmād enāṁ*) [*patnīm*] *somakrāyaṇyā saṁkhyāpayati*; K. 24. 4 (p. 93, 18) *somakrayaṇyā patnīṁ saṁkhyāpayati*; MS. 3. 7. 7 (p. 84, 8) *yat somakrayaṇyā patnīṁ saṁkçāpayanti.*

For *vigīte* cf. ṢB. 2. 1. 11 *yasya vai dhuro vigītās tasya saṁgītāḥ*. 12. *yasya vā etā bahiṣpavamāne vigīyā 'ntarā 'jyeṣu saṁgāyanti tasya vai dhuro vigītās tasya saṁgītāḥ*, where the Commentary glosses *vigītāḥ* by *pṛthag gītāḥ*; and JB. 1. 262 (in fine) *tad āhur: vigeyā dhurā3 na vigeyā3 iti, vigeyā ity āhuḥ*; 266 . . . *ya evaṁ vidvān dhuro na vigāyatī 'ti, sa yadi*

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vigāyed ado vidvān vigāyed. yady u na vigāyed idaṁ vidvān na vigāyet; 318 *tāṁ hai 'tām eke paṅktiṁ vigāyanti, . . ., tad u ho 'vāca çāṭyāyanir: ya etāṁ vigāyanti tata idaṁ garbhā muhyanti . . ., tad āhus: savādya* (?) *dhuro vigāyed ya enās saṁgātuṁ vidyād iti, tad dhai 'ka āhur: bahiṣpavamāne vāva vayaṁ vigāyantas saṁgāyāmaḥ . . . iti, . . . atha hai 'ka āhur: ājyeṣv eva vayaṁ vigāyantas saṁgāyāma iti;* 320 *ardhukam asmai svāyāṁ janatāyāṁ bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān dhuro na vigāyātī 'ti, tasmād yadī 'tarā dhuro vigāyed vy evā 'jyadhuraç ca pavamānadhuraç ca gāyed iti, tad u ho 'vāca çāṭyāyanir: vikarṣanta ete dhuro ye vigāyanti . . . iti.*

Page 211, last line from bottom, read : *gṛhe.*

Page 214, line 11, at the end of the Remark to Ex. 80, add :

Wackernagel queries: 'Käme nicht auch die Übersetzung "Mißgeschick mit einem Mißgeschick begleiten" in Betracht? Sie steht allerdings mit dem Kommentar in Widerspruch'.

Page 217, line 4, read : $\sqrt{}$ *1 pā.*

Page 221, between lines 11 and 12 add :

For the present function of the aorist *akaḥ* cf. Whitney Gr. § 930; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 166, 2 (p. 287—289); and above § 9, Ex. 3; below § 73, Ex. 14.

Page 222, line 22, read : *vaiçvadevaṁ.*

Page 225, line 3, from bottom, at the end of note 2, add :

Wackernagel notes: 'In der klassischen (aber, wie es scheint noch nicht in der epischen) Sprache wird überhaupt *anv-iṣyati* für *anv-icchati* gebraucht; die Bedeutung "senden" war klassisch bei *iṣyati* nur mit *pra* lebendig geblieben, cf. PW'.

Page 226, line 27, add :

(12) At JB. 2. 26 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 131) *anu mām ātape 'ti pṛthivī prāyacchat kṣemaṁ ca vimokaṁ cā, 'tha hā 'paḥ çreyasīr menire, tāḥ prati vayam ātapāma iti yātrāṁ ca prayāṁ ca prāyacchan*, 'The earth bestowed on him (= Āditya) rest and unyoking (saying): "Heat me all along"; then the waters considered themselves better; they bestowed on him journeying and going-forth (saying): "We will heat (viz. with the reflected rays of the sun) toward thee"', *kṣema* is combined with *vimoka*, and both are contrasted with *yātrā* and *prayā*.

Page 230, line 11, from bottom, read: Besitz.

Page 231, line 23, read : *yogakṣemaḥ.*

Page 232, line 6, from bottom, add to the Remark :

In view of the parallel passage TS. 3. 4. 10. 3—4 (above, Ex. 115) *yad yukte juhuyād yathā prayāte vastāv āhutiṁ juhoti tādṛg eva tat* and the Commentator's gloss *ubhayayoge hi prayāṇasya niṣpannatvān nā 'yaṁ prayāsyan bhavati* it may be queried whether the reading of MS. should not be emended to *na sarveṣu yukteṣu hotavyam, avāstau juhuyāt*, 'The oblation should not be offered when all (the animals) are yoked, for so

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he would offer the oblation in a place which is no (longer) a homestead'; MS. *avāstau* would then be equivalent to TS. *prayāte vāstau* (Comment. *ayajñadeçe laukike*).

Page 241, line 28 (left column) read: GB. 2. 5. 5

line 5, from bottom, after (below, § 62, Ex. 20) add:

KB. 13. 1 (p. 57, 23) *atisṛjante* but GB. 2. 2. 18 (p. 184, 2) *atisṛjanti*.

Page 245, line 5, from bottom, read: *parisārakam*

line 3, from bottom, read: "Parisāraka"

Page 257, line 3, from bottom, read: 'the Āçvina-cup . . .

Page 263, last line from bottom, read: (p. 55, 3; 6).

Page 272, line 8, read: MS. 3. 6. 10 (p. 73, 15).

Page 274, line 13, from bottom, read: Çāñkh. Ār.

Page 282, line 7, from bottom, read: *tāyamāneṣu*.

Page 287, line 13, read: *rājñi*.

Page 288, line 8, read: K. 10. 11 (p. 139, 2).

Page 289, line 7, from bottom, read: *çasyamānāyām*.

Page 290, line 21, read: etc.

Page 293, line 25, read: (AB. 2. 15. 4; Ex. 2).

Page 301, line 9, from bottom, read: 'one . . .

Page 311, after line 8, add the Remark:

For the present force of the aorist *pratyavāgrahīt* cf. Whitney, Gr. § 930; Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 166, 2, p. 287–289, and above § 9, Ex. 3; § 60, Ex. 115. As Whitney notes, the MS. is especially fond of this use of the aorist, more than three hundred instances being found in this text. At MS. 1. 5. 10 (p. 79, 3); 1. 5. 11 (p. 79, 10 and 17); and 2. 3. 2 (p. 29. 4) the *avārunddha* of Schroeder's text should be emended to *avāruddha*, and this should be read at MS. 3. 7. 1 (p. 75, 17) for Schroeder's *avăraddha*; and at MS. 3. 1. 4 (p. 5, 3) Schroeder's *avindat* should be emended to *avidat*.

Page 312, line 5, from bottom, after K. 8. 4 (p. 87, 12 ff.) add:

Literally *apa tad ādadhyāt* is 'he would thus take (the fuel) away (from the fire)'. Cf. KB. 9. 6 (p. 44, 9—10) *net prāṇād ātmānam apādadhāni*; KB. 17. 7 (p. 77, 22); 25. 12 (p. 118, 14) *net prāṇebhya ātmānam apādadhāni* < GB. 2. 5. 4 (p. 230, 16), the parallel passage to KB. 17. 7 (p. 77, 22), has *net prāṇebhya ātmānam antargāt* [read so for *antaragāt* of Gaastra's ed., var. lect. *antarāgāt*; while a few instances of *mā* with augmented aorist are quotable from the old prose (Whitney, Gr. § 579, e) an augmented form after *ned* would be unique.]> The compound root *dhā* + *apa-ā* should be added to Delbrück, Altind. Synt. § 238, p. 447, 1.

Page 313, line 18, read: under Ex. 5 and 6 . . .

Pāge 316, line 4, left column, read: *samṛddham*.

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